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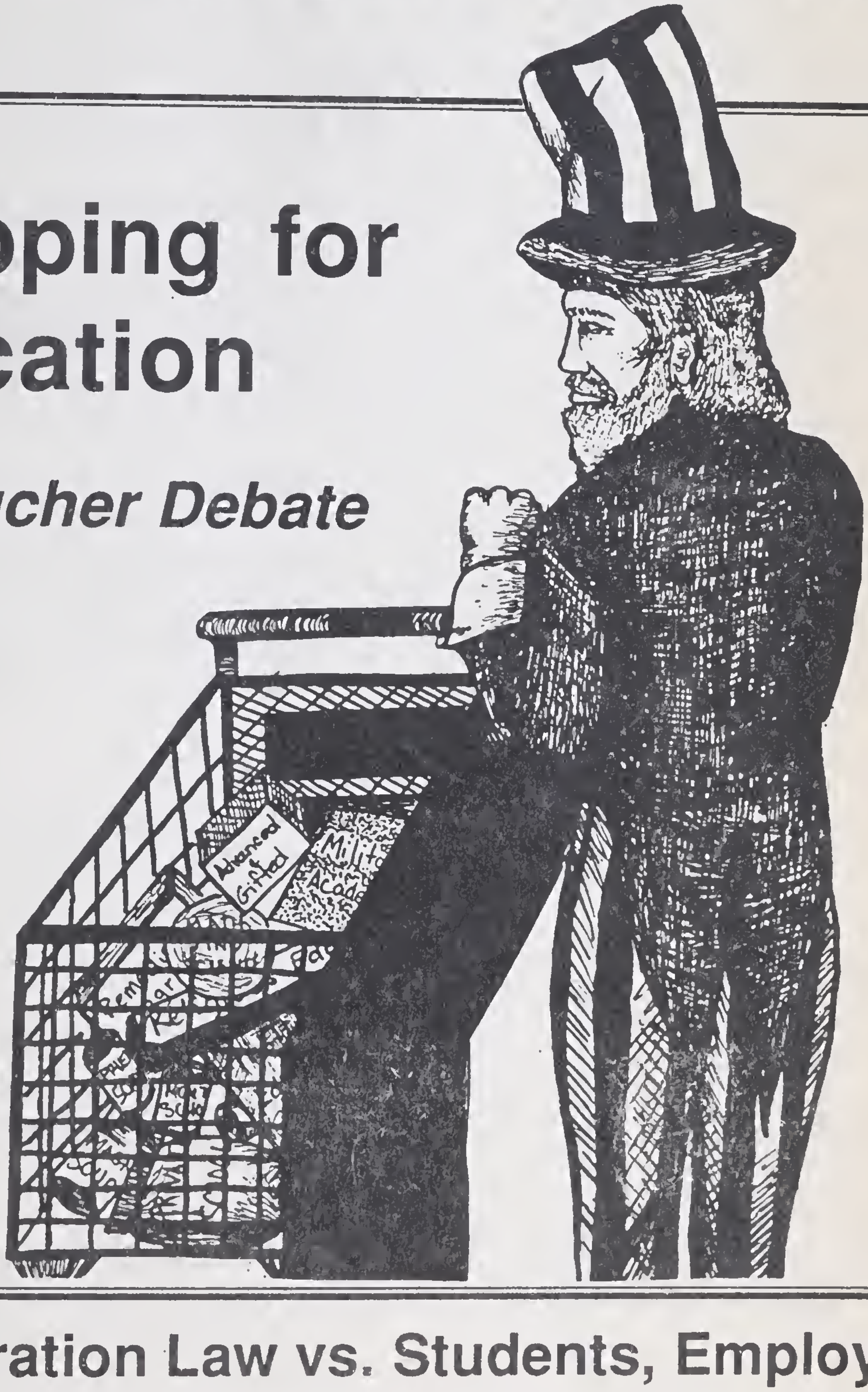
Fund the CGLA?

Vol. 1; No. 1
October 1987

The
CAROLINA CRITIC

Shopping for Education

The Voucher Debate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New Immigration Law vs. Students, Employers

Campus Parking As Property Right: The Case for Ticketing

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Journal of Opinion

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The Carolina Critic is a monthly student magazine dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. We present a diverse and (we trust) entertaining forum of views, and the Critic is not affiliated with any political party, religion, or social group. We also reject the traditional political distinctions of liberal vs. conservative as hopelessly inaccurate, and so not subscribe to them. Comments and submissions are welcome, and should be sent to:

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In This Issue

3 Critic Forum: Funding the CGLA
Lisa Ashburn and David Hood discuss the issue of student funding for the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association

4 The Critical Eye

7 Up Front: Catching the 'Wetbacks'
Michael Lowrey describes the new federal immigration law and its ramifications for students, employers, aliens, and the economy at large

8 Cover Story: Shopping for Education
Education vouchers, a topic spotlighted by the Republican presidential hopefuls during last month's forum, could be public education's last hope — or worst nightmare

10 Essays
Kenny Felder examines words and issues, or was it issues and words?. . . Prosecuting victimless crimes oversteps government bounds, says Morgan Gurley. . . Rick Henderson reviews 'After Apartheid'. . . Parking permits are property rights, David Hood argues. . . 'The Walrus' explores whatever comes to mind

14 Between the Grooves
Music reviewer Connie Smith looks at new albums from the Ramones, R.E.M., Pink Floyd, The dB's, and Rush

15 Dateline: Washington
Democrats and Fairy Tales

Fund the CGLA?

Yea — By Lisa Ashburn

The Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association has been in existence for the past fourteen years, making it the oldest running gay and lesbian organization in North Carolina. It's two hundred members strong and growing, with its latest membership drive netting forty new members. According to the 1949 Kinsey studies, 10 percent of mankind is homosexual. But what's the objective of CGLA?

"...(CGLA is) chartered as an EDUCATIONAL AND SERVICE group. We attempt to serve as an advocate for lesbian and gay men of UNC and the surrounding communities (CGLA Bi-Laws)," group literature says.

Education about gays and lesbian issues is a primary focus of the association. Each year CGLA hosts Lesbian and Gay Awareness week, which is basically a weeklong series of programs, films, workshops, and social gatherings geared toward the issues facing the gay and lesbian community.

Last year, during Awareness week, CGLA co-sponsored the play "Bent," about the fate of a quarter of a million gays and lesbians in Nazi Germany. Two award-winning films were "Choosing Children," about lesbian parenting, and "My Beautiful Laundrette," about an upperclass Pakastani who starts a laundry chain and ends up in a relationship with a young English punk. An AIDS patient came to talk about living with AIDS on a day-to-day basis. A political activist talked on political organizing in the Gay and Lesbian community. Program/Business meetings were held, and the Halloween dance had a good turnout.

The Outreach program of CGLA is commendable for the variety of services they provide to the community. They lead panel discussions on general or specific aspects of homosexuality for Psychology 80, the Women's 50 studies, and Health Education 85. Any class or group can request a panel discussion, and members of CGLA will conduct the discussion. CGLA also provides forums for dorms.

Anti-lesbian and gay violence is a major concern of CGLA. I talked to Don, a co-chair of CGLA, who lived in Hinton-James dorm his freshman year. His and his roommate's lives were threatened by a habitually intoxicated suitemate. One night his suitemate approached Don's dorm in his normal state with a baseball bat. He then proceeded to bang on the door with the bat and shout his intentions of killing both Don and his roommate because of their sexual orientation.

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Violence is targeted at both gays and lesbians. Another member of CGLA was evicted from her home when her sexual orientation was realized. Also, there is the issue of lesbian rape. A male who decides to rape a female he knows to be a lesbian has the attitude "I'm going to make you like men." Therefore lesbian rape often involves more force, brutality, and mental harassment than the "average" rape.

CGLA members I talked to said that the increase in violence was directly related to the AIDS epidemic and "...the perception that (homosexuality is) directly related to AIDS." CGLA members maintain that ignorance about AIDS enhances anti-gay prejudice; more educated persons don't equate homosexuality with AIDS.

I talked with Mark Donahue, editor of The Lamda, about the interesting viewpoints people present justifying the impact of the AIDS epidemic on the gay and lesbian community. Mark had this very noteworthy comment to make: "Those who would say that AIDS is God's punishment on homosexuals are totally ignoring the lesbian community. . . by that same logic it would mean that lesbians are God's chosen people, since lesbians are in the absolute lowest risk group."

The Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association is definitely an organization on the move. Their basic goal can be summed up into one word: equality. Gays and lesbians are a group of individuals who desire what all individuals desire: to pursue happiness and to guarantee the rights of all citizens regardless of sexual orientation. Ω

Asburn is a freshman from Millers Creek.

Nay — By David Hood

Tolerance for the views of others is often thought to reside solely in the minds of the left. However, this is simply a pervasive fallacy. The ever-present issue of funding the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association (CGLA) with student fees is only one example of the intolerance shown by "progressives" toward anyone who rejects their view of the world.

No one worthy of note has ever suggested that a free association of persons like the CGLA does not have the right to exist. People in any society have the natural right to hold any opinion they wish, and in the U.S. this has actually been institutionalized by our Bill of Rights. The CGLA has the right to educate our campus in any manner they wish, and in any way they believe will advance awareness of homosexual issues in the University community. This author would be the last one to want to deprive that organization of such a fundamental right.

In addition, if there were a blatantly anti-gay group on campus, no one in their right mind would suggest that homosexual members of the student body help fund it.

Why, then, do we as a campus supposedly dedicated to free thought and free expression, allow those who disagree with the aims of the CGLA to be forced to contribute to it? It is this double-standard, and not any elusive homophobia, that is the real issue behind CGLA funding.

It is quite legitimate to believe, as I do, that Christian students should not have to fund what they see as sinful behavior, while at the same time disagreeing with those same students about the substance of their position. The "right to be wrong" is a necessary corrolary to any workable system of democratic rule, and is an integral part of the freedom of speech and thought our nation lives under.

But it is the intolerant view, which claims Christians have no right to their religious beliefs, that is praised by the liberal campus establishment as "enlightened". These self-proclaimed "champions of liberty" steadfastly refuse to extend such freedom to those who disagree with them. In this they are no different from the tyrants from the Right or the Left who have throughout history trampled on the natural rights of their fellow human being.

In this they are no different from those narrow-minded homophobes who want to silence the CGLA forever. Think about it. Ω

Hood is a senior speech communications and political science major from Charlotte.

The Critical Eye

October 1987

— Power to the People! University officials announced that plans to close the Pit gathering area for much of the year during Student Store rennovations are being changed. Student leaders attributed the switch to a groundswell of student opposition. We at the flegling Carolina Critic, being sufficiently brazen to risk candor, attribute the sudden University change of heart to the powerful Hackey Sack lobby.

— The more things change, the more things stay the same: witness the return to power of the Peronists in Argentina by a substantial margin. Should we also brace ourselves for revivals of "Evita"? Let's hope not.

— After UNC's Education Forum: keeping a running tally of just how much money the Democratic presidential candidates would spend on new education programs could tax the mathematical skills of the best of us — which is an argument for more rigorous math requirements for UNC students. How else are we to keep track of the Democrat's runaway spending binges?

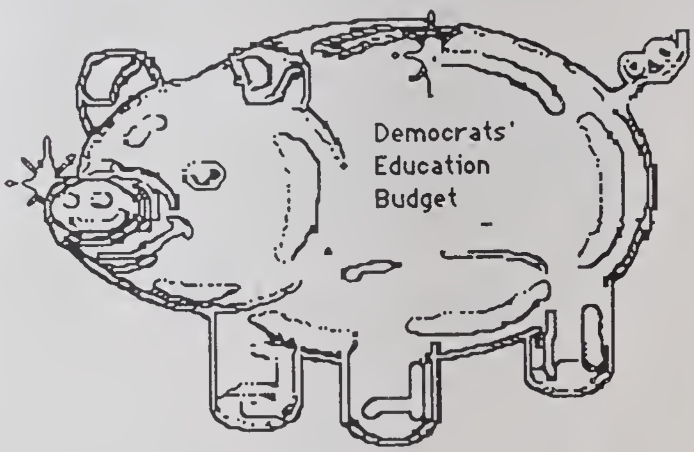
— The Black Student Movement has decided to boycott the Student Stores for a week in early October. Is their complaint about discriminatory hiring practices or other forms of insidious racism? Nope. They are mad (and justifiably so) about textbook prices. We have no idea why the bloated prices have suddenly become an issue which demands such radical action, rather than just fact gathering and discussion. However, we suspect that the protest is intended to prove that the BSM is still a "movement" in the 1960s tradition rather than just a social organization.

— Which brings us to this month's award for the most unlikely source of a laissez-faire opinion. ". . .The Student Stores are using our money for someone else's scholarship," complained BSM president Kenneth Perry about the high textbook prices going to student scholarships. How does this sound, Mr. Perry? "The (Government) is using our (tax) money for someone else's (welfare)." Is it starting to make sense?

— Soviet Academy of Sciences member Vassili Presnyako recently visited campus to let everyone in on a new discovery by the Kremlin. Did you know that the incentives of the free market actually increase productivity in an economy? Now if Gorbachev and company figure out that political freedom and economic freedom go hand-in-hand there could be something more to *glastnost* than just window-dressing for the benefit of Western public opinion.

— There is new controversy surrounding the AIDS epidemic. Our very own Senator Jesse Helms claims that some recently published comic books depicting men in graphic homosexual acts were funded in part by federal revenues. Dr. Frank Lilly, the publisher of "Safer Sex Comics," denies the federal link and claims the comics are the only way to reach homosexuals about the AIDS risk. Did we miss something here, or isn't the real issue why comic books are the only way to reach (presumably) adult gay men?

— Problems have erupted of late in the ranks of our men and women in campus blue. Charges of racism and favoritism have plagued Director of Security Services Robert Sherman since a series of promotions in June. Officers in the department demand that the twelve new positions be revoked in favor of a more fair promotion procedure. His answer was to offer to create six more management level posts in the department. Since there were already 19 supervisors for 18 officers in the department, Mr. Sherman, we are wondering just how many chiefs you can have per Indian. . .



— Senate Judiciary Chair and presidential candidate Joe Biden (D-Del.) has been under attack recently for plagiarism in some of his campaign speeches. It seems he was also caught doing the same thing back at Syracuse Law School. First of all, why would Biden want to quote British Labour leader Neil Kinnock in a campaign — Kinnock has had only slightly better electoral success than George McGovern. But even more troubling was the Senator's response to the charges: he complained of "much ado about nothing" without crediting William Shakespeare as his source.

— Amnesty International's new report finds torture of prisoners "persistent and widespread" in the People's Republic of China. No surprises there. Terror and brutality in the tradition of Mao Tse-Tung's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution seems endemic in the PRC's government. One of Mao's more memorable ideas, the "Let a hundred flowers bloom" policy of 1956, sounds an awful lot like a scary ending to the current totalitarian rage, *glastnost*. He encouraged dissent and expression from Chinese academics and politicians, then suddenly rescinded his amnesty promises — and the long year of torture began. Current evidence of the PRC's torture habit does give our leftist friends a chance missed by their ideological kindred a generation ago: to speak up and show that they deplore human rights abuses no matter what kind of regime commits them. So will they form a Carolina Committee on Mainland China? Not bloody likely.

— In a September 16 editorial "Campus parking with a 'P'," the Daily Tar Heel editorial board demonstrated a curious viciousness when discussing student parking monitors, referring to "orange-clad bureaucratic peons" who "dole out citations at the demonic pace of about 400 a day." Not only was this an arrogant and offensive way to discuss fellow students, it also ignores the opinions of students and faculty who actually buy parking stickers and expect the Parking Control office to keep their spaces open. One would imagine that permit holders don't particularly think vicious thoughts about student monitors; they probably harbor more enmity for arrogant, inconsiderate students who park wherever they want to, regardless of who pays for the space. We would direct the DTH board to read parking monitor David Hood's essay on the new rules in this issue — that is, if they are willing to find out what a "stupid peon" has to say.

— East Germany's Communist Party leader Erich Honecker, 7 September 1987: "Socialism and capitalism can never be reconciled, just as fire and water can never be reconciled." Bravo, Mr. Honecker. This is certainly the first, and probably the last, time we find ourselves to be in total agreement.

— Remember all those dire predictions made by the Right-to-Life people after the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision in the Supreme Court: that legalizing abortion would the the first step towards the destruction of the sanctity of life? It all sounded a little silly then, with abortion foes saying that infanticide, compulsory euthanasia, and other nefarious practices were not far behind. But the current debate over use of fetal tissue for research and transplant seems to have vindicated the pro-life position to some extent. Ethicists on both sides of the aisle are worried that the myriad of medical uses found for fetal tissue will turn aborted babies into marketable resources. And it seems that several women have already expressed their desire to get pregnant and then abort the fetus to supply tissues for sick relatives. In such cases, who has the right to kill the babies for their organs, as if acting out a skit from Monty Python's "Meaning of Life"? Even though a bit sensationalized, the fetal tissue debate should exhort us to ponder our ethical stand on the legal rights of the unborn in a whole new light.

Target: Divestment

The Carolina Critic to the Anti-Apartheid Support Group and Action Against Apartheid: we hereby throw down the gauntlet. The divestment issue is a prime example of how muddled and convoluted a debate can become without forceful argument from both sides. The campus leftists have had their say; now it is time to discuss real alternatives to the misguided and (according to the Endowment Board's mandate) improper divestment idea.

Look for coverage of several aspects of the issue in the coming months. For instance, the bestseller success of Kendell & Louw's After Apartheid in South Africa suggests that the author's libertar-

Clipboard

The polls show that although the need for limited government is recognized by most Americans, they also tend to support specific programs when asked about them by name. For instance, only 39 percent of those polled by a University of Chicago group agree that government should reduce income gaps (vs. 62 percent who disagreed) and 35 percent said government should guarantee citizens a job, while 66 percent dissented. Yet when asked if government should provide Medicare and Medicaid for the elderly and indigent, an overwhelming majority (83 percent vs. 17 percent) said yes. In polls by the same group, 82 percent of respondents said that the best way to help the economy is to cut government spending, 52 percent said the economy needed less regulation, and only 23 percent (vs. 56 percent) said the government should control wages by legislation. It appears that advocates of limited government have a public opinion/public relations quandry on their hands, rather than an absence of general support from Americans. The answer: report to voters the problems of specific government boondoggles. . . . In a healthy related development, a CBS News/New York Times poll reported that 62 percent of respondents think that government creates more problems than it solves, and 76 percent said that the government wouldn't know how to reduce poverty even if it had unlimited funding available. . . . A rush dispatch from overseas: The Christian Science Monitor reports that six European states with a combined population of just over one million — Andorra, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, San Marino, and Monaco — met September 15 to discuss the problems of being small.

Military Insignifica

Remember all the news coverage about the USS Stark? Well, she's now in Pascagoula, Mississippi for repairs. The cost is a mere $12.3 million just for the planning phase. No total cost estimates are available for making her combat ready again after an Iraqi Exocet hit her in May and killed 37 of her crew. . . . The Soviet Union has started to deploy a hot, new fighter — the Mi 29 Fulcrum — in East Germany. . . . On the martyr front: Turkey returned to the home country a group of 94 armed Iranians in civilian clothes found in its Hakkari Province (no, the name is not Japanese) near the region where the borders of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey meet. No wonder Iran isn't winning its war with Iraq — its agents seem to have a bad sense of direction. . . North Korea claims the U.S. Air Force overflew its territory nine times in August with SR 71 strategic reconnaissance aircraft. . . . Maybe we can get some of these for the Gulf, hell, they can't be any worse than what we have there now: the Afghan resistance claims the Soviets are using dogs to sniff for mines in Afghanistan. So far, seven of the canine mine detectors have been "captured," the resistance claims. No word yet on the debriefing. . . . Next time you get stuck in a traffic jam, consider this option (and you wouldn't do too bad on the interstates with the new speed limit either): Lohr, a French company, is developing a carrier vehicle for a 120 mm mortar with a top road speed of over 65 miles per hour.

Compiled by Michael Lowrey

ian viewpoint has a large following on all sides of the struggle (see review this issue). Their thesis is that an emphasis on decentralized federalism in the country — with a weak central government designed only to defend against agression from outside and rights violations inside — is the best way to prevent tyranny from white or black. There should be no enormous state to be controlled by despots of any color, they say.

Another summer event was the South African miner's strike which, even though needlessly influenced by Marxist class warfare dogma, demonstrated that the best hope for freedom in South Africa are non-violent institutions and the gains they can make through the cracks of apartheid. In the words of the State Department's Alan Keyes: "blacks will not simply be given their rights by the South African government, they must claim them — but without violence." And divesting from the South Africa economy is the worst thing the West can do in the face of these encouraging signs.

Privatize Air Traffic Control

Recent air disasters and near misses have alarmed Americans about the dangers of flawed air traffic control. In addition, airline mergers and long flight delays have consumers wondering just how successful the last nine years of airline deregulation have been. And Congress is listening. The House is considering tough regulations and delays, and many legislators are rethinking the entire legacy of deregulation.

But unraveling the accomplishments of the past nine years is the exact opposite of where Congress should be going. Decontrol has lowered the cost of flying by substantial amounts and, even after factoring in the mergers of late, the airline industry is provding more flights than ever before. In fact, deregulation has served consumers well — in the areas it has been allowed to work.

What is needed it more deregulation in the airline industry, not less.

Much of the current safety problems stem, observers agree, on the dearth of experienced controllers. President Reagan fired many of them during the 1981 PATCO strike. A way to improve the situation — without government having to rehire the strikers — is to expand the practice of contracting out smaller airport control towers to private companies. In addition to drawing from an experienced pool of controllers, private companies will have more of an incentive to do an efficient and safe job because of the need to avoid mistakes that might lose them the contract. Public employees (as Nobel Laureate James Buchanan argues in his "public choice" theory) have no such incentive.

Similarly, a way to reduce flight delays might be to extend free market pricing to takeoff and landing slots at airports. Currently air traffic control towers keep planes on the ground for hours in an attempt to accommodate an inefficient allocation of the slots by a bureaucracy. Government should let the airlines bid for slots, as the national secretary of the U.S. Air Traffic Controllers Organization has argued. Airlines should pay for air traffic services in proportion to their use, in a way that more closely reflects supply and demand.

Such proposals to increase, rather than decrease, freedom from government control of the airline industry are the only way Americans will feel the full benefits of deregulation: in saving their time like it already has saved their money.

Forum Disappointing

After all the hoopla, the excitement, and the media hype of "Education '88," the presidential candidate forum held on campus last month, what have we actually learned?

Nothing new, it seems: the Democrats' idea of education reform is spending more money; the Republicans' idea of public relations is to field only two presidential hopefuls in the GOP segment of the forum.

Students here at Carolina were especially interested in what the candidates had to say about education, not only because of reform's direct impact on the University but also because recent memories of high school education give students a vantage point from which to evaluate "new" programs. So it was especially disappointing for Carolina students to see firsthand the shallowness of the Democrats' line — that all the educational problems of the country stem from underfunding.

The absence of original thinking at the forum was especially ironic after a summer that saw two nonfiction bestsellers on the education crisis, Alan Bloom's Closing of the American Mind and Ed Hirsch's Cultural Literacy.

Bloom argues that today's higher education is failing to teach students to care about philosophy and morality. Instead, professors have advanced the notion of "relativism," that there are no absolutes of morality to pursue or study. The decline of faculty leadership on campus began in the 1960s, Bloom says, when professors absolved themselves from the activism and destructive behavior of campus radicals.

Hirsch's book speaks to the failure of elementary and secondary education in transmitting Western culture to children. He cites surveys indicating appalling gaps in student knowledge — most of those questioned in a recent humanities foundation study didn't know Columbus visited America before 1750 — and argues that docrine, not lack of teachers or funds, is to blame for most of the problem. Schools have grabbed on to the trendy idea that teaching "skills" is more important than teaching "content," with the result the students learn neither.

Textbooks should be made more rigorous, he says, and important segments of history and literature be reinstated into the curricula because good content can improve skills — not the other way around.

Did the Democrats speak to these doctrinal, rather than budgetary, needs? Barely. Some candidates asserted a vague commitment to "basics in education," but no real program was offered. Fortunately the Republican participants, Rep. Jack Kemp of New York and former Delaware Gov. Pete du Pont, dealt with a more substantial reform, du Pont's education voucher plan (see "Shopping for Education" in this issue).

As for the Democrats, they seem to have missed the whole point: the crisis in education is not one of funding, it is one of philosophy. How that philosophy should be altered is the real education issue of the 1988 election. Ω

By Michael Lowrey

Catching the 'Wetbacks'

Recently, a college student applied for a maintenance job at a bowling alley on campus to help defray the costs of college. There would seem to have been no obstacle to his obtaining the lofty position in question. However, he was denied the job for a while — pending proof that he was a legal resident of the United States and had been granted the right to work. The student presented identification — his driver's license. This by itself was not enough to prove his citizenship. Further proof was required, so the student went without a job until he was able to better prove his true status.

Such a case might seem to be an example of Soviet or Chinese attempts to control or regulate their populations (for instance, to keep too many people from inhabiting their cities). In Germany, it could serve as proof for the environmentalist/pacifist Green Party of the "Big Brother" mentality of the ruling Christian Democrat-Liberal Coalition. It is neither. The incident happened not in some distant land but right here in Chapel Hill.

The student reacted to the inquiry with disbelief. "Right. I've been hiding out in the Yukon for twenty years. I came down here just to get this job as the bowling alley maintenance man," he said with just a touch of sarcasm. Yet this is but one many examples of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

Under this law, *all* employers of any meaningful size are required to make sure their employees are in the country legally and are allowed to work. It makes absolutely no difference how American you appear or are, the appropriate forms must be filled out by your employer, or he or she risks federal prosecution. Employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens can face fines of up to $10,000 per violation as well as jail terms. To prove that one is in the U.S. legally and has the right to work, one must present either an American passport, certificate of U.S. Citizenship, a certificate of naturalization, a stamped and endorsed Form I 94, or a Form 551 with photo and authorization. For those of you who possess none of the above documents, there is no need to run out and apply for a passport just to keep your job at Burger King. A combination of two documents will still allow you to be hired legally. One of these documents must be a driver's license or state issue identification card with a picture. Anther possibility could be a National Guard or Reserve ID saying you were discharged from the U.S. military. The other piece of paper needed to get a job is either a birth certificate, provided you were born in the U.S., a report of a U.S. citizen abroad (if you were an Army brat), or your Social Security card.

The act has also had a tremendous impact on the status of illegal aliens in the U.S. Those who came here before Jan. 1, 1982 — and can prove so — are entitled to amnesty in the country. Those who came here after that date are still considered illegal aliens and, if discovered, can be deported. Those people who came to the country before the target date but cannot prove so to the powers that be in the government may count themselves in the deportable category.

The new immigration law allows those illegal aliens here when the law was signed into law last November to continue to work for the employer without the business being liable for prosecution. However, no other business may hire them. And migrant farm workers receive special preferential treatment under the new law.

The illegal alien rules have been greeted with a great deal of criticism from almost everyone concerned. The act comes as the result of some five years of bickering, deadlock, major wins and losses, and (needless to say) much compromise in Congress. Underlying its existence is a perception that the U.S. had lost control of its borders, that this nation was without a law to deal effectively with the large number of people entering this country illegally. These aliens, according to a popular argument, were taking jobs from Americans by working for less money and fewer benefits. A consensus existed that *something* had to be done, even if that something was less than ideal.

One major criticism of the new law centers on making the businesses of America, large and small, the policemen of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Clearly they do not feel comfortable about doing what they perceive as traditionally a government task: enforcing immigration policy. Businesses are also not terribly pleased by the extra paper work associated with the new law.

Civil libertarians are concerned about possible future steps such as National Identity Cards and the increased role government is playing in the affairs of business and individuals. Hispanic groups are particularly worried that business might simply not want to mess with employing anyone who is not an American citizen, especially if they look Hispanic, out of ignorance of the various visa laws and for fear of violating the new law. Also, workers could lose or be denied jobs simply because they could not find the right documents fast enough to beat the competition, which upsets any number of workers advocate groups.

Beyond these issues lie two philosophical ones which have caused some to wonder about the underlying wisdom of the act. The first of these is whether it is indeed prudent to regulate or restrict illegal immigration. Under such arguments, the high degree of determination illegal immigrants exhibit is pointed out. Those people have a lot of get up and go to come to a foreign country where one cannot effectively make use of the law for fear of being deported. Hence illegal aliens are of high value, the argument goes. Further, illegal aliens do not take jobs from Americans but instead fill jobs Americans don't want (such a line of reasoning might well explain why migrant farm workers enjoy a favored status under the new law). And Americans receive jobs from supplying the goods illegal aliens purchase in the U.S.

The second concern rests with making those who came to this nation illegally into legal residents. Such an action, though getting to the heart of the problem, raises in the minds of many the fairness and believability of the new law. Under such criticism, it is questioned why United States law would grant an advantage, legal residence, to those who came here in violation of established law while, at the same time, denying the same privilege to many people in the world who have applied for legal residence only to be denied for many years by federal restrictions on immigration on a per country quota system.

There can be no doubt that the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 is at best a poor compromise aimed at appealing to popular and safe stereotypes of "job-stealing wetbacks." Furthermore, if the U.S. is willing to legalize illegal aliens once, potential illegal aliens may wonder what is to keep us from doing so again. Might they come on the premise that the nation will? And considering this aspect of the law, is it any wonder that America's position in the world is declining or that we face such international scorn? Ω

Lowrey is a senior economics and political science major from Charlotte.

Shopping for Education

Would competition improve public and private schools or destroy racial desegregation and the separation of church and state?

By John Hood

Has the free market more to offer American education than political crusades and government reforms do?

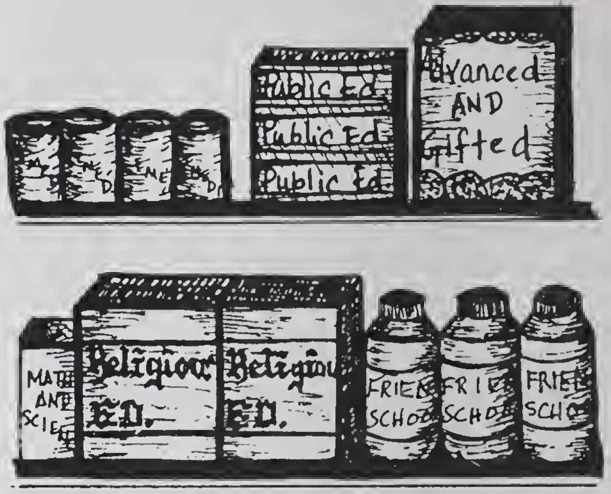
Imagine that instead of having to send their kids to the public school the state decrees, parents could choose any public or private school in their area — and that the state would foot the bill. This "free market for education," the education voucher system, is an idea destined to become law. That is, if former Delaware Gov. Pete du Pont is elected president of the United States.

Du Pont described his voucher plan at the University of North Carolina's "Education '88" forum last month, as he debated New York Representative and fellow Republican contender Jack Kemp (see related story). But the voucher idea is hardly an original du Pont idea. In fact, analysts of American public education have argued for decades that giving parents more choice in where to send their kids could provide a host of benefits. "There are many things wrong with the schools, from overly powerful teachers' unions to look-say methods of reading instruction," Lawrence Uzzell says in a National Review article on education alternatives. "But the thread that links them together is government monopoly."

Ending that monopoly is the main objective of the voucher plan. Reasons for doing so range from improving school quality through competition to promoting racial integration and the teaching of moral and religious values. And there are as many different kinds of voucher plans as there are reasons for pursuing them.

Most voucher plans are modeled after programs like the Federal GI Bill, which grants former servicemen vouchers to get a college education at whatever institution the student wishes. The choice is made by the student, not the government. Federal food stamps are another example of a program in which the government essentially provides a check but lets the recipient choose where to cash it. In most plans state-operated schools would still exist, but they would have to compete with private and parochial schools for the parents' vouchers. Participating schools would, in many plans, have to meet certain standards — minimum health and safety requirements, some sort of state curriculum, and possibly teacher certification — in order to be eligible for vouchers. But most details of how the school is run would be left up to the administrators of the individual schools.

The flexibility afforded the participating schools is a key feature of the plan. "Schools themselves will benefit from the creation of many options and alternatives to the present monolithic system," says education writer Ronald Gross. In addition, voucher advocates point out that parents will have more choice over the quality and quantity of their children's education — allowing for different views in a way the public school monopoly can't. Parents would not be the only group afforded more discretion. Milton Friedman, a libertarian economist and Nobel Laureate, says in *Freedom to Choose* that "one of the most interesting features of choice is its potential effect on teachers' freedom of expression in the classroom."



The idea that vouchers would promote greater liberty for educators and families has practical import: improving American education through competition. Not only would variety increase, but competition would lead to more efficient use of education funds in much the same way competition works in other fields. Currently the average cost in state systems averages about twice that of private schools, according to E.G. West of Carlton University. "This is a high price to pay for a service that fails in its objectives," he says in a 1981 Policy Review article. Examples of similar programs in other areas — as well as publically-funded alternative schooling in several European countries — lend credence to the assertion that vouchers bring efficiency. And savings might also be made in cutting outmoded state and federal bureaucracy, though the need for oversight would not disappear.

Though some make the voucher idea sound like a cure-all for the country's education problems, others ask searching questions of voucher advocates. Are parents really capable of choosing the best education for their children? Does the participation of religious schools in some voucher plans make them unconstitutional under the First Amendment? Will parental choice dismantle the process of desegregation in the public schools? And in a larger sense, will diversity destroy public education's role in fostering American unity?

Parental choice. Some voucher foes contend that many parents, especially poor ones with little education themselves, have neither the interest nor the competence to choose the best type of education for their children, and could be "taken in" by unscrupulous school administrators. Friedman calls that argument a "gratuitous insult" to poor parents. "Parents generally have both greater interest in their children's schooling and more intimate knowledge of their capacities and needs than anyone else," he says. The real question is why voucher foes think government administrators have the right to make such choices for parents, Friedman says.

Pilot programs like the Alum Rock voucher plan in Arkansas have used both state and private resources to provide information about school offerings. In addition, sophisticated private school directories already exist in many urban areas. These avenues give parents more than enough information to find a school that fits their expectations, voucher supporters argue. And the benefits would not merely be felt in the classroom. Not only would parents and students feel more committed to their school, but, according to education analyst Charles Fowler, "the family's role as the child's confidant would be accentuated by providing the family with choice." This ability of voucher plans to strengthen family cohesion is an interesting supplement to the more obvious advantages in the classroom.

Religious schools. Pointing to the established doctrine of separation of church and state, some voucher opponents say inclusion of religious schools in voucher plans would make them unconstitutional. This objection is based on Supreme Court decisions the label "excessive government entanglement with religion" as a violation of the First Amendment's establishment clause. Voucher advocates answer this objection in two ways: 1) education inherently involves teaching moral and philosophical values, hence rendering the idea of preventing "entanglement" impossible, and 2) voucher-like programs like food stamps and the GI Bill provide ample precedent for allowing religious schools to participate.

"Teachers cannot be neutral about religious issues or about moral issues deeply rooted in religious beliefs . . .," Marquette professor Virgil Blum says in a 1985 Phi Delta Kappan article. This is the familiar argument made in creationism cases, for example, that teaching children "evolution as a science" conflicts with some Christian fundamentalist parents' right to transmit their belief in creationism to their children. Other issues such as school prayer and sex education stem from a similar conflict: the duties of the state vs. the rights of religious (or atheist) parents to determine what values their children will learn. Under a state monopoly in education this conflict is largely unresolvable. But vouchers offer a way out of the dilemma that preserves the rights of all parents. Parents can send their children to schools that teach evolution and sex education — or they can choose not to, without having to pay extra for the choice.

But Friedman says that even within the current understanding of religious entanglement, voucher systems would be constitutional. "It is worth emphasizing that vouchers would go to parents, not to schools," he says. "Under the GI BIll, veterans have been free to attend Catholic or other colleges and, as far as we know, no First Amendment issue has ever been raised." The idea is that vouchers can be redeemed at religious schools because no one belief is established — and that the religious choices are made by parents rather than teachers or states.

Desegregation. Some policymakers are worried that emphasizing diversity in schooling will slow the pace of integration. While the success of forced busing and other public efforts to break down barriers between races is itself subject to debate, voucher supporters counter that vouchers would actually increase the amount of blacks and other minorities attending traditionally white schools and, more importantly, that the voluntary nature of vouchers will make integration more sincere and effective.

Thomas Sowell, an economist and analyst with the Hoover Institution, says that voucher programs would enable black parents to choose schools in which there is "widespread involvement of individual parents as such . . . a sense of purpose, a faith in what can be achieved, and an appreciation of the hard work required to achieve it." He and others point to the success of magnet schools in many urban areas at attracting talented minority students from the inner city. Looking at desegregation as a by-product of minority parents acting to provide their children with a quality education is

(continued on page 13)

Kemp vs. du Pont

Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) and former Delaware Gov. Pete du Pont debated the education voucher concept during the GOP session of UNC's "Education '88" forum September 11. Though both presidential hopefuls endorsed the basic idea of parental choice of schools, Kemp argued that any such voucher experiment would have to be funded by states rather than the federal government. Du Pont, on the other hand, supported current proposals to use Federal Chapter I money — designed to help poor children break the poverty cycle — to start up voucher systems in urban areas. This program would not increase racial segregation, du Pont said, because the schools would still have to comply with federal nondiscrimination rules.

"We need to open up (the school market) so parents can choose where they want to send their children," du Pont said. He said that the greatest problem in American education was where the power was based: he would try to empower parents and state governments to resist federal intervention.

Kemp also stressed the need for local control of education and argued for more attention to basics and character in schooling. The problem in American education today is clearly not just funding, he said, because federal support for schools averages $308 million a year but test scores continue to decline.

Both candidates supported testing of and merit pay for teachers — which will not increase their popularity with teacher's unions.

Essays

Confusing slogans and issues

Why Words?

By Kenny Felder

Ever wondered about political bumper stickers? I'm not talking about the complex intellectual ones that say "Close Shearon Harris Before It Opens" or "I'm Proud To Be Registered The Way I Vote;" I'm talking about the real pearls of wisdom, like "Mondale/ Ferraro" or "Reagan/Bush." Just names, with no hint of who these people are or why you should vote for them. There's certainly no room on a bumper sitcker to defend a candidate's stand on a controversial issue. Anyway, if there were, think of the clash with TV ads, posters, and newspater advertisements, which give pretty pictures of the candidates, along with their slogans: "A vote for Anderson is a vote for Anderson."

Yesterday, I realized for the first time that those bumper stickers cost a lot of money. And that the campaign managers, who could be spending this money telling me where their candidates stand on the issues, have decided that they can get more votes with bumper stickers than with ideas. If these people are professionals, they're probably right: someone probably voted for "Russell Williams" because he saw more "Williams" bumper stickers than "Medlin"s. That terrifies me, somehow.

Maybe my problem is that I keep confusing words with issues.

Last year, the Daily Tar Heel ran an editorial about a new plan to reduce the number of female undergraduates on campus. The present gender-blind policy tends to admit more girls than guys, because girls then to get better grades in high school. (A plot, I'm betting; it can't be because girls work harder/ perform better/ would make better college students.) Well, Someone In Power decided that women don't get important jobs, and don't bring money and prestige back to the college after graduation, so we need to send more UNC men into the world. I, being something of a feminist, just laughed bitterly and waited for the torrential outflow of fury to unleash itself on the back page of the DTH. Unfortunately, there tends to be room for only one controversial issue at a time. The student body had just passed up a chance to change all the constitutional "he"'s to "he/she"'s, and letter-writers were forced to neglect the less relevent issue for this much more important one. The plan to reduce the feminine presence on campus received a grand total of one half of a letter. The other half of this letter was directed at the DTH for sexist language in their editorial. There I was, all ready to be outraged, and it turned out I was looking at the wrong issue!

Maybe my problem is that I keep confusing issues with words.

Political canpaigns are getting less fun for me to watch lately. I've got my set of positions, and as soon as I figure out how to label a candidate, I know everythinbg there is to know and I can stop watching. It goes something like this:

> "I think we should invest in South Africa, giving us more impact on their government's policy!" (Who is he kidding? He's a Far Right Conservative, maybe a Reactionary. He doesn't really care at all about anything but making money, and he'd probably institute apartheid himself in this country in he got the chance. I'll just bet.)
>
> "I'm for a national health foundation!" (She just means socialized medicine; that just makes her a Socialist, which is almost as bad as a Communist. Remember how quickly Doug Berger's Student Body President campaign died when someone called him a Socialist?)
>
> "I think the two parties are failing to represent you, and both Democrats and Republicans just want to poke the government's nose into your business; here are the programs and ideas I believe in." (Come off it, fellah, where do you really stand?)

Maybe my problem is that I keep confusing words with each other. Or issues with each other. Or something. But if there is a difference between words and issues, then which is this article about? Ω

Felder is a senior physics and English major from Raleigh.

Applying a Philosophy of LIberty

'Crime' Requires Victim

By Morgan R. Gurley

"Freedom" has become a hackneyed term in this coumty, and that is because it has endured as one of the topics most likely to inspire strong emotion in Americans. We all like to imagine ourselves steadfastly following the vision of our founders, bristling like she-wolves in defense of the cubs when our "freedoms" are threatened. Anyway, that's what folks like to *imagine*.

It is my position that true concern for individual liberty has been beaten into retreat (but not into submission) by extremely perverted interpretations of a marginally perverted document: The Constitution of the United States of America. Furthermore, the poison and fat in our legal system could be purged with ease by means of a constitutional ammendment aimed at the abolition of all legislation concerning drugs, prostitution, pornography, homosexuality, consenting sex in general, gambling, usury, suicide, etc. In short, no man shall have his activity judged unlawful unless it violates the natural rights of another human being.

I define the natural rights of man as his inherent freedom to govern himself and his property insofar as he refrains from violating another's person or property. Perhaps a more in-depth explanation of this definition can be the topic for future writings.

Currently our legal system operates under the authority of a nauseating hodge-podge of reasoning. We have some rational laws designed to protect persons from infringement, and then we have the parental laws, designed to protect persons from themselves, while preventing them from engaging in behavior which many others find distasteful. We all are aware of the remarkable success rate of the latter.

For example, consider the backlog of court cases and the problem of over-crowded prisons. These matters would be eased enormously if the judicial system were reformed to act solely as an arbiter of strictly defined criminal activity, and relieved of its role as surrogate mother to our population. To compound the impact of this argument, consider what percentage of police resources is devoted to enforcement of "vice" type laws. Imagine what might be achieved if these energies were re-allocated to prevent and solve cases of murder, rape, extortion, robbery, drunk driving and other real violations.

Second, consider the horrible irony in the fact that organized crime networks utilize these "soft" crimes to finance their *truly* evil endeavors. And who can forget that one of the direct consequences of prohibition was birth of organized crime.

What about junkies? You way be thinking "What about all the crimes commited involving drugs?" No one will deny that addicts and others involved with drugs commit crimes; but it is not because they are violently, sociopathically insane. The fact that drugs are expensive drives some of the poorer users to crime, and the sole cause for the high price of drugs is their illegality. Think about it, when did you last hear of a rock star or professional athlete robbing liquor stores or 'turning tricks' for cocaine money?

It seems a sad fact that humanity will always contain a wretched few who can only feel comfortable with a reality that is customized, its hard-edged truths and responsibilities softened chemically. In addition, it is evident that addicts deprived of their insulation (under pretense of mercy) are willing to fall to even greater depravity by committing crimes.

So, while many of man's habits seem destructive and perverse or devoid of self-respect in nature (and I cannot respect the motivation behind some of the lifestyles discussed here), it must be stressed that the criminalization of actions which violate no one's rights is not only unjustifiable morally, but has never succeeded in modifying the social status of the undesirable behavior in any way but to bestow upon it the allure and profit-power of "taboo."

I believe that the only recourse we have is to try to educate those who are misguided through ideas and education. We can only hope that those worthwhile humans who have taken wrong directions in life can be salvaged by helping them understand human dignity, not by unwarrented institutionalization.

For, finally, who can claim the wisdom to judge a man abberant when he has neither threatened the person of nor usurped the property of another? If you think that the federal government can, review the history of your school of thought. I can't understand how it wouldn't scare you. Ω

Gurley is a student at UNC-Charlotte.

Whatever Comes to Mind

"The time has come," the Walrus said, "to question many things." With apologies to Lewis Carrol, it makes the best of all possible entries. Welcome to Whatever Comes to Mind, where one should expect just that. Letters and comments are encouraged, expectorations shall be returned in kind.

I should like to suggest that all of you go spend some time in Battle Park in the near future, as there is a rumor (rumor, hell, it's a plan) that someone wants a major road through it. The park won out over the bureaucracy once already, and I feel that is all that the fates (planners) are likely to allow it. It is, as they say, just a bunch of trees.

Under the heading "of cabbages and of kings," have you been watching the circus the past few weeks? It's currently appearing on many channels, live from Capitol Hill. After Oliver North and Judge Bork, I look for a series, somewhat like Dynasty. Actually, the only disappointment I've had is that as a circus it's been closer to Ringling Brothers than to Circus Maximus. I wouldn't mind fiddling while Bork burned. (Yes, I know that Nero didn't, but it makes for a pleasing image.)

I notice that it's that time of year — the onset of sports. The games I have no fight with (little point), but the disruption and the associated activities tend to give me a headache. I have only one sports pass and can loan it to only one person. This person, while glad to borrow said pass, considers me insane not to wish to attend. I venerate my school, but feel this need not carry me to discomfort. I think the sports program adds color to the landscape, and I approve of it, but I'll pass on the participation.

I've noticed that the college has a nasty way of keeping things to itself. I know that on some of the issues they have put a notice in the Daily Tar Heel, but not for a sufficient run. One or two days doesn't make it. I discovered the change in student parking the day of effect, or perhaps affect is more appropriate. Then there is the case of the secretaries left in the dark for months concerning their raises. Such things bother me. The same administration. . . has control over my transcript.

To paraquote the Beatles; "I read the news today, oh boy, about some lucky guys who made the grade." On second thought, let's wait until next issue to dive into the police promotions. I hope you're watching this little drama, as these are the people who protect you and the peace.

On, subjects tired and done, should we address divestment? No, let's not and say we didn't. Later, later. . .

Planned on fall break yet? Excuse me, FALL BREAK. Make plans now, you'll have that much longer to forget them. Something always explodes on the horizon at the last. But before you leave, please take note of the work being done to improve the walks and view of the campus (and while taking note, say a nice word to the workmen). Cigarette butts and other debris don't help. Even those items which are biodegradable take too long to remove themselves from sight without assistance. Thank you.

This month's quote contest who-said-it game: "It is always peasurable to stone a martyr, no matter how much we may respect him." You won't win anything except our respect for your erudition, and possible mention. Cheating is allowed, using books and professors, as I couldn't catch you, and how do you think I get the quotes, anyway?

My the walrus has been vitupe today. Damn straight. You can add cynical and vicious as well. Well, its fall and the smell of dissent is in the air. I'll be nicer when the trees (in Battle Park, natch) have changed color.

The Walrus

Book Review

What's 'After Apartheid' ?

By Rick Henderson

Ideas have consequences. A terrific defense of that statement is the response to the recent book After Apartheid: The Solution for South Africa (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies) by the husband and wife team of Leon Louw and Frances Kendall. In this remarkable book, they outline the ways in which different South African racial groups had lived in harmony, how government actions destroyed cooperation between those groups, and how a new proposal can restore peace to that troubled country.

Louw and Kendall have been active opponents of apartheid for years. Yet unlike those who would simply make a lot of noise and let injustice continue, they have supported their abstract principles with concrete action. This book and the response to it have demonstrated the power of the philosophy of decentralism and self-government when placed in a specific context.

The first section contains a brief history of South Africa and how the arrival of Europeans eventually led to the birth of apartheid.

During the 19th century, a complex set of tenant farming and sharecropping laws allowed South African blacks to own and control their own property — and with this came a time a true prosperity for them.

But as blacks became more successful, jealousy on the part of whites led to the call for laws to protect whites from competition. As with all such laws, they were obstensibly designed to "help" blacks. The British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, said in 1897: "one of the strongest arguments why the white man must rule is because that is the only possible means of raising the black man, not to our level of civilization . . . but to a much higher level that that which he at present occupies" (p. 33). The response was a government in which blacks were "represented" by whites. The seeds for apartheid were sown.

We are all familiar with the results of apartheid: two separate South African cultures. Wealth and privilege for whites, poverty and degradation for blacks (and mixed racial groups). But how can it end?

Most solutions call for nothing more than voting rights for non-whites. Would this alone, however, lead to a brighter future for South Africans? Kendall and Louw say not. A "pure" democracy could be nothing more than a "tyranny of the majority" — a one-party state demanding massive retribution against the white minority and other "sympathizers" to apartheid.

In addition, it is difficult for outsiders to recognize that there is no "majority" in South Africa. There are thirteen separate racial/tribal groups, each claiming at least 2 percent of the South African population, but none are larger than 21 percent of the total. There is no conclusive reason to believe that any central form of governance would make the black "majority" happy.

The solution, as Kendall and Louw present it, is to depoliticize South African life. Their proposal would replace the current central government with one that does little more than provide defense from attack, coordinate infrastructure (roads, waterways, etc.) and protect individuals from rights violations by local governments.

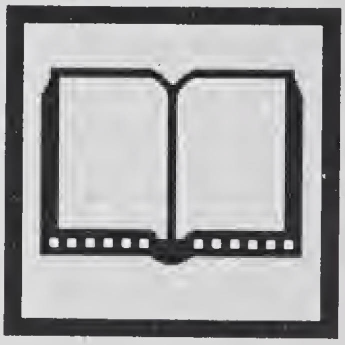
Local self-government is the focus of their solution. Using the Swiss canton system as their model, they propose that the nation be divided into districts that would each choose their own form of government. The central government would guarantee that each person has full rights as a citizen, and that any person was free to move from one canton to another.

So if white (or black) separatists wished to form their own canton, they could. If Marxists wanted to set up a revolutionary socialist canton, let 'em do it. Or if a community within a canton wanted to secede and form its own system, they could. As long as people are free to come and go to the canton of their choice, the chances of an oppressive canton developing are slim. In this unique situation, people could "vote with their feet," and select the best place to live.

So this proposal sounds good, but it's really so much pie in the sky, right? You'd be surprised who is paying attention to it.

Winnie Mandela wrote the forward to one of the South African editions. Chief Buthelezi of the Zulu nation is an enthusiastic supporter, as is Alan Paton, author of *Cry, The Beloved Country.* The Wall Street Journal published a lead editorial in favor of the authors, and Time magazine ran a positive full-page story on the book's success.

In South Africa a nonfiction book would be a success if it sold two thousand copies. In the 18 months since its release, this book has sold over 25,000 copies, and topped the bestseller lists there for over a year.



Officials inside the Pretoria government have taken the idea of decentralism so seriously that the authors sincerely place the chances for adoption at 50 percent. South Africans from many different backgrounds are excited at the prospect of "one person, many votes" that a decentralized system would provide.

If you are concerned about the future of the oppressed in South Africa, *After Apartheid* is, at the least, an excellent source for the history of that troubled land. If you agree that the Kendall/Louw proposals make sense, letters to President Botha supporting the canton system can make a difference. It's a rare opportunity to help shape the future of a place far away from home.

Henderson edits the Deregulator a current affairs monthly published in Chapel Hill.

Parking Monitors Protect Rights of Permit Owners

By David Hood

Parking on campus is an absolute nightmare, as anyone familiar with the situation will admit. There are simply not enough spaces for everyone who wants one. And this will continue to be the case as long as the University administration continues to conduct business without any regard to its effect upon the parking shortage.

As a result of the critical lack of available spaces on campus, parking laws are an absolute necessity in order to avoid chaos in which no one's needs would be served. In order for any parking control system to be effective, however, it requires positive participation on the part of both students and employees.

Unfortunately, cooperation on the part of the student body has not been forthcoming. Since many students come to Chapel Hill without any experience of not being able to park anywhere they want, it is extremely difficult to make the adjustment. But much more ominous is the lack of understanding for the parking needs of the University by upperclassmen and so-called student leaders.

A recent case in point involves the new policy this year of controlling dorm lots until 9 p.m. on weeknights. While this practice was requested solely by resident students, angered and inconvienced students have chosen instead to chastise parking control employees. Even the " student" newspaper has stooped to the level of attacking the character of student monitors rather than consider the merits or drawbacks in the new policy. In fact, ticketing the dorm lots will only cause visitors to the libraries or doems to use alternate parking lots, many of which are just as close to their destination.

But most importantly, the rights of the permitted parkers are finally being protected. Dorm residents could not find parking at night, and were forced instead to park in faculty/staff lots. This, in turn, resulted in further inconvience the next morning for employees, and tickets for dorm residents. Are we to forgo the protection of property rights a few minutes for inconsiderate night-time visitors?

Of course, given the lack of respect for property rights exhibited by many of our leftist professors, it is no wonder the student body does not understand the implications of their actions. Parking permits, like any other aspect of private property, require the exchange of work (money) on the part of purchasers. The parking spaces cost a lot of money to build and maintain, so doesn't it follow that the person who pays for the spot should be the one who sits in it at night?

From reading the pages of the DTH, one might think not. Many students choose to trample on the paid-for property rights of others during the day, so are completely unwilling to respect them at night. And this, not the character of the parking control staff, is at the root of the parking problem. Only when members of our University community begin to respect their fellow students and co-workers, and extend them the courtesy of not parking in their space, will the parking problem cease to be a catalyst for conflict. Perhaps only then will the DTH staff see fit to end its personal attacks on fellow students. Ω

Hood is a senior speech communications and political science major from Charlotte.

Shopping for Education

(continued from page 9)

more likely to promote the "color-blind society" ideal than social engineering experiments in the public schools, Sowell says.

American unity. Sowell's argument about voluntary integration resembles the thesis of voucher advocates about social cohesion: liberty is likely to cement a stronger bond among America's diverse peoples and cultures than coercion. If voucher plans were implemented, Uzzell says, "schools would have to stop acting as agents of change upon children whose parents are militantly opposed to change, or at least to the particular changes favored by whatever subculture happens to dominate the monopoly at the moment."

If policymakers think of the public schools as a laboratory for social experiments, then they are likely to be disappointed by voucher plans. That is because educational liberty places parental authority over government authority in raising children. Voucher supporters say that, far from reinforcing hatred and ignorance, liberty is more likely to cause such social problems to wither away. It is like the "safety valve" argument for freedom of speech: allowing extremists and dissidents to air their views, so they don't end up going underground or nursing animosities.

It is this last aspect of voucher plans — the social advantages of liberty — that attract diverse followings among libertarians, education theorists, religious leaders, economists, and disgruntled parents. The potential to improve school quality, give parents more power, resolve divisive social and religious conflicts, and help racial and ethnic groups pull closer together seems difficult to deny. "But the chief benefit will be for our children," Gross says, "who will have the chance to grow up in a society of autonomous men rather than coercive institutions." Ω

Hood is a senior journalism and philosophy major from Charlotte.

Between the Grooves

By Connie Smith

Halfway to Sanity/ *The Ramones*

"Play Loud," as instructed on the back of the album, and you have the Ramones the way they're meant to be. It's Stone Age rock and roll, reduced only to the bare essentials. Sounds boring? Add the wacked-out humor the Ramones are so famous for, and you have a masterpiece.

Halfway to Sanity is a perfect mixture of fun and power, making it a true blast. With Joey Ramone screaming, "I wanna puke, I want some dirt" in "Worm Man," and Johnny's trashy three-chord guitar bits tearing through your skull, you don't know whether to bang your head against a wall or to fall backwards laughing. Short and simple songs like "Garden of Serenity," "I Lost My Mind," and "I'm Not Jesus" are sure to cause the same effect.

The tempo is slowed down quite considerably, though, in "Bye Bye Baby," in which the Ramones poke fun at fifties love ballads. Also, Debby Harry makes an appearance in "Go Lil' Camaro Go," where she sings along with Joey in a song about "girls, cars, sun, fun."

Although their age may be showing (but who knows with Joey hidden behind his thick wall of hair) and their hi-tops wearing thin, the Ramones, in *Halfway to Sanity*, are not letting us forget what punk rock is all about, and who was there when it all began.

A Momentary Lapse of Reason/ *Pink Floyd*

Can Pink Floyd be Pink Floyd without Roger Waters? Well, in *A Momentary Lapse of Reason*, David Gilmour has proven what a large part of the band he is — perhaps much larger than many had suspected previously. He has written (with the help of such people as Anthony Moore and Phil Manzanera) an album full of incredibly interesting sound effects, classic guitar solos, and intelligent, creative lyrics.

It's obvious that much thought was put into this album's production, with its song transitions as complex as the actual songs themselves. The powerful number "Dogs of War" transforms beautifully into "One Slip," in which Gilmour explains that it's "a momentary lapse of reason that binds a life to a life." Also, in "One Slip," Tony Levin, of King Crimson fame, can noticeably be heard demonstrating his skill on bass.

David Gilmour's writing genius culminates in "A New Machine, part 1," "Terminal Frost," and "A New Machine, part 2;" three songs connected by the line "nobody lives forever." This statement is disproven in "Terminal Frost," an intricate instrumental piece, showing how the members of Pink Floyd will live on forever in their music. You are drawn into the song with Nick Mason's amazing sound effects and drumming, Richard Wright's flowing piano playing, and the beautiful sax bits.

It would be a tragedy if *A Momentary Lapse of Reason* was passed up because of the Waters element missing. David Gilmour's composing style and technique, too, was and is such a large part of Pink Floyd, and is quite evident due to the similarities between *A Momentary Lapse of Reason* and previous albums like *Meddle* and *Wish You Were Here*. Throughout the many years Pink Floyd has been together, they have shown the many different approaches they have to their music. *A Momentary Lapse of Reason* is just giving us another angle of the band (which actually is what's hoped to be achieved in any new release) that is as intriguing and electric as those which preceded.

The Sound of Music/ *the dB's*

It's a refreshing sound which becomes more appealing with every listen; it's the fourth album from the dB's; it's *The Sound of Music*. Produced by Greg Edward, who also produced R.E.M.'s *Life's Rich Pageant*, and John Cougar Mellencamp's *Scarecrow*, the dB's have captured a sound with much more power and ambition. Yet, unfortunately, the skillful guitar leads of Gene Holder are at times overpowered by the vocals of Peter Holsapple and by Will Rigby's pounding drums, drowning out one of the best parts of the dB's.

The better tunes of the album are "Bonneville," where the addition of mandolin and harmonica create a wonderful effect, and "Any Old Thing," in which the whole band comes together to produce an exciting sound, full of fast moving guitar riffs and crunching drumming from Rigby. Syd Straw of the Golden Palominos sings a duet with Holsapple in "Never Before and Never Again," and together they are very successful at instilling upon the listener the feelings of a broken relationship.

Even with the departure of Chris Stamey, who had been one of the founder's of the dB's and an essential part of the group, *The Sound of Music* has proven to be a worthwhile album.

Document/ *R.E.M.*

With a solid start in the "Finest Worksong," it seems that, perhaps, R.E.M.'s *Document* may surpass *Life's Rich Pageant*, and that, also, they've made an advancement in their music. However, within minutes you are appreciative of the dead air to differentiate between songs.

A noticeable change in this album is how Michael Stipe's words have become more distinguishable, but is that good or bad? Is it only nonsensical jargon, or is there perhaps a profound meaning behind it all? Let's hope for the former. For example, in "Exhuming McCarthy," a piece which does have some interesting rythym changes, does the band even know who McCarthy is?

R.E.M. is lacking the innovativeness which made them so exciting at their start, and this has made *Document* boring and monotonous. Steve Berlin of Los Lobos does help redeem the album somewhat, especially in "Fireplace," an extremely repetitive number, which only wakes you up when you hear Berlin's great sax solo. Probably the best tune on the album is "It's the End of the World As We Know It," which has Stipe singing his own version of rap to a catchy little tune.

However, if you want to hear R.E.M. at their peak you'll have to pull out your copies of *Reckoning* or *Life's Rich Pageant*, and meanwhile just hope that the band can discover a somewhat new sound and not be such a disappointment again.

Hold Your Fire/ *Rush*

They're unbelieveably accurate, fast, dynamic, and competent. Rush is, perhaps, moving so fast that they're leaving many behind and confusing their fans. People were easily captured with songs like "Tom Sawyer" and "Free Will," but now their songs have us scratching our heads after the first listen and putting the album up on the shelf.

Hold Your Fire can be said to be almost too good. Neil Peart's swift and precise drumming is always ten beats ahead of you, while his lyrics are perhaps heavier than the drumming. It's all a matter of patience and intelligence. *Hold Your Fire* is definitely not to be taken lightly; in fact, it might take four or five listens before it all comes together and the realization of its greatness hits you.

All of their songs are magnetic, with guitar heroics from Alex Lifeson, and Geddy Lee's voice is under a bit more control than in other albums. Lee even sings with Aimee Mann of Til' Tuesday in "Time Stand Still," a song demonstrating the power and skill Rush presents in every song of *Hold Your Fire*. "Make each impression a little bit stronger," Lee sings — the very thing they have done in this latest album.

Hold Your Fire is complicated and tiring to decipher, but if you give it the time it deserves, you will not regret it.

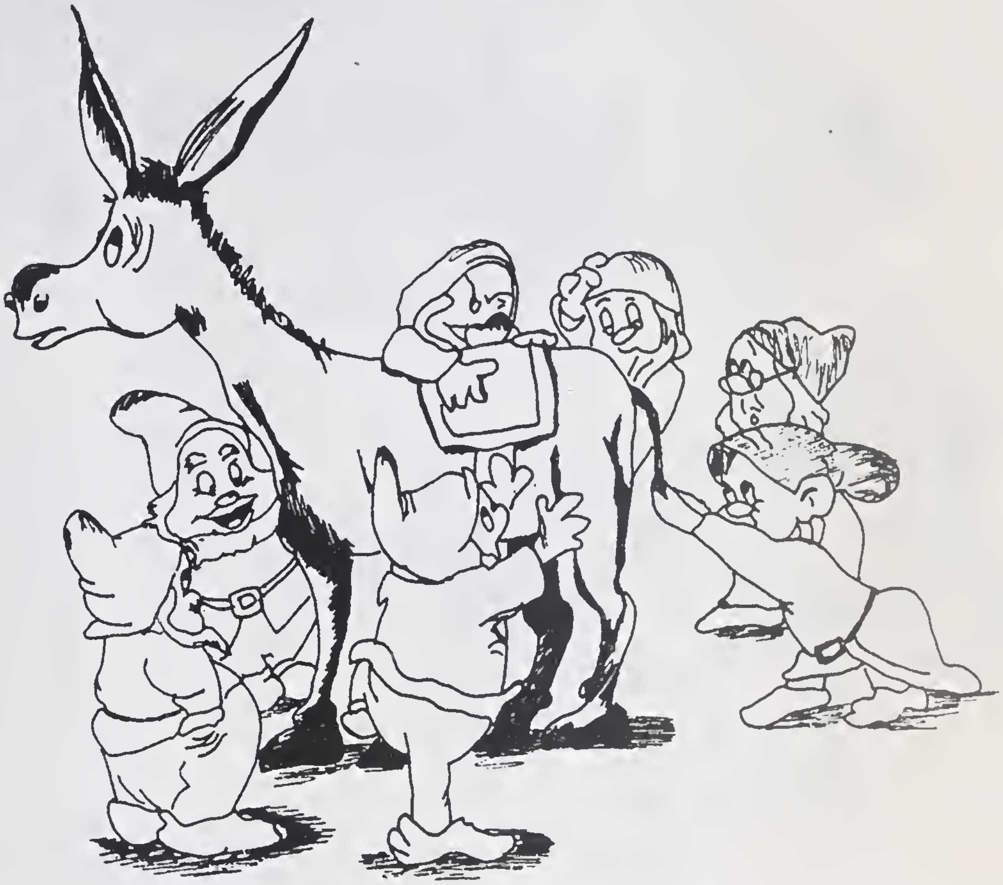
Dateline: Washington

By John Hood

Democrats and Fairy Tales

The line that demarks where politics ends and fairy tales begin is faint — especially in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Pundits have referred to this nameless pack as Snow White (Pat Schroeder) and the Seven Dwarves (Jesse Jackson, Dick Gephardt, Michael Dukakis, Al Gore, Paul Simon, Joe Biden, and Bruce Babbitt). The question is: do these Democratic contenders deserved such a nickname?



Snow White. The record of Rep. Pat Schroeder of Colorado is certainly white as snow in one area: "women's issues." A consistent proponent of feminist causes such as "reproductive rights" (abortion), free day care, and affirmative action for women, Schroeder has also favored parental leave plans to be mandated on the nation's employers by Congress.

But is she likely to be as perfect a candidate as she is a feminist? At a recent political caucus for women in Oregon, she was favorably received — but did not actually get guarantees of support from feminist leaders. In fact, many women activists and politicians had committed themselves to other candidates before Schroeder started making noises about running. Many have chosen to stick to their original choices.

Doc. Paul Simon (the senator, not the castrotti singer) earns the title of Doc for being the elder, traditional liberal Democrat in the race. He is playing the role of George McGovern in providing a constant liberal conscience in the debate. But unlike McGovern, he has a good chance of getting some delegates. If voters are looking for a traditional liberal with little new to add to the debate except his bow tie, then maybe they'll look to Simon.

Happy. Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts qualifies as Happy because he is currently leading the polls in New Hampshire, the primary many consider to be the most crucial in gaining momentum. His campaign is based chiefly around his state's economic success, which he attributes to his economic policies and his record as a budget balancer.

Dukakis may not be so happy if opponents like Gephardt and Gore are successful in spreading the truth about Massachusetts growth: tax cuts and defense contracts are far more responsible for the state's prosperity than are Happy's policies. In fact, the biggest growth spurt occurred while he was out of office.

Bashful. Sen. Joe Biden of Delaware is feeling more than a little bashful about the recent revelations of plagiarism in his campaign speeches. Evidently he has not only stolen slogans from British Labor leader Neil Kinnock and the Kennedys, but also committed plagiarsim at law school 25 years ago. Is this an issue? The American public seems to think so, because the betting is now that he's out for sure.

Sneezy. Rep. Dick Gephardt of Missouri has built a reputation for savvy politics in Congress and an organization in Iowa that is nothing to sneeze at. But he seems allergic to a certain malady called protectionism — and is most famous for the Gephardt Amendment to the Trade Bill that would mandate U.S. tariff retaliation against foreign competition, making him more popular with workers than economists.

Grumpy. Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee has been responsible for adding some excitement in the race by constantly demanding specifics from his opponents on issues at hand, and by pressing Happy (Dukakis) about defense contracts. He has an advantage in being the only office-holding Southern candidate, and even leans towards the center on issues like the Persian Gulf tanker reflagging and the Nicaraguan resistance.

Dopey. Rev. Jesse Jackson of South Carolina wins the coveted title of Dopey for providing the voice of the New and Looney Left, while continuing to cavort with the likes of Fidel Castro and Louis Farrakhan.

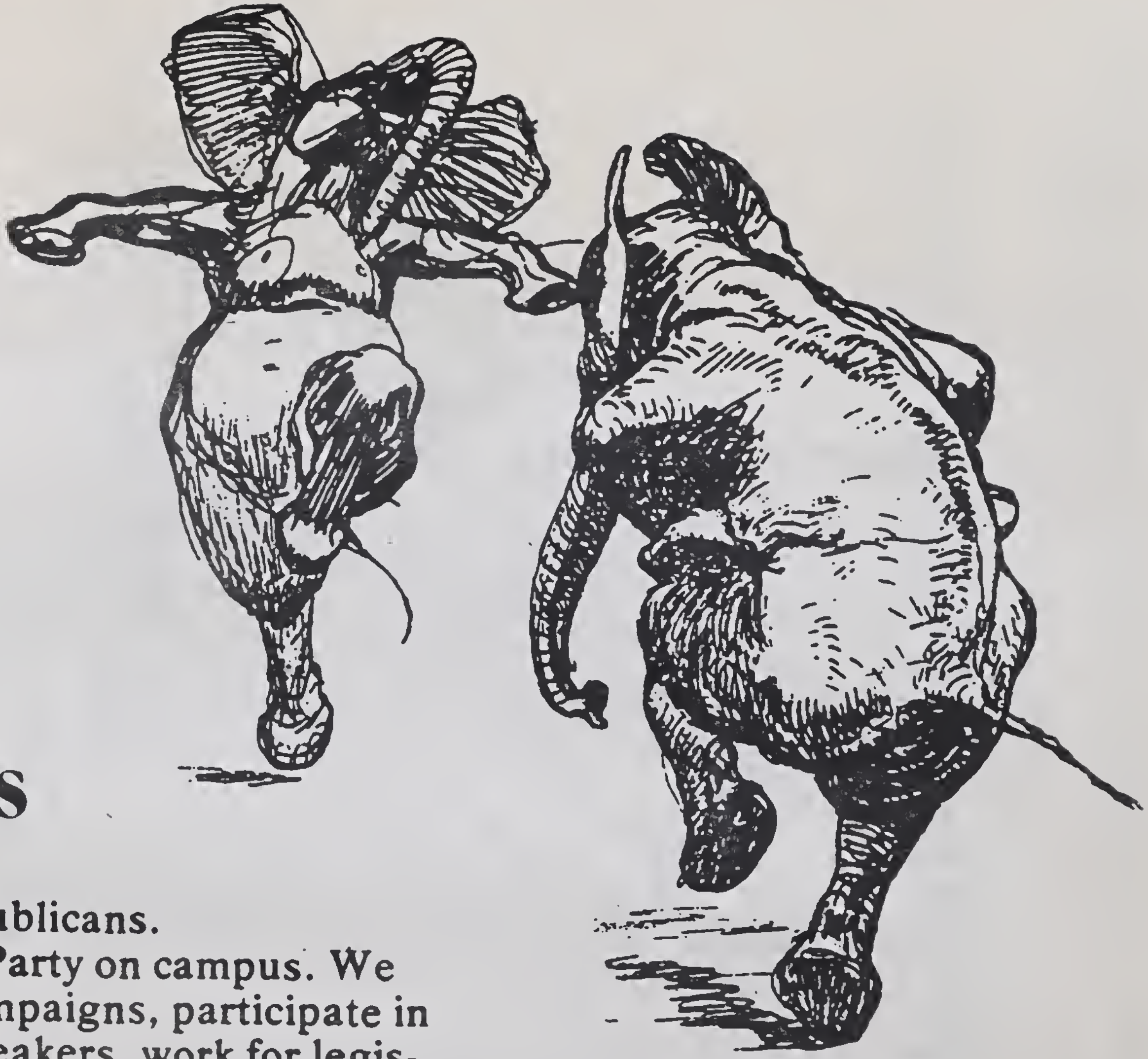
An accomplished sloganeer, Jackson favors enlarging the welfare state and crusading against what he calls "economic violence:" auto plant shutdowns and farm foreclosures in the Midwest. Still, Jackson has a strong following among blacks and may be especially successful in the South's Super Tuesday primaries — a further irony because the event was designed to pull the national party towards the center.

Sleepy. Former Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona easily qualifies as Sleepy because his drowsy campaign slogans "workplace democracy" and "universal needs tests" have everyone wondering why he is in the race at all.

What is distressing much of the Democratic party is that three Handsome Princes — Gary Hart (of Monkey Business fame), Mario Cuomo, and Sam Nunn — have come and gone, leaving "none of the above" as the real party frontrunner. Now Hart is traveling the country in an attempt to "influence the presidential debate," and apparently setting himself up as the possible draftee of a deadlocked convention.

Don't laugh too loud. Remember that in the realm of hobgoblins and fairy tales, anything is possible.Ω

Tired of Standing Around at the Friday Night Mixers?



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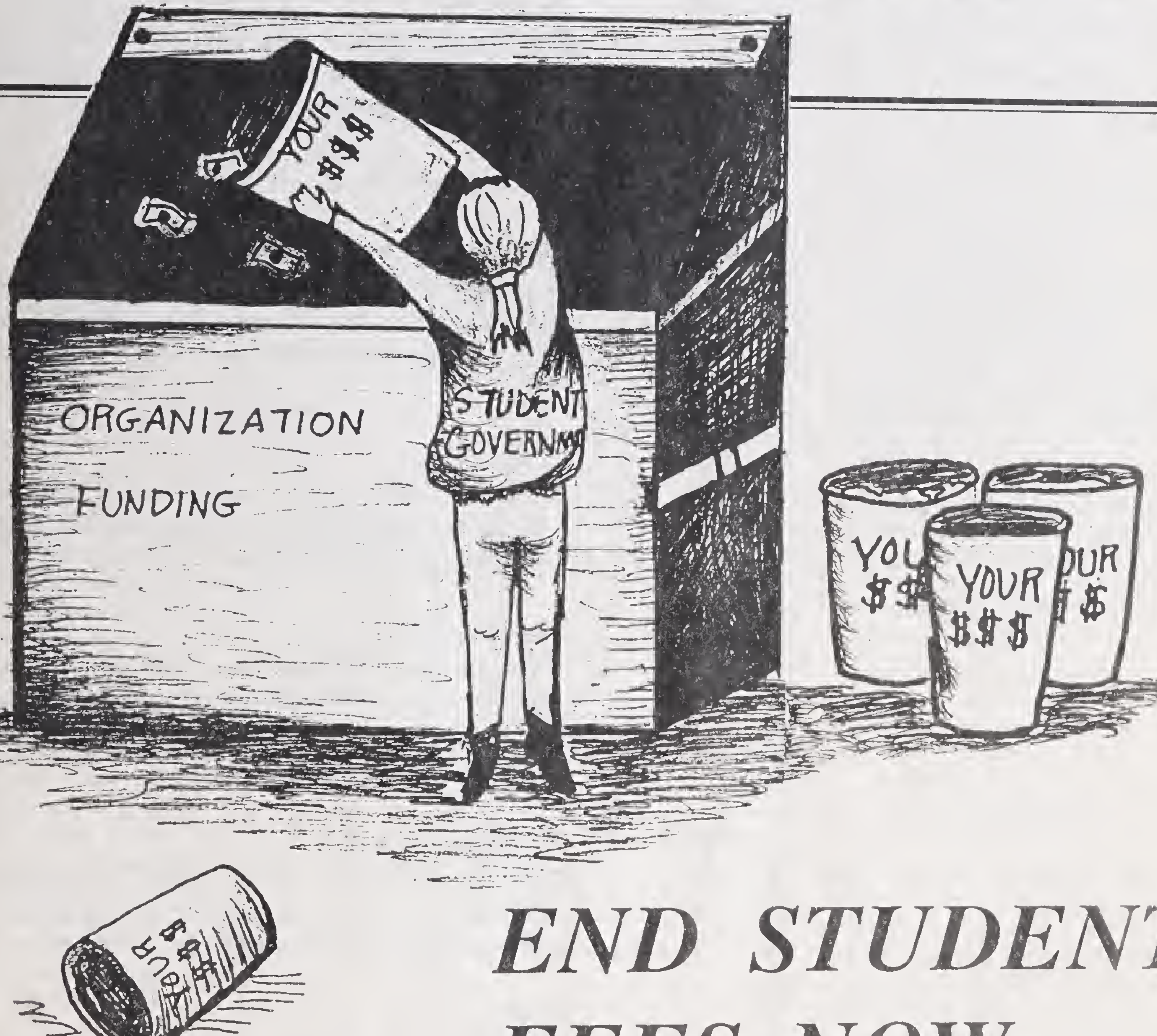
CAROLINA CRITIC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END STUDENT FEES NOW

By John Hood

FARMING AND THE FEDERAL SUBSIDY TRAP

WHERE NOT TO PARK THAT INALTERABLY PESKY ALUMNI CENTER BUILDING

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of Opinion

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The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. It is affiliated with no party, religion, domicile, or social group. Subscriptions cost $10 a year, but then again, as Neil Peart says, you can't get something for nothing. Correspondence and submissions are welcome, and should be sent to:

The Carolina Critic
Editorial Department
604 Tinkerbell Road
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

In This Issue ...

3 **Correspondence**

4 **Critic Forum:** ***A Discussion of Humanitarianism***
The philosophical underpinnings of the welfare state are attacked in this second installment of the Forum, a regular debate and discussion feature.

5 **Up Front**
Rick Henderson looks into the farm subsidy debacle, as well as the proposal to end them by Republican presidential candidate Pete du Pont

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Cover Story:** ***Snd Student Fees Now***
Student 'government' and forced student funding of organizations are incompatible with individual liberty, efficiency, or common sense, argues John Hood

14 **In the Zoo**
University columnist David Hood points out parking and landscaping objections to the proposed 'Big Woods' Alumni Center

15 **Around Carolina**
The intended merger of Winston-Salem's Piedmont Airlines and US Air doesn't make much sense, but there's no just grounds for preventing it, says state affairs columnist Michael Lowrey

16 **The World Stage**
International affairs columnist Jeff Taylor charts the development of the Central American peace plan, and its real impact on peace and freedom

18 **Essays**
The true roots of Ethiopian famine. . . America's duty to NATO. . . Mine warfare ability needed in Gulf. . . A freshman's first trip back home is trying. . .*The Princess Bride* reviewed. . . And more

22 **Between the Grooves**
Three new albums reviewed

23 **Dateline:Washington**
An experiment in journalism 'a la Tass'

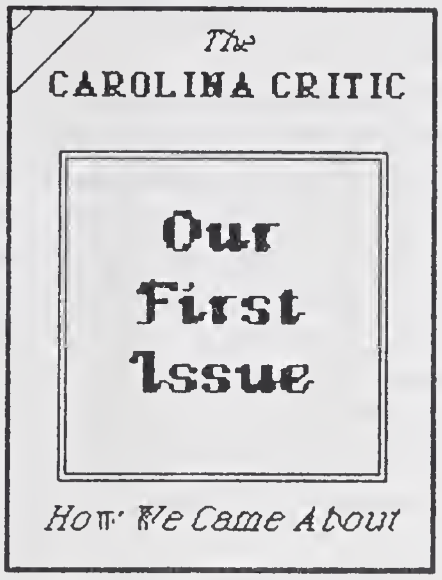
LETTER TO THE READERS

The following is an exerpt from The Critic's *1987-88 Prospectus, a lengthly review of the magazine's formation, purpose, and organization. The prospectus is used to inform potential donors, advertisers, and other groups about the magazine, The Carolina Critic Society that publishes it, and the function of alternative journalism on campus.*

The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine at the University of North Carolina dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. Though in existence only since September, *The Critic* has already triggered both strong support and controversy among University students and faculty. Numerous challenges have been met in starting up an alternative magazine from scratch, and many more will no doubt be encountered as the organization expands. But with a talented, dedicated staff and a worthwhile mission, *The Carolina Critic* is now on campus to stay.

The notion of instilling reason into the campus debate served as the impetus for John Hood, a journalism student, to found *The Critic*. While interning in Washington, D.C. over the summer, he had met with advisors and student editors in The Collegiate Network, a nationwide coalition of conservative newspapers. They provided him with ideas on how to start and fund a paper. After returning the campus for the fall, Hood decided to hold an organizational meeting to see if there was support for the idea. When over 30 people showed up for that first meeting, he knew enough support existed. *The Carolina Critic* was born.

The magazine soon had two senior editors, David Hood and Jeff Taylor, a publisher, Robert Allison, and a managing editor, Larry Iversen. The new editorial board began to discuss format of the magazine, staff organization, and funding sources. The addition of Treasurer Michael Lowrey and Assistant Publisher Steven Wagner helped the staff work on the fundraising goal quickly. The board turned its efforts toward putting out the first issue, which finally hit the stands as it were on October 6.



The magazine is directed towards deficiencies on three different levels of campus discussion. These levels can be described as editorial, organizational, and dialectical. The *editorial task* of the magazine is to provide readers with an indepth, reasoned analysis of issues facing the student body and society at large. Coverage of issues, protests, and speakers by the student daily, *The Daily Tar Heel*, tends to be superficial if not unfair in its treatment of underlying principles and motivations. For instance, the *Tar Heel* covers most guest speakers that travel to the Carolina Campus by simply quoting and summarizing the speech, without digging deeper into the analysis or trying to present the opposite view. There are real-time constraints and pressures that may make this practice unavoidable on the student daily. But in the interest of fairness and education, better analysis should be presented. That is a task *The Critic* is designed to perform.

In addition, there is the question of slant. It does the *Tar Heel* no great disservice to point out that its news coverage is frequently slanted towards the "leftist" spectrum. This merely reflects the slant of the major media, and is magnified by the very nature of inexperienced students as journalists. This may not even be intentional — in fact, many journalists and analysts argue that being purely objective is very difficult if not impossible. In the campus context, there is also the obstacle of the prevailing loaded terminology used to describe political disputes: "conservative vs. liberal," or perhaps more heinously, "progressive vs. reactionary." The *Critic* staff hardly considers itself exempt from the same failings and lexiconic inadequacies, but at least the existence of "competing slants" can mitigate the problem to some extent.

The *organizational task* of the magazine is no less significant. On a campus where a fairly incestuous coalition of special interest and "progressive" groups seem to dominate the discussion, the need to rally groups advocating free minds and free markets is very real. Past campus disputes have demonstrated little cooperation and planning among College Republicans, Students for America, the Federalist Society, and other groups. These organizations may disagree on many issues, but ample common ground exists to justify working together. That is why *The Critic*, though formally representing no party, religion, or social group, can nonetheless provide a rallying point of campus activism for individual freedom — and against the leftist coalition. The Carolina Critic Society, which publishes the magazine, reflects involvment from student leaders and faculty, and will be sponsoring lectures and other events in the coming months.

Though the editorial and organizational levels are important to *The Critic's* mission, the *dialectical task* is central to that mission. Put simply, the magazine provides a forum for advocates of reason and liberty — be they conservatives, libertarians, or classical liberals — to make their views known. There are very few professors in fields like economics, psychology, political science, and sociology that present the classical liberal view in any kind of detail. *The Critic* will try to offset that oversight, at least partially.

Beyond simply advancing a particular viewpoint, the magazine has a larger dialectical purpose: to enrich and promote critical thinking. A "critic," after all, is best defined as one able to make judgments based upon distinct standards of value — not simply one who finds fault. The magazine, by providing a diversity of opinion in its Critic Forum and Essays sections, hopes to promote understanding of all positions. But at the same time, the magazine presents a standard of value — individual liberty — upon which to base critical thought. And that is the major challenge of *The Critic* to its detractors: to justify the underlying principles of their opinions. Only then is debate possible.

We challenge you, the readers, to contribute to that debate. Correspondence and Critic Forum submissions are welcome, and should be sent to The Carolina Critic, *Editorial Department, 604 Tinkerbell Road, Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514. We reserve the right to edit pieces for factual accuracy, length, and reasonably tolerable taste.* Ω

WELFARE, WHIPS, AND WAR

It is in an age of fiscal austerity, such as the current debate of how to cut the federal budget deficit, that the ghouls of welfarism come out to shriek and haunt. Meaningless phrases like "safety net" and "help for the truly needy" dribble out of the mouths of seeming conservatives, who should know better. And, of course, the usual goons — liberal Massachusetts congressmen, consumer advocates, journalists — keep the sacrificial fires raging with talk of state-funded day care, socialized medicine, and dozens of other grotesque notions that are incrementally adopted through compromise legislation. We creep slowly but surely toward socialism, in the guise of humanitarianism. We are manipulated by symbols we dare not challenge.

In the debate of guns vs. butter, the latter is aptly named — welfarism cannot be pinned down, it oozes and slips away, escaping any systematic inquiry. It wins by default, or it melts away to reform into a new shape just as immoral and tyrannical, but less obvious. Programs that should horrify advocates of individual freedom are glorified as enlightenment. And the big culprit is the doctrine of state humanitarianism.

By definition, humanitarianism can be differentiated from other concepts mistakely identified as akin to it, such as humanism or love. Humanitarianism is the belief (because it is hardly a rational philosophy) that human beings deserve certain material goods and services simply because of existence. That sustenance is a birthright, enforceable for a lifetime. This is different from humanism, which is a philosophy praising human potential and human achievements, because the former depends on a possession of wealth one may not have created whereas the the latter manifests itself in that creation. Humanitarianism is also different from love, which is an emotion stemming from the value a specific or thing has to an individual. Love depends on a choice between alternatives, a discrimination of what is valuable and what is not. Humanitarianism allows no distinctions.

What is significant for purposes of considering public polcy, however, is that humanitariansim is a belief, not to be adhered to or despised according to individual conscience, but to be enforced by violence — by the state. So what is wrong with the government helping those in need? The prevailing ideology considers that question to rhetorical. But it is extremely important. What is a welfare program, stripped of all the desensitizing terminology, and what is to be praised?

Welfare programs can be characterized on the personal level as taking the wealth of one individual at the point of a gun and giving it to another. In a word, *extortion*. The first individual (the taxpayer) is obligated by threat of prosecution (ultimately, if not voluntarily submitted to orders, by threat of violence) to give his money to the welfare recipient, who gives nothing in return.

On a national scale, welfare programs can be characterized as taking from the creators of that wealth and giving it to those unable or unwilling to create. In other words, as *punishing success*. Wealth is ultimately created through mental effort, through creating something valuable to human beings out of natural resources and physical exertion. Nothing is wealth until it is made useful or valuable by a human mind; even gold, for instance, is just yellow dust until identified, mined and refined. This wealth, which is justly traded for wealth created by others for mutual benefit benefit, is extorted from its owner and creator because someone else needs it, i.e. values it but does not wish to create wealth to trade for it. This is the nature of welfare.

Why is such a barbarous concept so glorified by so many people? It is difficult to imagine a rational person advocating such a system of institutionized theft when it is expressed in clear terms. Obviously there is some concept obscuring the nature of welfare . That concept is humanitar-ianism.

Welfarists instruct us that to disagree with this prevailing notion is to be cruel. But who are common highwaymen to say what is cruel? Is it not cruel to base one's public morality on the existence of human suffering rather than human acheivement? And what message is communicated to the wretched recipients of welfare but a cruel one — that their efforts will never be valued by anyone, that they have no other way to live than to steal from others? A conception of cruelty that would exclude thievery and debasement is a strange one, indeed.

The obvious answer to this characterization of welfare is that recipients really have no other way to live. But this is, from a public policy standpoint, immaterial. The issue is not how to adequately feed the hungry and sustain the poor. It is whether or not privation excuses conduct from the rule of law. If it does, if need is the ultimate defense in questions of legal justice, then the concept of due process loses any meaning. I may need to cut off Boy Geerge's head, but surely that would not do justice to Boy George, who after all has done nothing except write bad music and make a public spectacle of himself. If need is the basis of justice, then it makes no sense to talk of equality under the law — since one individual's life or efforts could be sacrificed for the needs of another. Need as a public principle is nothing more than slavery without the demonstrative whips and chains.

But the cult of welfarism shows no signs of being exposed because it is unthinkable that the government not help those in need. And arguments against specific programs are couched in self-defeating arguments from economic efficiency or completeness or some other ridiculous criteria. What is ignored is that welfare programs do exactly what they are planned to do — steal money from one group to give to another, while gleaning a healthy sustenance for the distributing apparatus as well (government bureacracy), and meanwhile currying favor with the adoring humanitarian public. Welfare will sustain itself indefinitely under these conditions.

As the state becomes more and more involved with the material well-being of citizens rather than with safeguarding individual rights, the well-spring of wealth may dry up. Incentives and economic production may well fall off, for a time. What happens then? The state must continue the program somehow; it must find some way to supplement the constrant or shriking booty in the face of growing demand. So it seeks wealth from vicitims other than domestic. This should be self-evident from history and current examples of statism run rampant — either by forcibly procuring cheap labor and resources from overseas to fuel the sacrificial fires of state production, or simply taking already-produced wealth from its neighbors. Indeed, what has been the cause of war since the dawn of civilization, except to have what the people in the next cave have?

So it can be seen that humanitarianism, billed as the compassionate duty of mankind, institutionalizes violence, robs citizens, and begets imperialism and war. It is this supreme irony that seems unlikely to be recognized as long as welfarism is deemed to be the best that a man can do for his neighbors. Ω

—*John Hood*

By Rick Henderson

DOWN ON THE FARM WITH THE FEDS

As harvest time arrives, attention will once again focus on the plight of American farmers. Foreclosures, bankruptcies, and a general feeling of despair pervade the nightly news reports. Accompanying these are pleas for government to do more to aid the "disappearing family farm."

These reports suffer from at least two misconceptions: first, that "family farms" are indeed vanishing; and next, that government can help. Those inconvenient items know as facts might help clear up the discussion.

Lawrence Reed, director of the Center for the Study of Market Alternatives, reported that the "vanishing family farm" is a myth perpetuated by those wishing to keep their hands in the federal till. The most recent census of agriculture shows that 86.9 percent of all farms (and 75 percent of all farmland) are owned by individuals or families. Only 2.7 percent of farms representing 14 percent of farmland are owned by corporations, and most of these corporations are family owned.

The idealized Norman Rockwell family farm might be harder to find today than twenty years ago. But there's a reason for that: good business sense. Vermont Royster, former editor of the *Wall Street Journal* and a professor emeritus of UNC's Journalism School, told William Friday on PBS's "North Carolina People" last year that we may have to accept that the small family farm is no longer a viable economic unit. It may do our hearts good in a nostalgic sense for small family farms to survive. But if it means raising food prices for consumers, or raising taxes for everyone, then what purpose have we served?

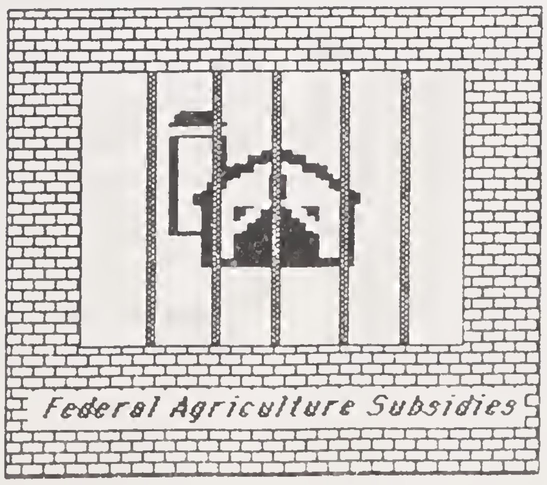
Next we should consider the effects of massive federal intervention in agriculture. One major result has been higher food prices for those products that are subsidized. Meat and vegetable farmers don't receive subsidies from the Feds — and we enjoy the lowest food costs in the world on those items. Yet feed grains, sugar, and dairy products are underwritten by taxpayers. The higher prices of these products make them more expensive for consumers and difficult to sell on export markets. For example, *Charlotte Observer* publisher Rolfe Neill pointed out in the Oct. 4 edition that U.S. sugar farmers receive a 22-cent per pound subsidy — yet the world price of sugar is 5 cents per pound. This hurts both our international trade accounts and our own grocery budgets.

But farmers themselves have been victims of government policies as well. Traditionally, farmers have been strong supporters of loose monetary policy, or inflation. Why is that? Farmers normally have to borrow money to buy farmland, machinery, chemicals, and the like. Anyone who maintains a high level of debt will be a fan of inflation: it's to your advantage to repay loans with money worth less than the funds you borrowed.

In the late 1970s, Paul Volcker and the Federal Reserve put the brakes on inflation, throwing farmers for a loop. Ever since the 1910s farmers had counted on the Fed to constantly increase the money supply. By slowing monetary growth, the Fed gave most of us a great deal: more stable prices and a better standard of living. But farmers had expected the Fed to continue inflating the currency. They kept on borrowing, buying more land and new machinery, and were victims of the inflationary slowdown.

Jay Habegger, writing in the May 1987 *Freeman*: "With monetary expansion slowing, money incomes stopped rising. Without rising incomes, many farmers faced severe cash flow problems. Their incomes became insufficient to service the massive debts they had accumulated during the inflation." The result: bankruptcies and foreclosures. Also consider this: the lion's share of farm subsidies never reach the poorest farmers. Dr. Reed reveals that two-thirds of farm payments go to farms with over $100,000 in annual sales. Rolfe Neill reports that in California alone, 73 dairy farmers each received over $1 million last year in subsidies. The farm program is perversely designed to pay the biggest farmers the biggest checks.

Finally, there are logical and moral contradictions in the farm program. Take tobacco as an example. Tax dollars are extracted from us to subsidize the growing of tobacco. At the same time more tax dollars are taken to fund research and public service campaigns to end smoking. We are forced by the government to simultaneously encourage tobacco production and discourage tobacco consumption.



Until recently, the only thing discussed in the mainstream was how many more federal dollars farmers would receive. But former Gov. Pete du Pont openly advocates the abolition of all farm subsidies in five years.

What is the level of the national debate on farm policies? Until recently, the only thing under discussion in the mainstream was how many more federal dollars farmers would receive. But one Republican presidential candidate, former Delaware governor Pete du Pont, openly advocates the abolition of all farm subsidies in five years. (The five year period would allow those leaving the farm a time of transition.) In fact, in Iowa, the third largest farm state, du Pont has made the farm issue the focus of his campaign. Surprisingly, opinion polls show that 32 percent of all Iowans and 27 percent of Iowa farmers agree with du Pont. His stand puts him in direct opposition to "Senator Wheat," Bob Dole (R-Kan.), who has championed a federal role in farming that would make Joe Stalin smile.

Du Pont is still perceived as a long shot. But like John Anderson in 1980, he has become a media darling. As long as he stays in the race, he will force the other candidates to address the farm issue.

Regardless of his positions on other issues, du Pont's presence in the race could provide a great public service: bringing the farm policy debate out in the open for an honest discussion of alternatives. Serious conversation about policy choices sure beats the usual presidential campaign fare. Ω

Henderson publishes the Deregulator, *a current affairs monthly, in Chapel Hill.*

THE CRITICAL EYE

Vol. 1, No. 2
November 1987

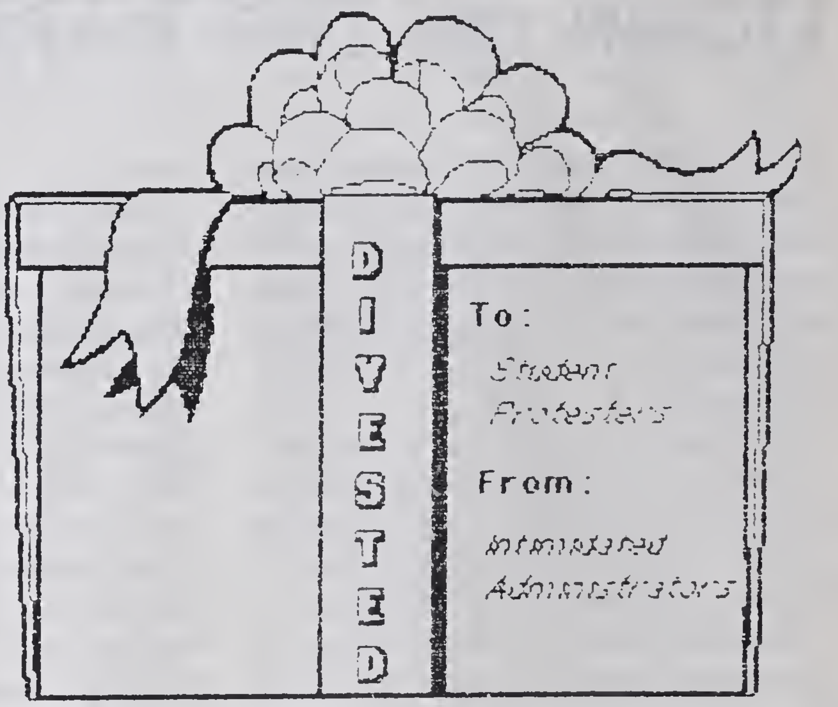
— Okay, so the University is going to divest itself from South Africa. Of course, it will not divest from companies that do business in Angola, Nicaragua, Eastern Europe, Chile, Iran, Libya, Vietnam, the People's Republic of China, or the Soviet Empire. Feel moral yet?

— File under the use and abuse of race: the recent flak over racist memos found in a black MBA student's mail file was evidently proof enough for the *Daily Tar Heel* that "despite the progress of civil rights during the past two decades, prejudices remain imbedded within American society." Imbedded? To imply that the sick joke of a particular bigot reflects an *endemic* feature of the campus and the country would seem a tremendous leap of faith. This mistake resembles the hysterical pronouncements of a new "prevasive racism" in America after the Howard Beach racial violence last year. One or two examples do not a trend make, and responsible editorial writers should at least try to avoid blaming whole groups for the actions of a few aberrants. If racism really is embedded in the Carolina campus, DTH editorial board, then let's see some real proof.

— On that note, maybe this bit of information will be helpful. It seems that the University holds a Carolina Career Fair as well as a Minority Career Day. In fact, the events are held on the same day. Are minority students barred from attending the career fair itself? Or is there another reason besides discrimination for the apparent attempt to segregate job seekers? All these questions and many more remain to be answered. Go to it, DTH editorial writers.

— Out of the great state of Mecklenburg County comes news that Charlotte may consider making Independence Blvd. (Hwy. 74) a toll road. Of the many different kinds of taxation, user fees such as tolls are one of the more acceptable — for those who use the services pay for them. Other proposed sources of funding, like a city gasoline tax, would tax everyone in Charlotte, not just those who drive very much on the road in question. Of course, although a step in the right direction, we view toll roads only as an interim solution. Taking the idea of those using the service paying for them to its logical conclusion, the real answer to traffic woes wherever they occur is the privatization of roads.

— Lightning Brown, a writer for the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association's *Lambda*, remarks in the October issue that "otherwise intelligent conservatives, people who presumably hold a broad idea of how the world should be, have year after year made buffoons of themselves by narrowing their messages down to an idiotic supposed right to dislike people." Oh really? Irony abounds in this interesting quote: one has no right to dislike another, but evidently *one can call another another a buffoon or an idiot with perfect consistency.* In addition, while questioning what is presumably an unquestionable right of conscience — to form one's own value judgments — that is guaranteed by the Constitution and Bill of Rights, Brown's article is entitled "We Hold These Truths To Be Self Evident."



— You know that massive military buildup of the last seven years? Yeah, *that* massive buildup. At the end of this year military spending under Reagan will have rose a whopping and provocative *four percent.* Surely this has been a sizable increase in comparison to domestic spending. And much of the military budget is fraught with waste and interservice redundancy. But the four percent figure is hardly what one might expect in the light of recent pronouncements by Democratic and Republican candidates for president. Exaggerating the military buildup gives Democrats a juicy political target to blame for budget deficits, while the Republicans can overstate their party's success in "rearming America." Meanwhile defense planners in the Kremlin have no such political pressures to exaggerate defense spending, and in fact don't publicize their military budget at all. Why should they? According to Western best-guesses, it's only increased by a paltry, purely reactive *13 percent* since Reagan.

— While the Reagan presidency appears to languish in failures on Capitol Hill and in Central America, Margaret Thatcher's Britain seems destined for real reform and renaissance. At a recent Conservative Party conference, such ideas as greater parental choice in schooling, reforming the ailing national health service, toughening crime prevention and punishment, urban "enterprise zones" to fight inner-city decay, trade union reforms, and privatization of government-owned industries and programs were all embraced enthusiastically. There were no dissenting voices on the conference floor. And *The Christian Science Monitor* says that Thatcher's third-term program is likely to get through. Anyone for emigration?

— The Sept./Oct. issue of *Hippocrates* magazine looks at the five-year record of the "guilty but mentally ill" verdict, enacted in 12 states since the attempt on President Reagan's life in 1981. The basic goal of the new verdict was to prevent incidents of criminals judged "not guilty by reason of insanity" going through a short hospital stay and then returning to society to commit more crimes. The magazine points out that there is no good evidence that the new verdict curtailed the rate of insanity acquittals. Some experts label "guilty but mentally ill" a smokescreen to avoid the real questions of how to define insanity and what to do with defendents declared insane. We agree. But instead of praising the old system of innocence through insanity, we think that insanity is too general and relative a criteria upon which to decide criminal guilt. How about this as a radical reform: those who violate the rights of others are guilty and should be punished; those who do not violate rights of others are innocent and should be left alone.

— Violence continues in at least two countries' struggle for justice. In early October, students and union members demanding greater political participation in Auguste Pinochet's autocratic Chile were fired on by soldiers armed with shotguns. Three were wounded by buckshot. In Tibet, a country last conquered by China 37 years ago, the forced labor camps and religious persecutions by the PRC have been the subject of numerous demonstrations. Peking sent an army to subdue the protestors; the death toll stands at 14 and more than 110 Buddhist monks have been imprisoned. The good news is that in Chile, a country which has at least managed to maintain modest growth and *economic* freedom in the face of Pinochet's military despotism, there are independent pressures for change as well as international censure of the current government. The bad news is that China's occupation of Tibet, no less unjust or brutal in proportion than the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan, is officially recognized by the United States.

— There is another important facet of the Tibetan situation that makes comparison to Chile intriguing. The Chinese Foreign Ministry ordered all foreign journalists out of Tibet on October 8 to halt all but it own coverage of the independence movement there. We no longer know what's going on in Tibet. At least in Chile there is an opposition press and a contingent of foreign reporters.

— What's going on in South Africa these days? Well, for one thing a movement of political moderates in the country is sparking the interest of blacks and Pieter Botha's regime. It's called *Indaba*, meaning "discussions" in Zulu, and refers to an effort at establishing regional compromises. The *Indaba* process held last year produced a draft constitution for a joint, checked-and-balanced, multiracial government for Natal Province and the intertwined black tribal "homeland" of KwaZulu. This idea, a way to strike at apartheid without resorting to violence or centralized tyranny, is spreading throughout the country; a multilingual *Indaba* monthly has a circulation of 250,000 blacks, whites, and coloreds. Pretoria,

Clipboard

And you thought the PTL scandal was strange. West Germany finds itself in the middle of a major political scandal know as "Waterkantgate". Appearently, Uwe Barschel, the Christian Democratic prime minister of the West German state of Schleswig-Holstein, was engaged in a campaign of political dirty tricks and a potential cover-up against his main opponents in the Social Democratic party. The latter, it seems, knew about the whole thing at least three months before the story broke and did nothing about it. In fact, they denied any knowledge of the affair and were caught lying about this to the German people. Mr Barschel denied any knowledge of the alleged dirty tricks and claimed to have evidence to prove his innocence. To make matters yet stranger, Mr. Barschel was later discovered by reporters of the magazine *Stern* (the same people who gave us the "Hitler Diaries") dead yet fully clothed in a bathtub full of water in his hotel room in Geneva. No cause of death, be it suicide, murder or natural, could be immediately determined nor was the exonerating evidence found. . . . What's next, a licence to walk done the street? Speaking of West Germany, a license and proper state-approved instruction are needed to go wind surfing there. . . . I guess people in the Triad must not like going to Newark: People's Express dropped service between Newark and Greensboro. People's Express was later merged into Continental Airlines which started flights, among a goodly amount of press attention, between Greensboro and Newark in February of this year. By September, the flights had again been dropped. . . . Stupid idea of the month: A proposal to make Charlotte's infamous Independence Boulevard into a toll limited-access road. I thought the idea of making that street into a freeway was to reduce conjestion, not increase it by making people stop to pay.

Military Insignifica

I hope this guy never defects and pilots a flight I'm on: a Norwegian Air Force P-3 Orion maritime recon aircraft and a Soviet Su-27 fighter/ intercepter were in contact on September 13 in international airspace over the Barents Sea. The Soviet fighter apparently flew too close while escorting and photographing the P-3 and made contact with one of its propellers. The Norwegian aircraft was forced to make an emergency landing with three holes and a dent in its fuselage (from propeller fragments) and an estimated $130,000 repair bill. The Soviet aircraft appeared not to be damaged. . . . The German magazine *Flug Revue* suggests that a prototype of the steath bomber might make its first flight by the end of the year under the designation B-2. It is thought that this Northrop-produced plane might well be based on the designs of earlier Northrop "Flying Wing" designs. . . . From the here, there and everywhere department: Israel claims to have found and exploded a mine similar to those causing all the trouble in the Persian Gulf. The discovery was made off the coast of Tyre, Lebanon — which happens to be in the Mediterranian. . . . A good way to get lots of word of mouth and repeat business: India recently cancelled an order for Czeck pistols after four of the guns in the first delivery were found to be defective. . . . Watch out, a major new international alliance might be emerging — a joint force is being established by Nigeria and Cameroon to stop border incursions. . . . Wait, wasn't the great lesson of that war that slashing Royal Navy strength is stupid: British naval strength is at a lower level now than under cuts proposed before the Falklands Island War, in spite of additional demands on the Royal Navy imposed by the Falklands and increased tension in the Persian Gulf. Ω

— Michael Lowrey

once cold to the idea, has recently endorsed *Indaba* as a positive exercise that could provide a basis for further talks. While no one seems overly optimistic about the process and its role in downing apartheid quickly, *Indaba* does signify an attempt to accomplish freedom through nonviolent action. As black militants continue to "necklace" political moderates, any ray of hope is welcome.

— By the by, a chief supporter of *Indaba*, Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has argued against holier-than-thou efforts like sanctions and divestment for years as unwise and counterproductive. Perhaps his efforts will help destroy the erroneous perception in the West, and especially on the Carolina campus, that blacks in South Africa are a homogenous group in consensus behind sanctions, terrorism, and revolutionary Marxism.

— The newest on AIDS is less than encouraging. For starters, a study released from Finland last month found that conventional tests used to pick up AIDS infection are faulty. According to the report, the virus can remain unnoticed in the body for a year or more — while the tests have been praised for picking up infection within six to 12 weeks. This means that making sure you're not infected involves a lot more tests and time than previous thought. On a related front, recent studies and reports on the ability of condoms to stop AIDS transmission aren't very optimistic. Condoms are effective as birth control 10 to 15 percent of the time, but to keep AIDS from spreading, they have to work much better. After all, women are fertile approximately 36 days a year but partners are at risk for AIDS 365 days a year. The latest estimated success rate for preventing the disease, according to researchers and social health specialists: about 50 percent. Quick, call the condom manufacturers! We're sure that in the interest of accuracy they'll want to use the 50 percent figure in their ad campaigns.

— Ever wondered what kind of psychological research goes on in the mysterious lab rooms of Davie Hall? One indication may be an article on children's toys by W. Scott Terry, Lawrence Calhoun, and Arnie Carn published in the *Journal of Polymorphous Perversity*, which publishes humorous pieces on psychology and psychiatry. "After careful study and years of training (not necessarily in that order) we have developed a list of toys that need to be manufactured," the UNC researchers say. Among the list: a "Little Albert Phobia Kit," which contains a cuddly doll and two air horns for a little Pavlovian conditioning; the "Bystander Apathy Game," a tool for teaching children how to ignore others' cries for help, which includes a decision tree of possible excuses, a "Born in New Jersey" button, and a genuine New York City subway token; and for that problem only child, a "Faces of Eve Imaginary Friends Kit" that teaches children how to develop up to nine imaginary playmate personalities. But all this still doesn't explain that weird, pungent smell outside the psychology building. Just what is that?

— This month's health tip: turn down those Walkmans! At full volume, which can be as much as 115 decibels, significant hearing loss can occur. A recent *U.S. News and World Report* article quoted a University of Iowa study that showed ringing in the ears and other hearing loss symptoms after 3 hours of listening. An easy way to determine if a headset is too loud is to see if someone else can hear music from your headset while you're wearing it. If so, kill the volume. Of course, we at the

CourseWatch

If students are looking for enlightenment and truely academic experiences, they might try looking in the Classics Department.

The UNC Classics program, housed in oh-so-modern Murphey Hall, is just about the most stereotypically "academic" discipline one can find. The classrooms don't exhibit high-tech gadgetry. Old, thick, somewhat dusty books inhabit every available corner. Professors really wear cardigans and carry old leather briefcases and smoke pipes. They are also totally immersed in mastering and teaching their subject. They actually seem to delight in doing so. And best of all, that intense sense of intellectual pleasure is contagious.

Of course, you can't simply graduate from the University as a classics major and find the job world ecstatic about your vocational abilities. And that's just the point: in taking classics courses, the student is delving into a world — the ancient cultures of Greece and Rome — far removed from our own in time, space, and language.

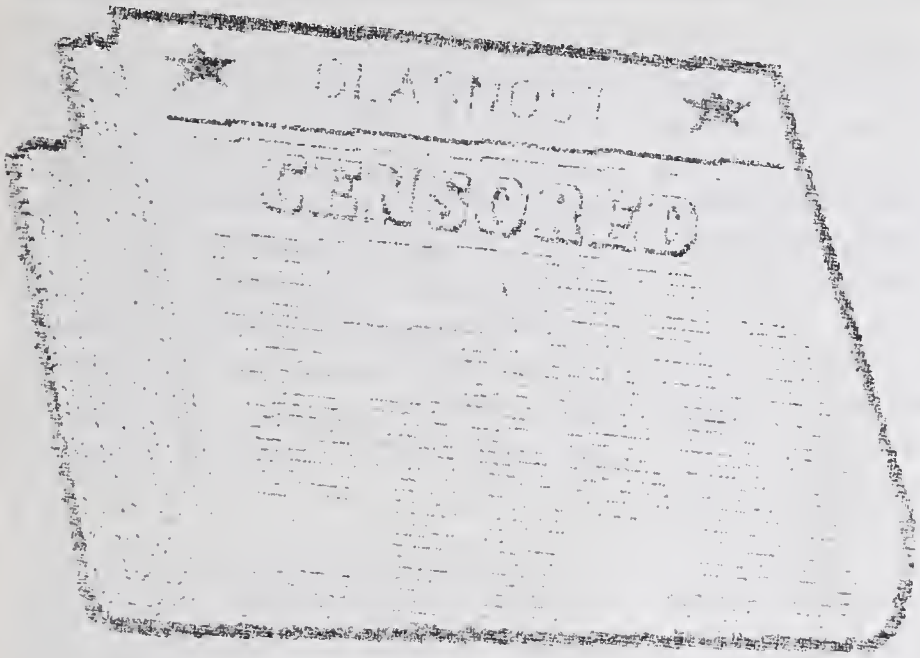
But wait a minute. Is it so far removed? The fascinating part of learning about the ancient world from the University's classics professors is their apparently universal ability to make a study in the classics interesting to the modern student and relevant to modern culture.

My first experience with the classics department came when I decided to take Ancient Greek as my General College foreign language. Don't ask me: I was, redundantly enough, a weird freshman. The professor for Greek 1, Ed Brown, took a keen interest in how each student in the small class was progressing. We even had dinner at his house a couple of times, with readings in Aristophanes or Plato afterwards. The class was demanding, but relaxing. Working through difficult passages of Greek seemed to bring on a powerful feeling of satisfaction, as if one had just solved a perplexing riddle.

As a senior, I again found myself drawn to Murphey Hall. This time it was a class on Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* that did the trick, taught by a remarkable lecturer, Professor Jay Boulter. Once more I felt the excitement of working slowly through a Greek classic work. Boulter has an uncanny ability to find modern metaphors for classical themes — for instance, by comparing the development of oral poetry like the *Iliad* to the modern phenomenon of *Star Trek* episodes, books, and movies. These stories take the characters through amazing adventures, with the understood priviso that each adventure end up with the crew basically the same as before. You see, just as *Star Trek* characters are now in the "public domain" and therefore can be used by many authors, so too Achilles and other legendary characters of Greece could go on any improvisational adventure an ancient poet wanted — as long as they returned to the traditional story unchanged.

Examples such as those make the far-removed ancient world a little more accessible to students. And at least from my own experience, accessibility is the UNC classics department's very *academic* specialty. Ω

— John Hood



ever-consumer-protection-conscious *Carolina Critic* are sincerely wondering: where is Ralph Nader when you need him?

— We hate to say we told you so, but. . . Last month the Soviet KGB shut down a dissident Moscow journal by confiscating copies of the magazine. That issue dealt with the touchy subjects of national minorities and religious persecution in the USSR. The editors of the journal were also detained for several hours, the usual KGB intimidation technique. What makes this noteworthy, you ask? The publication was called *Glasnost*. This is all probably very ironic to some, even humorous, but we're much to cynical here at *The Critic* about the Soviets to appreciate it. It is admittedly difficult to evaluate the new "openess" policy from the West, because of closed nature of the Soviet system. So until better evidence exhibits itself the other way, we're just using historical precedent to guess that, contrary to the very real effort to modernize the economy, *glasnost* was probably conjured up by Soveit disinformation organs for Western consumption. It would hardly be the first time.

— To the apparent shock of many activist types, Amnesty International recently released a 14-page report which in part condemns the human rights records of former British colonies in Africa. AI claims that Kenya systematically "silences" and intimidates political opposition, that Nigeria practices public exectutions, and that both Zambia and Zimbabwe engage in police state practices that include detaining and torturing those who oppose their regimes. South Africa has never had a monopoly on human rights abuses in Africa and it is encouraging to see AI acknowledge this fact. Our only question is: when do we divest?

— Just when you thought the idea of comparable worth might be dead and gone, along comes another equally crazed plan for government meddling in the workplace. Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) introduced a plan for 18 weeks of protected, albeit unpaid, parental leave per year that would be an unqualified disaster for the country. It would cost American business billions in lost productivity at a time when American workers must increase productivity to compete on a global scale. If such a bill becomes law, companies would be forced to hire more and more temporary workers, because permanent workers could no longer be counted on to be at work day in and day out. This might ultimately result in the loss of permanent, full-time jobs, as business owners recently testified in Congresssional hearings. Also, there is little guarantee that employees won't develop a "use it or lose it" mentality and discover many more family "crises" which call for a leave of absence. In short, such questions as what is the appropriate amount of sick leave are best answered by employer/employee dialogue, not be governmental decree.

— Exhibit #1,093,827 or so in the case against judicial activism: a California judge ordered the publisher of a high school yearbook to print a picture of two homosexual men in a section of the book reserved for couples. The publisher had refused because he thought the picture would offend other couples, and he didn't think the relationship was "serious" enough to be immortalized. We have a hard time understanding why anyone would really care one way or the other who's in a reunion yearbook, much less why anyone would take it to court. Just chalk it up to the American penchant for litigation. Regardless, the publisher, even if we assume he is a homophobe and not merely a good businessman, still has First Amendment rights. Maybe it's too much to ask that judges remember the Constitution while they're deliberating on how to make the world over in their own image. An appeal is planned for this mess, which should have never gotten to trial in the first place. It will be intriguing and telling to see if the "free" press of this country rallies to the publisher's defense.

— During a recent visit to Iowa, Politburo member and agricultural planner Viktor Nikonov interrupted and halted an American professor's presentation on farm economies. Nikonov said he didn't need to learn about capitalism and that Soviet experts could refute the professor's claims. Nikonov no doubt knows all he needs to know about capitalist agriculture — that is can be counted on to feed the Eastern Bloc, since a socialist harvest is by definition a bad one. As for Soviet "experts," their economic explanations do make extraordinarily good fertilizer.

— Well, well, another member of that Durham-spawned comedy troupe, Witless, sorry, Witness for Peace has gone and gotten himself kidnapped by the Contras in Nicaragua. Imagine the nerve of the Contras to detain someone riding in a Sandinista truck through a combat zone! Why you'd think the Contras assumed he was an East German or a Bulgarian technical advisor or something. And to hold a guy for a few days and feed him their meager, sub-standard food, make him hike through the jungle for miles and then release him unharmed is just what you'd expect from a bunch of campesinos. Seriously though, the treatment members of such unabashed Sandinista support groups as Witness and Marynoll order have received at the hands of the Contras has been a great deal better than might be expected. Such groups do nothing short of give aid and comfort to the Contras' enemy. Let's hope that the Witless folks don't realize that these "kidnappings" have the opposite effect of what they intend. The Contras have proven themselves to be

Campaign '88

— Remember that nameless, faceless pack of Democratic presidential contenders that used to be known as the Seven Dwarfs? Well, after the Joseph Biden plagiarism debacle, there is only six. But that's not all: it seems that one candidate, Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee, is actually trying to distinguish himself from the other candidates. On the debate circuit with his colleagues, Gore has pointed out his differences with the field on national security and foreign policy. He supports the Persian Gulf reflagging operation, the 1983 intervention in Grenada, humanitarian aid for the contras, and the policy of "negotiation from strength," crediting the U.S. arms buildup for bringing the Soviets to the table on intermediate range and strategic missiles. "The majority of rank and file Democrats favor a strong national defense," Gore said at a Democratic National Committee debate in Washington. He says that perceived weaknesses in national security issues on the part of Democratic presidential contenders explains their consistent failure in recent years. Many Democrats are calling Gore "every Republican's favorite Democrat" in the wake of these debates. But the real issue is: will he be every Southern primary voter's favorite Democrat on Super Tuesday?

— Paul Kirk, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has made a prediction on who the GOP will nominate for president. Kirk thinks (hopes?) the old establishment wing of the Republican party will win our over the young and "radical" Kempites, with either Bush or Dole ending up the nominee. The candidate Kirk would love to see get the GOP nomination is Robertson. But many Republicans have also concluded that Robertson is unelectable, even before he revealed himself as something of a fibber, so Kirk is unlikely to get his wish. As for his own party's problem candidate, Jesse Jackson, Kirk is loathe to admit that Jackson might pull the Democrats too far left in the primaries to win a general election. And if Kirk's unspoken nightmare comes true and Jackson is nominated, he too will prove to be unelectable once voters become acquainted with his Third World view of foreign policy and his scheme to confiscate pension plan funds to "put them to work." The moral of this story, and Paul Kirk would no doubt agree, is that the party that nominates a Reverend loses in November.

— *Daily Telegraph* of London on rumors of a possible presidential bid by Sen. Teddy Kennedy (D-Mass.): "If this odious man, perhaps the most odious member of a remarkably odious family, should by malign fate be elected President of the United States, he will be the last President." Ω

— Jeff Taylor

a hell of a lot less bloodthirsty than these "peace" groups would have us believe.

— For those who believe that Communist involvement in drug smuggling is some sort of paranoid delusion, we bring you this. In his new book, *Red Horizons: Chronicles of a Communist Spy Chief*, former Romanian spy Ion Pacepa says Romania sold cocaine confiscated from drug smugglers to help pay off Romania's foreign debt. In a choice between letting the Eastern bloc obtain large amounts of hard currency and making a dangerous drug slightly more available to those who choose to use it, the latter wins out. Legalize it.

— War? What war? I don't see any war: Libyan strongman Muamar Qaddhafi recently went on radio saying that Libya and Chad were no longer fighting, that the war had ended. While Qaddhafi's peaceful sentiments are a nice thing to see, it must be remembered that Libyan troops remain in northern Chad, the Libyan Air Force bombs Chadian cities, and 3,000 Libyan troops are running around in neighboring Sudan with no apparent purpose but to threaten Chad. We also wonder if Qaddhfi's sentiments might not be influenced by the recent major defeat his troops suffered at the hands of Chad's crack Toyota pickup truck-equipped forces. In a related note, the French downed a Libyan Tu-22 Blinder bomber in September which was attemping to bomb the Chadian capital city of N-Djawena. Of course, that was when there was a war.

— We don't think he'll win this one, either: Libya is seeking several billion dollars in compensation from the United States for the bombing raid in 1985.

— Do you like what you've been reading so far? If you do, or even if you don't and think you can rectify that, come to a meeting of *The Carolina Critic*. We need people interested in writing, fundraising, editing, fundraising, artwork, fundraising, thinking profound thoughts, and fundraising. *The Critic* staff meets every Tuesday night at 7 p.m. in Bingham 201. Meetings are informal and sometimes mildly entertaining. If you are interested but can't make meetings, call John Hood at 967-7608 or Larry Iversen at 942-4084. Submissions should be sent to *The Carolina Critic*, 604 Tinkerbell Road (we heard that snicker. . .), Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514. All submissions and letters become property of *The Critic*, and can hence be used in our monthly Druidic paper burnings and bizarre Baalist rituals.

Boston ends fiasco

It is perhaps a sign of maturity that one of the most scandalous and ineffectual attempts at improving race relations — forced busing — is finally being abandoned in Boston, its most highly publicized location.

After almost a decade and a half under the thumb of federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr., the Boston school system will once again control its own destiny. An appeals court ruled on Sept. 28 that the schools had been made "as desegregated as possible, given the realities of modern urban life." This is an important step in recognizing the failure of coercion, of shoving children around so as to meet quotas and "societal goals." And it is an important opportunity to reassert the value of neighborhood schooling as well as greater parental choice in their children's education.

The demise of busing flows logically from its record, a legacy of resentment and "white flight" from the city. Before the redistricting and busing plans were implemented in the early 1970s, there were 92,000 students in the Boston system.

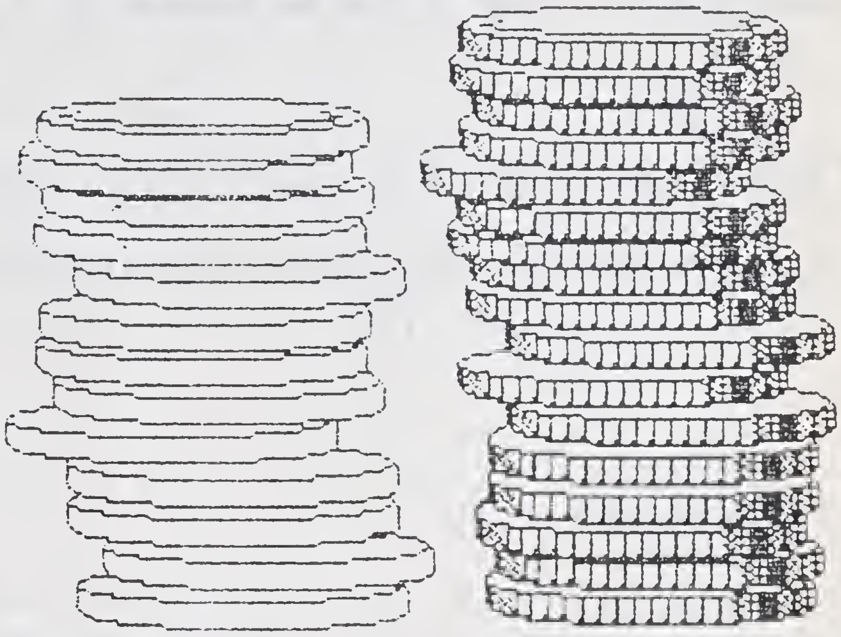
Today there are little more than half that many. In addition, the proportion of white pupils fell from 75 percent to about 30 percent, while the proportion of blacks rose from 25 percent to 48 percent. Hispanics and Asians now make up 22 percent of the school population.

Surely white flight, the exit of white families from the urban areas, would have occured without busing, as it has throughout most of the nation. But it is hard to believe that the numbers would have been so large. George Merry, a contributor to *The Christian Science Monitor*, says that the white flight caused by busing helped bring about major changes in the population mix of the city. "Of those families remaining in Boston, many are older white couples without school-age children, low-income whites who had little choice but to remain, and minorities."

Not only do such numbers show the failure of busing to integrate groups, but they also demonstrate the law of unintended consequences. White flight hit the city where it hurts — in the tax base. And groups that didn't like each other before as neighbors are not going to be brought together as strangers from the city and suburb.

But the loss of the school system to Judge Garrity and federal control was perhaps the worst aspect of busing. It distorted the lines of federalism so crucial to our constitutional system — and more importantly, distorted the line between deciding cases and managing a government. The federal courts have neither the power nor the expertise to run government programs, and certainly have no constitutional mandate to do so. Yet the Boston busing case was one of many such usurpations of local and legislative authority that have occurred in the field of race relations. Unintentionally, however, it also demonstrated the inability of federal courts to engineer social miracles.

Trade not imperiled



In case the standard line hasn't gotten out yet, the United States economy is supposedly suffering because of an awful trade deficit, which fell by only $800 million last month. Those unscrupulous Japanese and Koreans and West Germans are "stealing our jobs and our capital" out of the country, neo-protectionists warn, and its all due to the fact that America is importing more goods than it's exporting. Well, contrary to the very real problem of *federal budget* deficits, the existence of a *trade* deficit signifies very little that's wrong with an economy. In fact, the trade deficits of today's economy represent what's going right.

First of all, the fact that trade deficits are measured in dollars rather than in units is important in thinking about what is happening. Administration officials continue to point out that *units exported* have increased steadily over the past few months, while *units imported* have not increased substantially. This means that the reason the trade deficit is not plummeting is that Americans are continuing to buy fairly expensive foreign products. What does that tell us? For starters, some foreign products are so good that Americans prefer them over less expensive domestic goods. Also, Americans must be doing pretty well financially to afford the better quality goods they can get from overseas.

So we are making more disposable income and are therefore buying more nice things from foreign countries. Sounds like a crisis, doesn't it?

But the deficit morass has another layer. Is it even logical for the United States to blindly seek a trade equilibrium or surplus? Think about it: if all countries are trying to run trade surpluses, who will run trade deficits, and why? Switzerland and Hong Kong routinely run trade deficits larger in proportion to the United States, yet no one could seriously call those two countries economically inferior. The fact is that trade deficits are no measure of economic prosperity. Foreign investment in U.S. industries accounts for a great amount of the "America is the world's greatest debtor nation" nonsense, for example — but surely that is not a signal that the economy is doing poorly, but rather that the economy is expanding and is employing foreign capital to do so. The lesson to be learned from that measure is that Americans should save more so domestic banks can provide finance capital — not that we are on the brink of disaster.

Finally, the trade deficit "call-to-arms" only advances a mercantilist notion of the U.S. economy as some kind of national system that needs government nurturing. This is the worst form of nationalism. In today's world economy, national distinctions are becoming less and less important — which is a very positive sign. It means that business decisions are increasingly being based on individual cases and individual persons, as moral and political decisions should be, and not on the advantages or disadvantages to some nebulous group.

So instead of quivering on the brink of disaster, the American economy is doing fairly well. The only deficit worth worrying about, besides the budget deadlock, is the apparent deficit of clear thinking on the part of Congressional protectionists. Ω

END STUDENT FEES NOW

The University should replace the current campus organization system of involuntary fees with a free market

By **John Hood**

Every year the Student Congress goes through a long, demanding, and thankless process of allocating student funds to campus organizations. Every year debate rages when such groups as the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association present a funding proposal, or when the idea of constitutional funding for the Black Student Movement comes up. Every year thousands of dollars in funds taken from students without their consent, including funds from incoming freshmen, are used to promote a plethora of educational, social, and even blatantly political activities on campus.

Thus every year the Student Congress oversteps its legitimate authority.

Student fees, levied by the University at the same time as tuition and other fees, are taxes. That is, the students have no choice whether to give to student government for the financing of campus organizations, just as citizens in a particularly country have no choice in paying taxes to support government programs. Of course, students may simply choose not to come to the University and thus avoid paying student fees. And in the same way citizens can leave their country if they don't wish to pay their upcoming taxes (unless, of course, that country happens to be ruled by Marxist-Leninists or similar groups that don't allow emigration.) But is it just to force such a choice? I think not.

To analyze this issue clearly, several points must be made clear. First and foremost, to argue that students should not be forced to pay for the activities of campus organizations does not necessarily mean that I disagree with the purposes or activities of those organizations. My bone to pick is with the coercive nature of student fees, not the right of any group to exist.

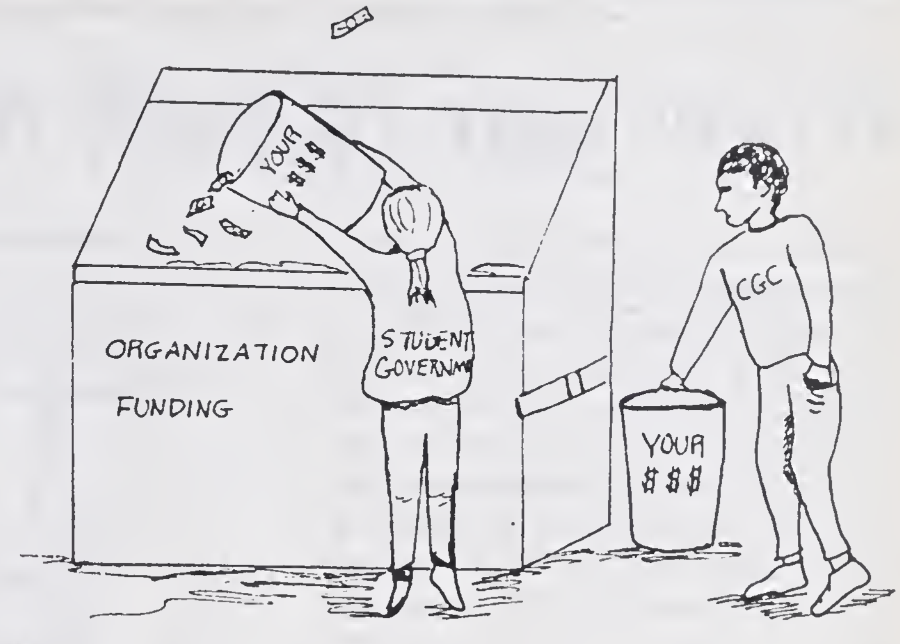
Secondly, it is important to establish precisely what student "government" is, and what its legitimate powers should be at the University. In some ways student governance resembles a government — at least in the trappings of "presidents" and "judges" and "speakers of the Congress." This symbolic resemblance constitutes the educational function of student government, as a way for students to learn about parlimentary procedure and other processes. And in some few cases, leaders might be needed to "represent" students on a certain issue or process with the administration. But in many ways the structure of groups like Student Congress, the Executive Branch, and the Student Judicial System are very different from real political government of states and nations, and thus should not be thought of as *government* at all.

While national governments collect their own taxes and enforce their own laws, students do no such thing. The University is the real tax collector and rule enforcer for the student body — as well it should be. After all, UNC is owned by the people of North Carolina, and their representatives on campus are the administrators of the school: the Chancellor, the Board of Trustees, the Board of Endowment, etc. So the administration has the real authority and the real responsibility on campus, while the student government groups general exist only at the behest of the administration.

In a sense, then, it is somewhat of a charade for the administration to allow Student Congress to allocate funds — since students had no say in the first place as to whether they wanted those funds stripped from them. Student representation is only used to distribute *benefits* to organizations. It does not really *distribute* the burden: student fees.

The salient point is this: why impose student fees at all? If students want to give money to campus organizations, they can certainly do so without the patronizing efforts of the administration and student government to force them to give. In reality, there are only two reasons student "government" (or the University) can give for coercive funding of campus groups: 1) students would not give enough money to organizations to insure that their activities are adequately financed, and 2) since many of the campus groups are designed to educate students about ideas and causes they either do not know about or do not agree with, students are not qualified to decide where their money goes.

The first argument is substantially weaker than the second. First of all, even if a group goes under, which is more important: the existence of certain groups or the liberty of individual students? If students do not give enough money to a particular organization to allow it to function, then students don't want the organization to function. Even if students agree with the purposes of a particular group, they may prefer to spend their money at the Rat or at a Pink Floyd concert. This is just a classic example of a free market at work. Direct involvement by each student in where he spends his money is much more likely to make his preferences known than "representation" by another student on a legislative body. If a particular funding scheme is planned from the top (i.e. from Student Congress) rather than from the bottom (the free market choices of each student), then



that funding scheme is going to be less reflective of the true desires of the student body. It's that simple.

In fact, the idea of truely representing students' views draws us directly into the second argument made for fees: that students may not know about or may even be hostile to the activities of certain groups — even though those activities will be beneficial to all students in the long run. The prime example of this idea is a group like the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association, which endeavors to reduce prejudice and fear of homosexuality on campus. If students were expected to make their own choices, CGLA members might say, the homophobes on campus would never contribute to the CGLA. Since homophobia is supposedly prevalent on campus, there might not be enough funds for the CGLA to save the student body from its prejudices.

Hey, that just happens to be the way free democracies work.

Another way of putting it this argument for fees is that *the majority of students don't really know what's good for them.* This distastefully elitist position begs the question: if the rank-and-file students don't know what's good for them, who does? Don't mistakenly get caught up in the idea of student representation here. Under the elitist argument, the Student Congress would by definition be advancing precisely the opposite views and causes of the student body is represents. Is that justice?

This elitist model of Student Congress lends itself easily to criticism from a "public choice" perspective, the notion made respectable by Nobel Laureate economist James Buchanan that political leaders actually act in their own self-interest rather than in some nebulous interest of the public. After all, the moral, social, and political preferences of student leaders decide what organizations are funded and by how much — not the preferences of the student body itself. Remember that if the preferences of the leaders and the student body were congruent, there would be no reason for coercive fees, since students would freely support the groups in question.

So the preceding analysis shows that a free market for campus organization funding is much more likely to reflect student opinions and student preferences than the current system of coercive student fees and Student Congress allocation. But how might this free market work?

The most obvious way for groups to seek financial support from students would be to ask for donations. The current practice of Pit tables and fairs would provide such an opportunity, as would more formal events like an "Organization Day." Alumni, parents, and private philanthropic foundations might also be soliticited. Another source of funds in the free market would be fundraising programs like sales or raffles. Remember that most campus groups do a lot of fundraising on their own now, so moving towards a totally free market would be a change in the *quantity* of funds groups have to raise for themselves — not radical changes in how groups raise funds.

Some groups would properly be funded by the University as official functions, learning projects, or representatives of the school. This category might include the UNC Speech and Debate Teams, health and counseling services, and campus media like *The Daily Tar Heel* and *The Phoenix*.. An added advantage of doing so is to clearly establish who is in charge of a particular program — for instance, that a certain faculty member or department is the publisher of *The Daily Tar Heel*. Of course, services or media could exist independent of government financing altogether (I've heard of a great little student opinion magazine like that; let's see, what was that name again. . .)

I will even offer a compromise (what an ugly word) proposal that could at least serve as an interim measure away from coercive fees: the University could collect funds from students at the same time as tuition is collected, but with an opportunity for students to withhold their contribution if they wish. This could appear on a bill or tuition payment form in the same way income tax forms ask for $1 donations to election funds. A check by a box labelled "I do not wish to contribute to student government funds for University-recognized campus organizations" would subtract the amount of the student fee from what the student owes that semester.

Another important way for groups to attract funds in a free market would be through user fees. In other words, programs or performances or services provided by the group would be charged for — so that only those using the service have to pay for it. Again, encouraging the imposition of user fees (i.e. charging more for Paul Green Theatre productions or, horror of horrors, charging a dime a copy for the Daily Tar Heel) while reducing the amount of coercive student fees may be one compromise measure to restore the liberty of the individual student on campus. But efforts to restore that liberty should not cease until no money is forcibly taken from students for the benefit of other students and their groups.

Why be so worried about coercive fees, when they aren't really all that high per student? Because the principle at stake — respect for the opinions and rights of other individuals — is so crucial. The University is, after all, a place of learning. And what better way to teach the nature and importance of individual rights is there than to set a good example in student governance? The way to do so is to adopt a free market for campus organization funding. Ω

Hood is a senior journalism and philosophy major from Charlotte.

In The Zoo *By David Hood*

WHERE NOT TO PARK THE ALUMNI CENTER

Visitors to the UNC campus almost always comment on the same two subjects: the beautiful wooded areas surrounding our campus buildings, and the critical shortage of parking spaces. It seems that driving around to look for a place to put the car gives them plenty of time to admire the abundance of tall, healthy trees. But recent plans to construct an Alumni Center across from Parker and Teague dorms in the "Big Woods" area may bring fewer trees — and fewer parking spaces.

The General Alumni Association has obtained permission from both Chancellor Christopher Fordham and the Board of Trustees to build on the site. GAA Director Douglas Dibbert approves of the central location, which is, after all, quite accessible to Kenan Stadium and Boshamer baseball field, as well as relatively close to the Smith Center.

But many students dislike the proposed site for the center due to its projected impact on the area's scenery, and on the already serious parking problem. These very legitimate beefs point to what has been a problem for our University for some time. Planning.

In fact, the GAA's response to these objections just proves the point. First they argued that students shouldn't oppose the Center — after all, we will be using it ourselves soon. Of course, this completely begs the question of whether the proposed site is itself a good one. Realizing this, the GAA's answer was changed. They now claim they can't address the environmental or parking issues since the final designs have not been completed. They say that they will try to preserve the trees and the parking spaces.

I hate to be the one to break this to them, but there isn't anything on the site except for the woods and the Ramshead parking lot!

Let's look specifically at the parking situation. It turns out that one of the advantages of the proposed site from the GAA's point of view is the availability of parking spaces for alumni using the Center. Obviously the fact that all of the nearby spaces are presently reserved for students has not been factored into the equation. What will commuting students do if the Ramshead lot is taken away from them? Or perhaps ever worse, where would Parker residents park if their lot was grabbed by the alumni?

Parking Control Coordinator Mary T. Fox has called the proposal "absurd." "But it's approved, and it's going to happen," she complained. She and Transportation Planner John Gardner have basically been ignored by the powers that be. Every year, more and more parking spaces are eaten up by construction. Later this semester, some 150 spaces will be lost in the Bell Tower lot alone. Just imagine what would happen if we lost space in the Ramshead lot as well.

NO PARKING
Firewod
4
SALE

Think about it. The only way to replace the student spaces in Ramshead would be to build another "fringe" lot (like the current FR lot) near the Smith Center area. This, of course, assumes that the University will actually try to accommodate the students they have displaced. And wouldn't it be more sensible to just build the Alumni Center there instead, with its own parking lot?

Not according to the General Alumni Association. They would rather not inconvenience their membership, who come to campus all of three or four times a year. What difference does it make if a bunch of students have to park out on Highway 54 Bypass every day?

Enough about the parking ramifications. What about the trees?

The problem with hacking down woods between Stadium Drive and Ramshead isn't so much the sheer amount of trees lost. After all, the campus has probably divested itself of as many trees since its founding as it will dollars in South African businesses. It mainly has to with the strategic position of those trees. Picture if you will the landscape of Mid-Campus without the buffer that those trees provide. From Carmichael Dorm, you look to the South and see, not woods, but cement. No longer is there any border between the South Campus high-rises and Mid-Campus. The character of the area has been changed from scenic dormatories nestled in between lovely havens of green to the cold reality of building after building, all steel and cement.

If that vision reminds you of N.C. State, you are probably as scared of this Center as I am.

I would also like to challenge the GAA's argument that former students of the University will be in favor of the new site. Instead, I think most alumni would be horrified at the idea of plopping down a building on that lot. The traditional atmosphere of the area will have been utterly destroyed, an occurrence that would not be popular with any alumnus who cares about the scenic beauty of his or her Alma Mater.

No one is arguing with the basic idea of an Alumni Center. There is no question of its utility as a focal point for alumni involvement in the growth and development of the University. Again, the crux of the problem is planning.

New facilities need to be built in an area which can accommodate such growth without destroying the character of the existing campus. The obvious ideal site would be near the Smith Center. Not only would such construction preserve the wooded beauty of Mid-Campus, it could include a new parking lot for Alumni Center guests. It is high time the University started building new spaces, rather than eating up the few we have now. In short, the wrong-headed proposal to build the Alumni Center on Stadium Drive could have seriously detrimental effects on both the parking situation and the surrounding environment. Instead of just complaining about not being able to find a parking space, let's do something about it.

Instead of just giving in to the destruction of the traditional atmosphere of that area, let's prevent it.

Instead of just saying nothing, let's tell the Alumni Center planners to go park it somewhere else.

Hood is a speech communications and political science major from Charlotte.

Around Carolina *By Michael Lowrey*

TO MERGE OR NOT TO MERGE

Many things, both good and bad, have been said about airline deregulation. Even after nearly a decade of letting airlines fly where they will at prices they themselves set, the basic question of the wisdom of deregulation is still debated. Yet in spite of this, there are some things that airline observers agree upon.

One of these is that Winston-Salem's Piedmont Aviation has been a star under deregulation. It has managed to grow from a small, regional airline to become the nation's ninth largest airline. Yet in March of this year, Piedmont was bought out by USAir for just under 1.6 billion dollars — subject to government approval. Ordinarily, this would be a formality. But unexpected resistance has emerged. In late September, an administrative law judge recommended that the merger be rejected as anti-competitive.

Any rational examination of the USAir-Piedmont merger must conclude that the proposal by USAir to acquire Piedmont for the sum of money involved is silly. Washington, D.C.-based USAir, the nation's 8th largest airline, serves primarily the Northeast and North Central portions of the country. It has a large hub in Pittsburgh and a smaller hub in Philadelphia. USAir also owns Pacific Southwest Airlines, better known as PSA, which has extensive flights up and down the West Coast of the United States. Piedmont's main hub is in Charlotte. From this city and smaller hubs in Baltimore, Dayton, Ohio and Syracuse, N.Y., Piedmont serves primarily the Eastern Seaboard and the Midwest. Both airlines have flights to major cities in the Western parts of the nation from their larger hubs.

There are two good reasons for major airlines to buy each other: expanding into new markets or buying out large rivals (especially if they have a hub in the same city the buyer does.) An example of the former is the merger of Delta airlines (hubs: Atlanta, Cincinnati and Dallas/Fort Worth), with flights mainly in the eastern and southern parts of the country, with Western Airlines — which, as its name implies, served primarily the western part of the nation from hubs at Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. The second reason explains what TWA did when it acquired Ozark (St. Louis was the city in question) and when Northwest Orient bought Republic (Minneapolis St. Paul being affected).

Equally clear is that one does not buy an airline or any other business merely to dismantle it. This is especially true if one pays more than the value of the parts of the business being bought. Put simply, Piedmont as a company is worth more than the sum of its planes, gates, hangers, and the like.

Unfortunately, the Piedmont-USAir merger creates large problems along just these very lines. The combination of the two airlines produces too much redundancy which cannot be easily eliminated. Piedmont's hub at Baltimore with some 110 flights a day and USAir's hub at Philadelphia of some 95 departures a day are simply too similar. These two airline strong points fly to many of the same cities in the Northeast and Florida. For instance, both fly three flights a day from their Mid-Atlantic hubs to Albany.

If a combined USAir/Piedmont could concentrate their activities from Baltimore and Philadelphia in one or the other of the two cities, it would be possible to fly four or five flights a day to Albany and use the extra aircraft availability to have the resulting big hub grow faster. Such growth would be useful to help fight off industry giants like United, American, Delta and Continental that are trying to muscle their way into Piedmont and USAir's traditional back yards. Yet if the enlarged USAir were to use such a strategy, it would risk alienating its employees, who might face the choice of moving or losing their jobs — and it might create more widespread concerns about job security within the entire company, adversely affecting company morale and alienating customers.

But the only other option is for the new USAir to compete with itself.

Nor does the combination of the two airlines in question buy USAir access to new markets, with the exception of the flights from Charlotte. For 1.6 billion, one could expect a little more.

Yet in spite of this, there is no good reason for the merger of Piedmont and USAir to be rejected. The administrative law judge's rejection was based on the airline acquiring a majority of the flights from Baltimore, Norfolk, Rochester and Syracuse. This argument is, in essence, one claiming that a combined Piedmont/USAir would dominate or reduce competition on air traffic in an entire region, the Northeast, as none of the cities involved is major or without alternate airports. This marks a drastic change from previous merger reviews when the emphasis was not upon an area but on specific city pairs.

Indeed, the history of previous mergers is particularly telling. The Department of Transportation approved the merger of Northwest and Republic, a combination of two healthy airlines which happened to have the only two hubs in Minneapolis-St. Paul. This combination was deemed not to be anticompetitive — in spite of having 80+ percent of the flights of the city after the merger, and controlling so many gates in the city to make any attempt by another airline to establish a hub in Minneapolis nearly impossible. The TWA-Ozark merger did the same thing in St. Louis.

Compared to these two acquisitions, a combination of USAir and Piedmont being deemed anticompetitive is a ludicrous notion. So what lies behind this rather sudden turnaround in government policy? The Department of Transportation is charged with the task of reviewing proposed airline mergers to see whether or not they are anticompetetive. Recently, the airline industry has seen the rapid consolidation of market share into the hands of perhaps half a dozen carriers. It is conceivable that the government thinks it failed to properly regulate mergers of this nation's major carriers.

Here political considerations come into play. Several recent mergers have not been without problems. The absorbing of New York Air and People's Express into Continental, for example, and a round of fare cuts resulted in large scale problems and a great many displeased customers at the Texas Air unit. Examples of employee and consumer dissatisfaction can also be found at Northwest and other carriers.

Consequently, the traveling public is very unhappy with mergers. Politicians in Washington might well have noticed this, and now want to take a symbolic act, like rejecting the acquisition of one major carrier by another. But this is more political than logical. The proposed Piedmont/USAir merger does not threaten competition — it's just silly. Ω

Lowrey is a senior ecnomics and political science major from Charlotte.

The World Stage

By Jeff Taylor

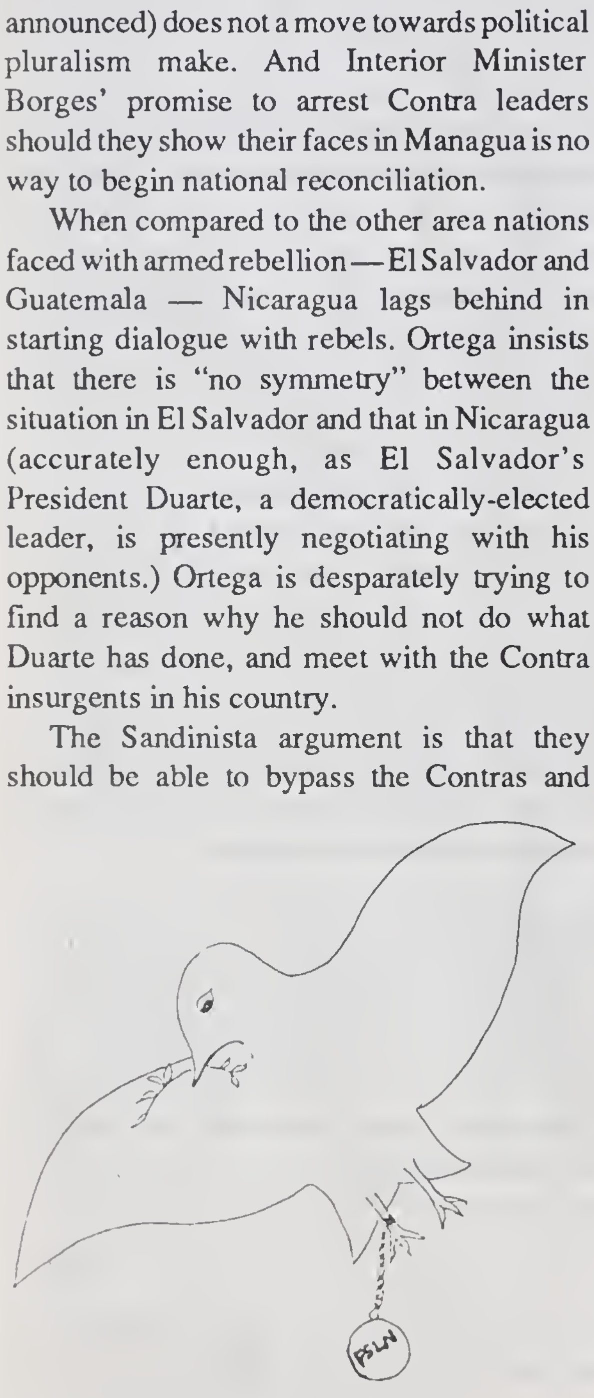
POLITICS, PRIZE, POWER, AND PEACE

Usually when people speak of Central America, they mention drugs, dictators, and death squads. Now for the first time in what must be decades, people are talking, seriously it would seem, about the prospects for peace in the area. Predictions on what will happen and what the terms of peace should be vary wildly depending on whom one listens to. But once the words and deeds of Nicaraguan leaders, the key country in any peace plan, are examined — and a sensible, defensible notion of "peace" is arrived at — optimism fades. It becomes clear that true peace in the region is at best a long way off, and at worst a chimera.

The speeches of Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega are not those of a man earnestly seeking peace. The deeds of his Sandinista government, moreover, do not so far inspire much faith in the peace process. Reopening *La Prensa* and the Catholic radio, only to subject them to threats and heavy censorship (as has occurred since the peace plan was announced) does not a move towards political pluralism make. And Interior Minister Borges' promise to arrest Contra leaders should they show their faces in Managua is no way to begin national reconciliation.

When compared to the other area nations faced with armed rebellion — El Salvador and Guatemala — Nicaragua lags behind in starting dialogue with rebels. Ortega insists that there is "no symmetry" between the situation in El Salvador and that in Nicaragua (accurately enough, as El Salvador's President Duarte, a democratically-elected leader, is presently negotiating with his opponents.) Ortega is desparately trying to find a reason why he should not do what Duarte has done, and meet with the Contra insurgents in his country.

The Sandinista argument is that they should be able to bypass the Contras and negotiate directly with the U.S. Even if we grant that the Contras and the U.S. government are one and the same, which they most emphatically are not, Ortega is still abliged to do what Duarte has already done. As Duarte himself has pointed out, if he used the Sandinistas' logic he could refuse to meet with the Salvadoran rebels and insist on negotiations with the Soviet Union and/or Cuba. The stipulations of the peace plan and the need for symmetry in the negotiation process should therefore compel Ortega to sit down with the Contras.



But those are not the only reasons for including the Contras, at least from the U.S. point of view. In one of the few parallels that can be drawn bewteen the present situation in Central America and U.S. adventures in Southeast Asia, experience has shown that all parties of a conflict must be represented in negotiations. When the U.S. endeavored to negotiate on behalf of the South Vietnamese government, the U.S. found out that the South Vietnamese had no reason to consider themselves bound by the terms of any agreement. If the Contra leadership is locked out of the discussions on a regional peace plan, they cannot be expected to abide by it, especially if the terms are to their detriment. And this is likely to be the case unless the Sandinistas agree to address the Contras' grievances.

Even if all the relevant parties are included in the negotiations, there is no guarantee that the outcome will be satisfactory to advocates of freedom. To insure a happy outcome, it is necessary that Duarte, the Contras, and even the U.S. settle for nothing less than true peace.

Peace is not just the absence of armed conflict between nation-states or domestic political groups. If this were true then we could call much of pre-war Nazi Germany peaceful despite the violence that was being done to thousands of German citizens. For a state of peace to exist, it is necessary that the government be at peace with its own citizenry. The rights of all human persons must be respected and protected by their governments. When government violate those rights by, say, refusing to let people leave the country or confiscating property, it constitutes acts of violence against individuals. Violence against individuals by their government must be considered a violation of the peace. Otherwise, we cede moral primacy to the state, making it a supra-individual with rights greater than those of the individual — and making it free to do whatever it pleases. Any peace plan that does not require that the people of Central America be guaranteed basic human freedoms is hardly a peace plan at all. It is merely a blueprint for submission.

These freedoms should include the freedom to leave the country, to criticize the ruling party in a free press, to form opposition parties, andto hold non-coercive elections.

The problem is that the Marxist groups i Central America are unlikely to agree to suc things because they would be unable to gai power or hold it. The Sandinistas know tha they cannot withstand the harsh light a fre election would throw on their regime. That i why in the last Nicaraguan election the resorted to intimidation and maintaine control over the electoral process. Currently there is discontent in the country with th Sandinista conscription policy as well as th chronic shortage of consumer goods and eve basic staples. This, of course, is a result of

The Peace Plan

In Brief:

—Signed 7 Aug. by Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras

— Requires within 60 days a regional cease-fire and steps towards political pluralism with free elections and a free press

— End of foreign military aid to all insurgents

— A program of amnesty for political prisoners and members of rebel groups

—The appointment of national reconciliation committees to oversee the process

socialist economy not, as is claimed, a war economy (for proof of that, just take a look at the economic failures of socialism in non-war economies, such as Eastern Europe.) The best the Sandinistas could hope for in an election under these conditions is a coalition of some sort.

Like their Marxist brethern in Nicaragua, the Salvadoran rebels have little use for free elections; they prefer to boycott them and snipe at voters. In their meetings with Duarte, the guerillas demanded not free elections, but an immediate part in the government and integration of their forces into the army! But Duarte, who has managed to whittle the rebels down to perhaps 5,000, wisely refused.

As commentators across the political spectrum have pointed out when it would further their argument, no Marxist dictatorship has ever negotiated itself out of power. This does not bode well for the Sandinistas to make reforms and move towards an acceptable peace. To get the Sandinistas to negotiate, it was necessary for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance to prod them along forcibly. Ortega, of course, claims that force, i.e. the Contras, have "done nothing" to bring about peace. But it is unlikely the Sandinistas would have signed anything without the Contras' presence. This suggests that it is a good idea to make it clear that the Contras will not to be allowed to die off. The Contras must be maintained during the negotiations so they might resume military action should the talks break down. It is clear that if the Contras are not given the support they need and deserve, the Sandinistas have no reason to meet with them and make reforms.

We will know a lot more about the sincerity of the Sandinistas by 7 Nov. The Arias plan calls for the signees to have made significant steps toward Democratic reform. Both President Duarte and President Arias believe that it would be helpful if the Sandinistas started talks with the Contras by then. It appears now that the Sandinistas might be willing to use the Catholic Church as an intermediary for indirect talks. In fact, precedent has already been set for such a mediated exchange in the talks between the Sandinistas and the Miskito Indian rebel group known as Yatima. The Miskitos are returning to their Nicaraguan homes on the east coast in an apparent amnesty granted by Ortega. They are cautious, however: "We will not be disarming, and we will not be accepting promises," says Miskito leader Brooklyn Rivera.

There are differences between the Miskito and Contra groups — the former, for instance, deny that they oppose some of the urban socialism of the Sandinista regime. In addition, the Indians don't seem to get along very well with Carlero and other non-Indian groups. So the Sandinistas may never agree to face-to-face talks with the Contras themselves. They fear that would lead to much legitimacy for those they call "mercenaries."

The problems of Central America are complex and, literally, hundreds of years old. Even with the best of intentions on all sides, it would take months to sort through all the issues. The real danger, though, is that in a rush to achieve "peace in our time" or "a place in the history books" the negotiators could come up with nothing more than a glorified cease-fire. For success, the goals of the process must be liberty and freedom for all the people of Central America, not just a politically expedient piece of paper. Ω

Taylor is a recent graduate of the University in philosophy and political science.

Arias: His Canonizers and Skeptics

Comments on President Arias of Costa Rica receiving the Nobel Peace Prize have ranged from lavish praise to outright condemnation. While Arias is no doubt one of the more controversial recipients of the prize in recent years, he is neither the saint nor the sinner he has been made out to be. Arias is simply a classic diplomat, one who does what is best for his country, rather than for his department or party, at the negotiating table. Interestingly enough, Arias seems to realize this while other leaders and politicians go on posturing.

Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.) would appear to be all set to canonize Arias, calling him a "courageous, perceptive, and persistent leader" who took "great risks." Liberal Democrats like Sanford must be supportive of those who initiate peace talks — for initiating peace talks is the sum total of liberal Democratic foreign policy.

President Ortega of Nicaragua praised Arias and pledged to continue to work with him. As long as Ortega works with Arias, of course, he stays in power in Managua. The Sandinistas would love nothing more than to "work with" Arias for months as the Contras slowly atrophy.

Contra leader Adolfo Calero tempered the praise for Arias by pointing out, correctly, that "there's yet no peace in Central America." Calero and the Contra leadership are less than thrilled with the Arias plan because they have yet to express a voice in it. In addition, it requires that the U.S. terminate aid to the Contras — while the Sandinistas continue to receive Soviet aid.

GOP presidential candidate Rep. Jack Kemp also had harsh words for the Arias award. Kemp, an acknowledged leader on domestic policy, has been emphasizing his foreign policy views since his candidacy began in earnest. He came out and said it was "a mistake for the Nobel committee to bestow judgment on this plan before the world sees its results." He does have a point. Giving the prize to Arias while his plan is still in its embryonic stage is rather like giving the Medicine prize to someone who merely claims he can cure cancer. The difference is that not many people have tried to bring peace to Central America. In this way the prize can be thought of as an "A" for effort.

And Arias' own view of the prize is similar to this last point. He admits that he has not achieved peace but is "still seeking it." Arias believes the prize should be taken "as a push to redouble our efforts." This he will no doubt do, not because he is the selfless champion of peace some have portrayed him to be, but because he knows that army-less and defenseless Costa Rica cannot remain relatively free and democratic as long as there is turmoil in Central America. Arias, a realist, knows that Costa Rica's last line of defense against tyrannies of both the right and left is the negotiating table. From his point of view, he hasn't been looking for prizes — he has been fighting for his country's survival.

ESSAYS

US SHOULD MAINTAIN ROLE IN NATO PACT

By Bryan Wells

UNC-Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and the United States as a nation, are in the midst of a unique historical era. Television, airplanes, and nuclear weapons have made us citizens of a world community rather than just residents of Chapel Hill. As a result, each of us should accept a responsibility, as insignificant as it might seem when compared to that of a Reagan or a Gorbachev, for the survival and freedom of our planet. In this context, U.S. membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should be considered, and its key role as a global power should be defended.

NATO is made up of nations which have pledged mutual defense in the event of a hostile threat toward any member state. It consists of the United States, Canada, Iceland, Turkey, and most of Western Europe. Formed in response to perceived Soviet expansion through Eastern Europe after World War II, NATO binds together the majority of essentially capitalist nations in the world in defense of economic and political liberty. America definitely maintains a dominant role in Alliance policy, if only because a majority of Europe's nuclear arsenal originates here.

Many on both sides of the ocean criticize this position as being unfair, expensive, and tyrannically intrusive. However, it is my view that the United States, as the only nation economically and militarily equipped to lead credence to the defensive purpose of NATO, should preside over its policy-making procedures.

In general, the variety of criticism regarding the alliance can be summarized in four broad arguments. Various theorists such as Melvin Krause (whose book *How NATO Weakens the West* is available in the Bullshead Bookshop) believe that Europe is a pro-Soviet welfare state which in no way contributes to the U.S. defence. Another common complaint conerns apparent European hindrance of American foreign policy. The allies are certainly not always cooperative, for instance in trade matters. Even further, they are never far behind the Soviets in their outcries against U.S. troop interventions.

Thirdly, military stategists such as Richard Garwin at Harvard or Ronald Steel of the Carnegie Institute believe that NATO is useless as a deterrent, functioning merely as an expensive provocation to the Soviet Union. Related to this is the fourth argument, which holds that America is not getting its money's worth for the large chunk of dollars it pours into the organization.

Each of these criticisms may be independantly true; yet they do not win their case. The Alliance can be advertised as a symbol of freedom, a necessary deterrent, a catalyst for world democracy, or a forum for trade and commerce. However, the central reason for retaining NATO is the lack of an achievable alternative.

Regardless how concilliatory Gorbachev may be, or how the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) talks diffuse world tension, withdrawal from NATO will be perceived as exploitable weakness by the Soviets. It would be a complete reversal of all that America has stood for since the signing of the Treaty in 1949. The United States has made a commitment to world involvement through the NATO charter; renunciation of that promise could bring the doubt that military strategists agree could be the potential cause for the war we cannot fight.

Shedding the integral role of the United States within the NATO framework would be extremely destabilizing. The structure of the alliance could be changed to emphasize trade, or shift more of the bills to Europe, but the world outlook must be maintained. Each day the newspaper proves that actions of any single nation affect the global scene. Isolationism is both undesirable and impossible. Preventing it from jeopardizing the security of our minute corner of the world should be our greatest priority. Ω

Wells is a freshman and a member of the UNC Debate Team.

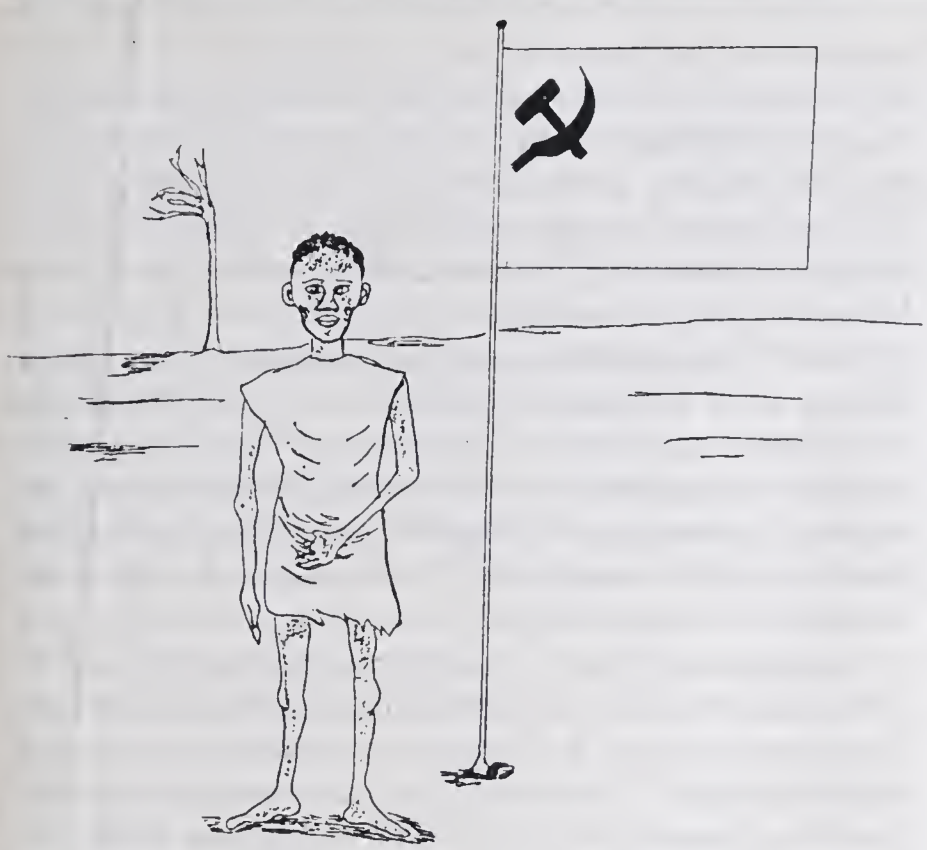
ETHIOPEAN FAMINE, SOVIET STYLE

By Jeff Evans

After the forces for divestment sober up from the euphoria following their victory toward the overthrow of the South African government, perhaps they will refocus their wrath on a more deserving human rights abuser. How about Ethiopia?

Congressmen William Gray (D-Penn.) and Toby Roth (R-Wis.) have drafted a resolution calling for sanctions against the Communist government of Colonel Mengistu in Ethiopia. This "government by brutality" was recently given the lowest human rights rating in the world by *The World Human Rights Guide*.

Many of us will vaguely remember Ethiopia as the recipien of goodwill from We Are the World, Band-Aid, and Charlene Tilton. But how did a country which formerly was an exporte of grain come to the disasterous level of starvation which wa so well-publicized a couple of Christmasses ago? Clearly ther



is more to the ongoing tragedy than an untimely dry spell. The same drought conditions also hit other countries in the region, but generally without the same effect of widespread starvation. These other nations, such as the Sudan, took prudent steps to offset the effects of the drought. For Communist strongman Mengistu, however, the famine provided a powerful weapon to deploy against resistance groups located mostly in the northern provinces of Tigre and Eritrea. Through a policy of deliberate starvation (reminiscient of Soviet efforts to starve Ukranian peasants in the 1920s), the dictator hoped to deprive these groups of their means of support.

Unfortunately, Western attempts to alleviate the suffering may have helped Colonel Mengistu more than it did starving Ethiopians. Some aid was used as bait to coax people living in the northern provinces to relocate in the south. Many people were forcibly removed at gunpoint. This forced exodus claimed over 100,000 victims. Grain is money in Africa and some relief supplies were used to pay the salaries of Ethiopians soldiers. Ironically, the West in this way subsidized military attacks against civilians in northern Ethiopia.

Meanwhile, as serious starvation was getting underway back in 1984, the Marxist-Leninist government spent $100 million on a celebration marking the 10th anniversary of the "revolution." The four-day gala came complete with an arch topped with hammer and sickle, and a giant billboard pictured Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Lately the continuing state of deprivation and cruelty has not been newsworthy and Ethiopia has faded from the public mind. Then again, it often seems that the only newsworthy injustice is that committed by whites against blacks. To hear the liberals, you would think South Africa was the only country on the continent.

It is encouraging that a member and former vice chair of the Congressional Black Caucus (Rep. Gray) would be a driving force behind the push for sanctions against Mengistu. Perhaps the pit dwellers, the perpetual inhabitants of the protester playground, will follow suit. Ω

DI PHI: NOT A FRAT, AND FUN TO BOOT

(This is the first in a series of essays spotlighting campus organizations represented in the Carolina Critic Society and Advisory Board — ed)

By Kenny Felder

SEX! VIOLENCE! DANCING GIRLS! HIGH COMEDY! RAW EVIL! SEX! (Did I already mention sex?)

As a reader, you've probably seen that gimmick a million times. But I've tried everyting else, and what do you *do* when you've got something really really really neat to tell people about, and you don't know how to get their attention? At least, now you know my answer to *that* question.

So the obvious next question is: What is it I so desperately want to babble about? It's a campus organization, an intellectually stimulating and boatloads-of-fun kind of club which suffers the misfortune of being called "Di Phi." I say "misfortune" because it sounds like a fraternity, and bacause a name should tell you something about what an organization is like, which this one doesn't, so I'm writing this article. (If you slogged your way through that last sentence and you're still with me, you may be just who I'm looking for. Read on.) What is Di Phi? I've got four answers.

Di Phi is a UNC literary organization; which tells you about as much as the name. Let's try answer number two.

Di Phi is an opportunity for students to practice public speaking simply and in a not very public environment. The topics for speaking are often simply absurd ("Explain, in five minutes, why we should settle disagreements by dueling."). However, the topics can also be current political or campus issues (pro/con divestment) or abstract philosophical questions ("Is it right to drive through a red traffic light when there's no one around?") *No* member of Di Phi is ever forced to speak on any topic; and there is time allotted during each meeting for whatever speaches anyone cares to give apart from the topic of the day. The focus is always on having fun, and on perfecting speaking abilities.

Di Phi is very old. Former members include Thomas Wolfe, James Polk, and Paul Green. Pick up *any* book you've checked out from *any* library on campus, and you'll find in the inside front cover: "Endowed by the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies." (Now you know what "Di Phi" stands for.) Di Phi started the UNC student government and *The Yackety-Yak*. Di Phi gave the colors blue and white to this University. Impressed yet?

Di Phi is dying. That's answer number four, and it may be the most inportant one of all. Right now, the society has about half the number of members it did when I joined three years ago. That is, right now we have five members. This explains the somewhat desperate tone of this article, in case you're wondering. But, it means that You Can Make A Difference. That is, the directions you want to see Di Phi take are the directions it will take. In one meeting you will get to know who all the members of Di Phi are, as well as what the programs are like, how things could be improved by someone like you, and how incredibly elegant our chambers look, even when they're practically empty. Then, if you want, you can even come back the week after. Or not. It's up to you!

If I haven't yet even mildly piqued your interest, I give up. Go ahead and read the funnies or something. If you are a bit curious, do us both a big favor: risk wasting an hour of your life and come to a meeting. We meet, like clockwork, at 7:30 in the evening, on any Monday when there are classes. If you can't make it this Monday, try next Monday, we'll be there. Our chambers are in room 300 of New West building, you will have *no problem* finding us if you can find the building. If you don't know where New West is, or you can't get to campus on Monday Nights, or you don't want to walk alone in the dark, call Kenny Felder, 942-4084.

If you like debating, arguing, talking, or just thinking a lot, we'll like you. And if that's as bad an ending sentence as "SEX!" is a beginning sentence, I'll stop now. Ω

Felder is a senior physics and English major from Wake Forest.

' The Princess Bride' reviewed

SHORT STORIES AND THE BIG SCREEN

By Larry Iversen

Hollywood is notorious for mangling any written literature it can get it's omnivorous mouthparts onto. Of course, don't ask Hollywood to confirm this opinion. However, ask yourself — Have you ever seen a movie as good as the book it was based on? As just one example, Arthur C. Clarke's *2001 made sense*. The problem, ultimately, is the divergent aesthetics of film and print. Most film-makers like to believe that a movie corresponds to a novel, when in fact only the structure of a short story fits into two hours of celluliod. *Masada*, produced as a television mini-series, was a true *novel* on film. David Lynch's *Dune*, in contrast, was a novel hideously beaten into the shape of a movie. (Lynch discarded several *hours* of footage.)

Enter William Goldman and his latest sccreenplay, *The Princess Bride*. Goldman the scripter seems to be the only person in Tinseltown who understands that in writing for the Big Screen, one cannot simply translate, but must create an entirely new piece of art. Ironic, since his favorite source of inspiration is William Goldman, the novelist. In writing *The Princess Bride* and then interpreting it for production, Goldman, whose credits include both the novel and film *The Marathon Man*, again demonstrates a deft command of both forms.

Goldman writes in the introduction to his book that he has simply annotated a text by one "S. Morganstern;" that *The Princess Bride* is his "favorite book in all the world." He then presents Morganstern's text, only he continually interrupts the narrative with his own commentary. This elaborate fiction allows Goldman the freedom of excess within his text, a freedom he excercises with a careful precision in the service of his theme "life is never fair."

In the film, Goldman retains the "external" interruptions, but they are of diminished importance. He, along with director Rob Reiner, chooses instead to manipulate the viewer through elements intrinsic to film. The sets are barely realistic; the mattes are romantic and delightfully two-dimentional. Only Mark Knopfler's soundtrack is unremarkable, though hardly distracting or inappropriate.

Goldman and Reiner's confidence is apparent in the casting — the leads are played by relative unknowns, while many of the supporting roles are populated by an impressive array of established talent. The characters are uniformly stock: the all-prevailing stranger, the incorrigable villian, the damsel-in-distress; yet the impeccable cast crackles with freshness, as though ordinary people (to the extent to which very funny people are ordinary) have been thrust into the roles. Inigo the swordsman, in particular, is hysterical as a man whose life's pursuit is revenge.

Although the theme of the book comes out quite a bit weaker in the film version, Goldman and Reiner ultimately do an admirable job capturing the broader irreverence of *The Princess Bride.* Ω

Iversen is a senior physics and RTYMP major from Raleigh.

A FRESHMAN'S FIRST VISIT HOME IS TRYING

By Lisa Ashburn

I went home for the first time over fall beak. As soon as we drove across the county line, my friend and I began counting pick-ups. We had counted 146 of them by the time we pulled into the driveway. I live in the mountains and the changing colors of the trees made the landscape look like one gigantic painter's pallet. The streets, the buildings and the sounds flying through the air all seemed foreign to me. It was like walking into a picture postcard of a small town and trying to act as if I belonged there. I wasn't prepared to feel like an outsider.

I had been warned. " It's really different going home the first time" sophmore Stephanie Azar told me. "You're different and all your friends (from high school) have changed . . . You all know different people in different places. You have no common conversation . . . All (my friends from high school who attend different colleges and I) have in common is the past. There is no present or future. You wind up reminiscing."

"I was me and they were them" said Eric Stone after returning home from two years in the army.

I asked psychologist Dr. Phil Batten of Med-Psych Consulting Services, why things had changed so much in the short time I'd been away. "It just looks different because you have changed, but not the place" Dr. Batten informed me. "People, especially if they grow up in the same place all the time, get a pretty closed view of the universe. (Before you leave home) this is the way it is and you haven't known anything else. When you go away, hearing and seeing new ways of living and perspectives, you realize that home is one of many (different perspectives)."

On returning home, Dr. Batten said that you're like an insider 5 degrees off. " It's like where you live you are a piece of a jigsaw puzzle, and when you return , your shape is a bit off, so you don't fit exactly." Dr. Batten said he remembered having those same feelings when he returned home from UNC to Thomasviklle a few years ago.

The first trip home is important because college students are going from "roles of autonomy to increasing responsibility" said psychologist Dr. Meredith Mayer of UNC Student Health. "People must seperate their identity from the family and the way they've always been known. Independent individuals experiment with new freedoms and seperate responsibilities. (WWhen you go home there are) still a lot of expectations that you'll be the same person and fit into the same mold. That may make for conflict."

What is home? Dr. Batten said that people's concepts of home can basically be fit into one of two different categories: the place where your roots are or the place where you are " presently invested", or put another way, the place which your life centers around presently.

Stephanie Azar said that home is where her roots are. "Home is definitely where I grew up, all my memories of my lifeare in Atlanta. Chapel Hill is where I go to school."

Eric Stone said home is where he is "presently invested". "I have homes in Winston-Salem, Atlanta and Charlotte. Chapel Hill is my home, because that's where I am . Those other places are where my relatives live. . . But that's because I've been away for so long."

"Home is identified with a support network," said Dr. Mayer, " Home has a lot to do with where there are people you care about and (where you) feel cared about."

Frank Pollock, a freshmen who spent his high school years at boarding school, offered this philosophy: "Home is when you can walk into a place and it's like walking into a hug."

With which do we identify more, the environment or the people at home? "it's both, " said Dr. Mayer, " People are important." However, the enviroment is a part of home also because "objects begin to have sybmols which evoke memories."

Home means different things to different to different people. I thought about this as I returned from fall break lugging three loads of clean laundry, a typewriter, books, a lamp, and a rapidly diminishing supply of Rice Krispy treats. Someone asked me if I felt like I was going back to school or coming home. I can answer that one easily enough. I was coming; I am home. Right now there's no other place I'd rather be. Ω

Ashburn is, you guessed it, a freshman.

Final reflections on the Bork Fight

By Robert Allison

Last Thursday the expected was made official. By a vote of 58 to 42, the U.S. Senate rejected the nomination of federal judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. It was one of the longest and most publicized confirmations ever. The vote ended what had to be the most bitter and spiteful attacks on a judicial nominee ever.

The campaign against Judge Bork was one of the most unfair and sordid spectacles ever to occur in Washington. Aligned against Bork were all the familiar organizations of the liberal/left: Planned Parenthood, the ACLU, People for the American Way, the NAACP, National Association of Women, the gay rights people, etc. These groups seem to have little in common except their shrill opposition to Robert Bork.

These groups were behind a media blitz which painted a grossly inaccurate picture of the judge. Past law review articles and his record as a judge were twisted to make Bork appear as a proponent of racial segregation and police state repression. It was implied that Bork's presence on theSupreme Court would mean a return to coat hanger abortions. The attitude of Bork's opponents gives cause to wonder if they understand the purpose of a law review or the meaning of the Constitution — or anything, for that matter.

And who did these organizations have to do their dirty work in the Senate? A couple of individuals whose past records are far from spotless. Leading the charge was Senate Judiciary Chairman Joe Biden, whose hobbies include plagiarism and lying about past achievements. And close behind was that other avatar of morality, Ted Kennedy. You wonder if those two have ever heard the one about glass houses and rocks.

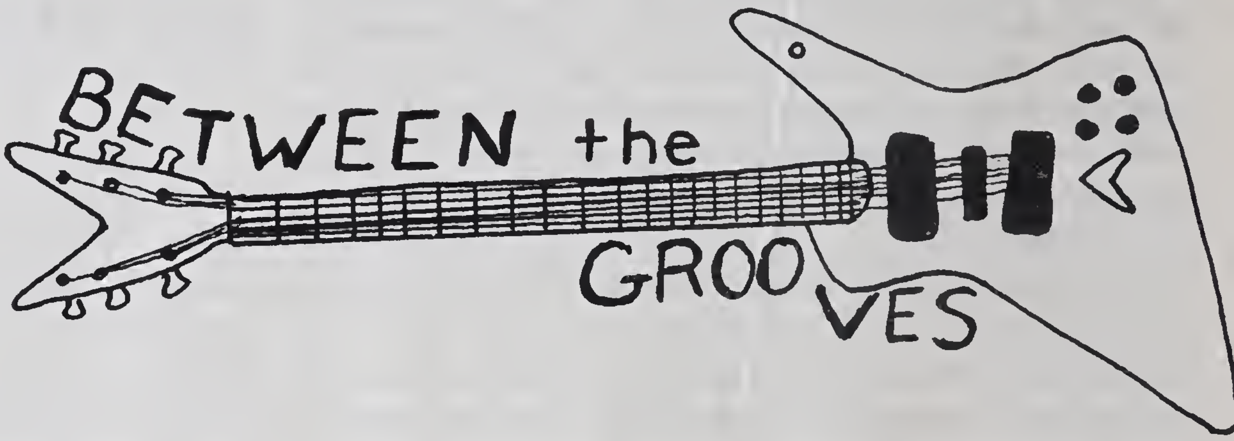
The manner in which the Democrats handled the Bork nomination was thoroughly disgraceful. But this should hardly be surprising, considering the treatment William Rehnquist and Antonin Scalia received. But the Democrats should beware — what goes around comes around. In the future, expect liberal judicial nominees to receive a dose of what Bork went through.

But supporters of Judge Bork must bear part of the blame for his defeat. There was a lack of coherent coordination among conservative leaders and it showed. White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker did a particularly poor job of orchestrating the nomination. The Reagan Administration should have let Bork stand on his record and turned up the heat to match the media onslaught of the left. Instead, Baker favored a low-keyed approach and tried to portray Bork as a moderate. When President Reagan finally went on the offensive for Bork, it was too little, too late.

Which is not to say that Robert Bork did not have some very able supporters. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole and Senator Alan Simpson of Colorado were all extremely vocal in their

(Continued on page 22)

By Connie Smith



Jethro Tull
Crest of a Knave

Oh dear, what has Ian Anderson been listening to lately? It seems that this newest album has gotten some influence from recent ZZ Top (“Steel Monkey”), and John Cougar Mellencamp (“Farm on the Freeway”). Jethro Tull in *Crest of a Knave* have even failed to live up to their classic past, and were to obvious in their attempts to sound like the “hits” of the eighties.

Ian Anderson has always been a joy to listen to with his unique flute solos, and these are still apparent in Crest of a Knave. But it's much better done in previous releases, and with creativity.

Ian Anderson may have been scared that their “spark’ was gone, and therefore listened to what's “hot” now and used this as a premise for *Crest of a Knave*'s composition. Yet, if this is true, if the creativity is gone, and considering Jethro Tull's huge success in the past, why ruin it? Jethru Tull unfortunately didn't listen to the warning of “quitting while you are ahead” and with *Crest of a Knave* have proven to be a prime example of a classic band that should have stayed that way.

The Art of Noise
Innosense? Nonsense!

Not much art and alot of noise, is the best way to describe the Art of Noise's latest album, *Innosense? Nonsense!*. Okay, you could turn it up real loud, especially your bass setting, and have a dance party in your living room, but that's about as much as this nonsense is worth.

Anne Dudley and J.J. Jeczalik have shown their skills on keyboards and synthesizers, added weird noises and strange voices, but didn't that get done in the last album? They have produced nothing but typical sync-pop, in other words — boring.

When I spend my $8.99 on an album, I want something interesting, creative and memorable. If I want to hop up and down to some sounds, I'll spend $2.00 and go to a dance club. Don't let “Art” in the bands fool you, but do take heed to the album's title, it really makes no sense.

Camper van Beethoven
Vampire Can Mating Oven

Camper van Beethoven has released a fantastic parody of compilation records in *Vampire Can Mating Oven..* You cannot listen to the album without reading the hysterical liner notes in which an imaginary author, Issac Fringe, explains the origins of the six songs on *Vampire Can Mating Oven*. For example, the song “Heart” was “previously available only on the B-side of the Yugoslavian release of “Take the Skinheads Bowling”.”

No, the whole album isn't just a joke, just Camper van Beethoven's attitude towards how rock musicians take themselves too seriously. Their lyrics have a wonderful blend of humor and weirdness, while their music shows where their seriousness lies.

It's surf music, ska, and even a bit of wa wa Jimi Hendrix style in “Seven Languages”, which Camper van Beethoven somehow blends together to create uniqueness and, most of all, great entertainment. In *Vampire Can Mating Oven*, Camper van even does covers, like Ringo Starr's “Photograph”, believe it or not.

Camper van Beethoven are a rare treat in the ever growing music world. It's obvious they refuse to be placed in any cayegory, whether it is “college band” or “rock and Roll”. Camper van Beethoven just wants to play music their way, and hopefully make us laugh at all the silliness going on in the rock business today. Ω

FINAL REFLECTIONS ON THE BORK FIGHT

(Continued from page 21)

support of Judge Bork. The nominee found his greatest champion in Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah. He took the fight to Bork's opponents everywhere: in the Senate, on television, and in the newspapers. They all performed admirably and are to be commended. Unfortunately, it was not enough.

So where does all of this leave Judge Bork? He is still all the things he was before being nominated: an outstanding federal judge, a brilliant legal theorist, and, I imagine, a fine human being. The gross injustice of his confirmation hearing could not take these things away.

It is fitting that we had a nominee like Robert Bork in the year of our Constitution's 200th birthday. He answered all questions directed to him with candor and thoughtful consideration. This is unusual for judicial nominees. The confirmation hearings in many ways resembled a seminar on the Constitution. Let's hope Biden & Co. were listening. One final thought: presidential candidate Jack Kemp (Republican Rep. from N.Y.) has said that if given the opportunity, he will nominate Bork again. Maybe we have not seen the last of Robert Bork. Ω

Allison is a senior political science major from Old Fort.

Dateline: Washington

By John Hood

JOURNALISM 'A LA TASS'

Sometimes it is difficult to see the line where journalism ends and propaganda begins.

For example, consider two somewhat famous news items from about this time last year: a former Central Intelligence Agency employee suspected of spying for the Russians was granted asylum in the Soviet Union, while two Russian circus performers defected to the United States while on tour in Argentina.

The agent, Edward L. Howard, had been fired from the CIA after a polygraph test revealed indicated he had taken drugs and engaged in petty theft. Evidently he began working for the Soviets soon after this, helping them apprehend Soviet citizens spying for the United States.

The Soviet news agency Tass reported the Howard said he had "to hide from the U.S. secret services, which were persecuting him without foundation." The announcement said the president of the Supreme Soviet had been "guided by humanitarian considerations" in granting asylum to Howard (no wonder stand-up comedy, as emigrees say, is non-existent in the Soviet Union — all the comics are busy writing the news.)

The other story was more cheerful, from the American point of view. The Soviet performers, Nikolai Nikolski and Bertalina Kazakova, were tightrope stars in the Moscow Circus who said that their first step on American soil had been like Neil Armstrong's walk on the moon. "We like America. It's our dream to live in America, our dream all our life," Kazakova told reporters. The couple had toured in Cuba three years ago with the Moscow circus and "knew Florida was across the water," their interpreter said. "They would dream about going to Florida some day, and their dream came true."

It's always been a fascination of mine to imagine how Soviet citizens are informed of this sort of thing. With the country's apparent attempt at openess (*glasnost*) faring much worse than Gorbachev's economic reforms are, Russians are presumably still dependent on the state-owned press for news — that is, when Radio Free Europe is not being jammed. How do Soviet newspapers, charged with maintaining the Leninist orthodoxy of the state, present such events as defections? In the somewhat serious effort at understanding the Soviet press, I have decided to try my hand at a little journalism "a la Tass:"

Oppressed American Finds Sanctuary in the USSR

(Moscow) — *The Soviet motherland extended asylum to a former CIA operative "just because we're humanitarians," a top level government official said today.*

The American, who has not been identified, was a closet comrade who left the agency after discovering CIA plots to overthrow the legitimate revolutions in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Vietnam (see related stories on pages 2-20.) He was fleeing CIA assassins who have killed hundreds of political and religious leaders in Central America (see related stories on pages 20-37.)

"I was afraid for my life and my family (because of Yankee imperialism and confrontational diplomacy around the world,)" he told various government officials. "I was also afraid (for my Soviet comrades trying to defect to the West, because of the torture and poverty they would encounter,) I really was," he added.

An unnamed people's investigator is handling the case. The American is attending re-orientation and social education at a people's institution in Siberia (see obituaries.)

Soviet Traitors Released to the United States

(The Managua bureau) — *A husband and wife spy ring was broken up by several government officials Thursday, and the traitors fled from Argentina to the Florida wasteland.*

The two former comrades, who were tightrope performers at the Moscow Circus, "were not good communists or good gymnasts," several patriots said. The government has announced that the couple may have been selling secret tightrope technology to American bourgoisie circus owners.

"Imperialists do not have the ability to develop fine, wholesome entertainment," a people's investigator said. "We believe this leak may explain why the Ringling Bros., Barnum and Bailey Circus has been able to get a first-strike advantage in ground- and platform-based clowns."

Investigators think the ring may have involved others in the American military-circustrial complex and various infiltrators in the motherland herself. Anyone having information on such a counter-revolutionary network are to find an operating telephone. If successful, call 478-3651. All callers will naturally remain anonymous.

Okay, I'll stop. I guess the experiment is complete. The line between journalism and propaganda is a lot clearer than I thought. It bears a remarkable resemblance to an Iron Curtain. Ω

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FOR YOU SEE, I QUITE PREFER THE ALTERNATIVE — THAT INSTEAD OF LEGS I HAVE ...
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Will SDI Work?
Critic Forum, page 3

Vol. 1, No. 3
December 1987

The CAROLINA CRITIC

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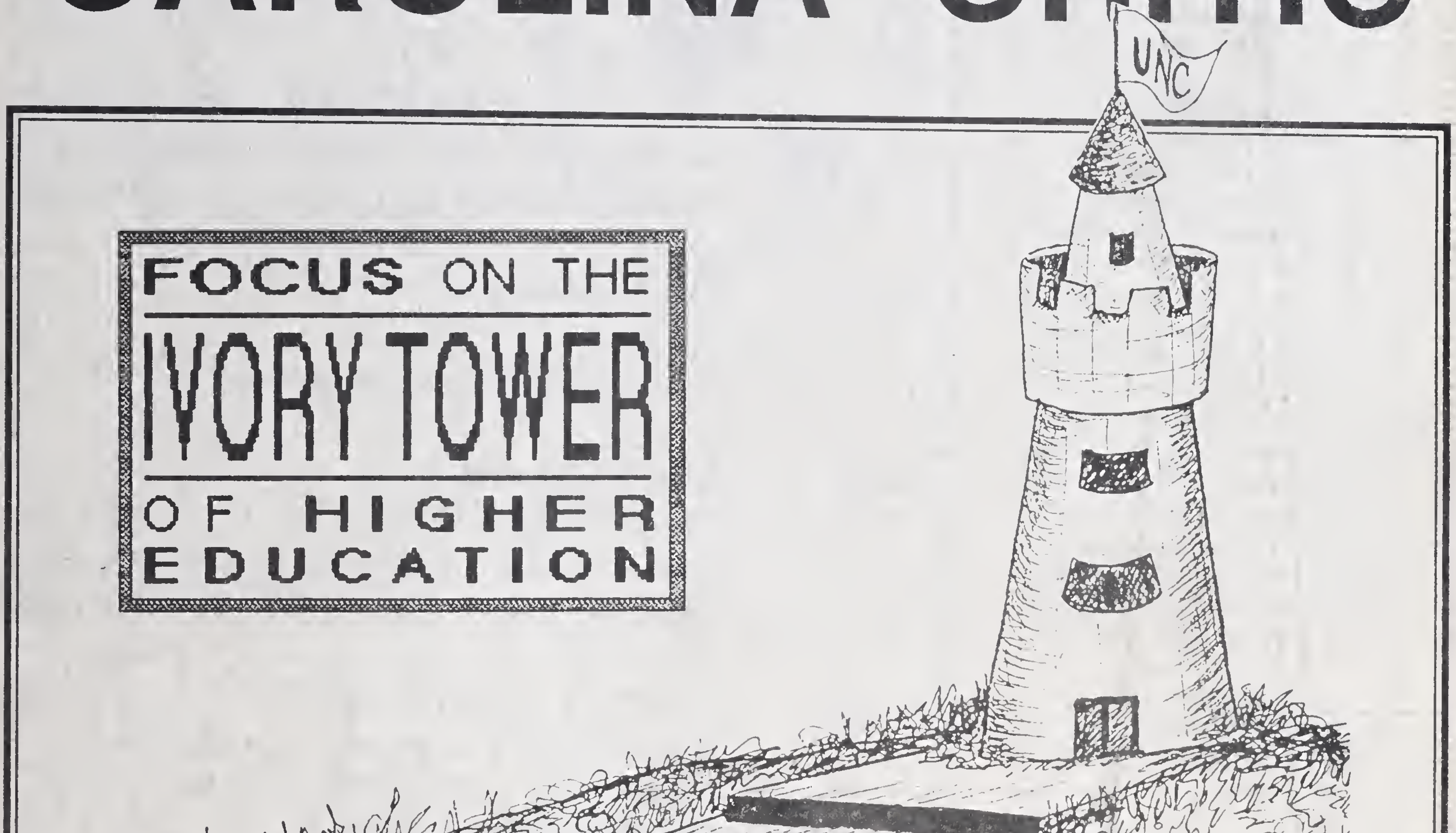
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CHAPEL HILL BUSES: WHY NOT PRIVATE?

CIA BASHERS ' ATTEMPT TO EMULATE AMY CARTER IN PROTEST

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The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. It is affiliated with no party, religion, domicile, or social group. Subscriptions cost $10 a year, but then again, as Neil Peart says, you can't get something for nothing. Correspondence and submissions are welcome, and should be sent to:

The Carolina Critic
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In This Issue ...

3 **Critic Forum: *Will SDI Work?***
David Hood and guest contributor Simon Goldenburg discuss the technical aspects of strategic defense and recent studies

5 **In the Zoo**
University columnist David Hood critiques the proposed "free" campus shuttle, and a tenable alternative: privatizing town buses

6 **The Critical Eye**

Focus on Higher Education:

12 ***The UNC Gender Gap***
Steven Wagner looks at the male-female ratio at the University, and argues that its roots are in admission policy shortcomings

16 ***Affirming Racial Conflicts***
The practice of affirmative action by government in school admissions is both unethical and impractical in the quest for a color-blind society, says Morgan Gurley

17 ***Open-mindedness in Bloom***
Jeff Taylor discusses the issues raise by 'Closing of the American Mind,' and critiques author Allan Bloom's views on rock music, education, and Plato

20 **Essays**
Jeff Evans reports on CIA-bashing by campus activists. . . The US Navy desperately needs an ability to deal with mines, argues Michael Lowrey. . . 'The Walrus' reflects on whatever comes to mind. . . Lisa Ashburn reviews 'Wish You Were Here'. . . The 'Star Trek' saga rages on, as Kenny Felder surveys the new show

CAN AN SDI SYSTEM WORK?

Aye — By David Hood

Talk of "Star Wars" defenses these days rarely analyzes the true nature of strategic defense any deeper than the frivolous tone of that nickname allows. Dismissed as simply "fantasy," the Strategic Defense Initiative is condemned in supposedly enlightened circles without a hearing. When the true facts are known, however, the inescapable conclusion is that SDI should be deployed as quickly as possible to bolster our posture of deterrence. To prove my point, I will outline the purpose of SDI, its technological feasibility, and answer some frequently heard arguments against strategic defense.

First, SDI is not supposed to destroy our system of deterrence of nuclear war; the intent is to replace the current reliance upon retaliation with an emphasis on protection. It is much more credible to the Soviets to prove that they cannot destroy us with a first strike than to try to convince them we wil doom our civilization by retaliating. And credibility (how much the opposing Power is convinced that war is not a good idea) is the cornerstone of nuclear deterrence.

How will strategic defenses bolster this credibility? By proving to Soviet war planners that they cannot strike us successfully. To do this, we must prevent them from achieving the objectives of a first strike — namely, the destruction of our ability to respond to a Soviet threat. In other words, we must protect our own missiles from Soviet warheads through the use of an SDI. This will complicate Soviet war plans enough to convince their architects not to try anything.

All right, even if SDI really can increase deterrence of Soviet nuclear perfidy or blackmail, can we really build one? The answer is yes. *High Frontier*, a 1982 study conducted by the Heritage Foundation, found that strategic defenses were feasible in the short-term. We don't need lasers or other "Star Wars" weapons right now, they argued. We can target space-based missiles to collide with enemy missiles and destroy them with old-fashioned kinetic energy. In other words, *we just run into them.*

A December 1986 study by the Marshall Institute also found that some beam weapons may be ready for deployment within seven years of a calculated decision to build them. Coupled with already-available kinetic energy kill systems, we can put up a system that is on the order of 90 percent effective against an incoming Soviet missile attack. And all for about $100 billion, a far cry from the "trillions" needed according to the press and others.

Well, if our ability to put up the system is so self-evident, then why has SDI been uniformly and consistently berated in so many places? The answer to that enigma can be found in the minds of the anti-SDI activists themselves. It seems that many of the studies condemning SDI as unworkable have been woefully flawed themselves. One of the most glaring examples occurred shortly after President Reagan's SDI Speech in March 1983. The Union of Concerned Scientists came out with a report criticizing the feasibility of strategic defenses, which was used by nay-sayers in the Congress and even on college campuses as proof of their view.

I wonder what those same SDI critics said after the author of the UCS report admitted to some rather startling errors in his analysis. For instance, the UCS claimed that 2,400 satellites would be needed for a space-based defense — then, uh, admitted that it would be closer to 162 satellites. They estimated the weight of each satellite at about 40,000 tons — then, uh, admitted that the weight would actually be 25 tons. These scientific "experts" were off by a factor of 1600! Do that in Math 31 and you'll be declaring pass-fail *real* quick!

That's not all, though. Another study came out recently from the American Physics Society. The APS study has its own share of fatal flaws. Case in point: they again had trouble with that weight problem (a crucial issue, as it determines both cost and efficacy). After going through a lengthy explanation of how those sneaky Russians could shield their missiles from lasers, they glossed over how much this shielding would weigh. It turns out that the present Soviet SS-18 with ten warheads would have to lose seven of them just to put the shielding on the missile. If we can get the Soviets to lessen their arsenal by 70 percent in this way, or spend an outrageous amount of money to build more missiles to house the shielded warheads, let's put this SDI thing up pronto.

The results of the APS study were so skewed, in fact, that 12 of the 17 members of the board protested the publication of the report, citing poor methodology and inadequate results. They also claim that some of the conclusions people have drawn have nothing to do with the research that was actually done . . . but what's a little accuracy among friends?

Oh, and none of the anti-SDI studies to date have dealt with kinetic-energy defenses in specific, which just happen to be the ones most impervious to criticism on a technical level.

It's no wonder the true facts about SDI remain indisclosed, given the high visibility of these pseudo-studies. But the actual arguments against SDI make no sense on their face. Critics claim the Soviets will develop countermeasures to the defenses (many of which would make the missiles impossible to get off the ground, according to the Marshall Study). And they suggest the Soviets, when faced with a 90 percent effective defense, will seek to overload the system by building more weapons; in other words, by nearly doubling their nuclear arsenal. These are the same people who tell us Gorbachev has to be sincere about glasnost, look at his economy. . .

Another frequent criticism is that the 10 percent leakage of Soviet missiles would be more than enough to inflict massive damage to US population centers. Which would be true is the Soviet first strike was aimed at cities, which it would not be. Unless the Soviets could destroy our nuclear retaliatory forces (which SDI would prevent) they will not strike all all, regardless of how many US citizens they can kill. After all, it would do them no good to just nuke our cities knowing they will lose an equal number of their own people to our second strike.

Remember that the purpose of SDI is to prevent a Soviet first strike by making it unsuccessful against our missiles and bomber fields. There is also the added feature of protecting against that lone missile fired by mistake (by either side), or against the growing threat of a small country with a few nuclear missiles. After all, the "nuclear genie" is out of the bottle forever — we may eventually be faced with many more nuclear powers than at the present. An SDI would be an invaluable protection against such a threat. And even most of the nay-sayers admit that we can shoot down 9 or 10 missiles at a time with present technology.

The SDI controversy requires more analysis than the superficial treatment of it by the press. As the above arguments indicate, the case for SDI benefits greatly from a greater airing of the truth about strategic defense. It's time we quit taking the word of people who can't add and subtract; we need an in-depth look at the issue that only a well-informed public can provide. Ω

Nay —

By Simon Goldenburg

Is it technologically feasible to build a defense system that will keep Soviet nuclear warheads from reaching the United States? With the billions of dollars that have been spent on "Star Wars" already, and the billions more to be spent over the next few years, the American taxpayers deserve an answer.

Part of that answer has been given by the American Physical Society, which released a study this spring entitled *The Science and Technology of Directed Energy Weapons*. Directed energy weapons (DEWs) are the particle and laser beam weapons which helped earn the Strategic Defense Initiative the popular nickname "Star Wars." (The other proposed weapons are kinetic energy weapons (KEWs); essentially rockets, bullets, and so forth. Since the technology of KEWs is much less controversial, the APS study was limited to DEWs.) The DEW study is a highly technical assessment of the present state of DEW technology, of the areas that need improvenent, and of how much improvement is necessary in each of these areas. Since the report was written for APS members, most of whom have Ph.D.s, the report as a whole is probably too technical for most people. However, the report begins with an executive summary and conclusions section that has no equations in it at all, followed by an overview of the rest of the detailed report, all in English (and not very technical English). Next is a chapter assessing the Soviet ballistic missile threat, only about half of this material is mathematical. Most chapters also contain a non-technical summary. I strongly encourage anyone interested enough in "Star Wars" to have read this far to read the APS DEW report for yourself. It is published in Reviews of Modern Physics (available in the Math-Physics library) as Part II of the July 1987 issue (volume 59, number 3).

The first question to ask about any group studying a topic as politically charged as this one is: what political prejudices do these people have? This panel was not composed of a bunch of longhaired peaceniks left over from the 1960's, but of a group of outstanding and highly respected physicists with years of experience in optics, particle beam generation, particle accelerators, targeting, and other applicable technologies. Since the study group had access to classified material from the Pentagon's SDI Organization, all members had security clearances, and therefore had experience in classified research. Some of the group's members are presently weapons scientists, hardly the type of people to oppose DEWs because of the potential political consequences. (The report itself, by the way, is declassified, after review and editing by the Defense Department.) The study group's co-chairs have described the group as "comprising 16 individuals with widely diverging political views ... It is remarkable that a unanimous publication emerged from this effort. This was possible only because the group eliminated all politically motivated statements and narrowed the choice of scientific parameters to a narrow range." As a further check against politics coloring the results, the report was reviewed for accuracy by a separate committee of physicists. The review panel included laser pioneers Arthur L. Schawlow and Charles H. Townes, and other eminent physicists well qualified to judge the quality of the study.

What are the report's conclusions? That there are "significant gaps in the scientific and engineering understanding of many issues associated with the development of these technologies." The report goes on to say that even in the best of circumstances, a decade or more of intensive research would be required to provide the technical knowledge needed for an informed decision about the potential effectiveness and survivability of directed energy weapons systems." This means that a workable DEW-based "Star Wars" system cannot be deployed before the end of this century. This contrasts with both the politically liberal view that we presently know these weapons to be impossible, and also with the politically conservative view that they are presently possible if only we would pay to build them.

Next the report outlines the requirements for DEW-based ballistic missile defense (BMD), and goes on to list 26 major conclusions of the study. For example:

- The optical coatings of large primary mirrors are particularly vulnerable in space-based optical systems.

Whether "Star Wars" laser weapons are ground- or space-based, many large, orbiting mirrors will be required. These must be of high optical quality when they are to be used for attacking missiles, yet they must also survive both years in space and the likely enemy attack.

Also:

- Housekeeping requirements for operational maintenence of many space platforms for strategic defense applications necessitate nuclear driven power plants on each of these platforms.
- Since a long time will be required to develop and deploy an effective ballistic missile defense, it follows that a considerable time will be available for responses by the offense. Any defense will

(continued on page 19)

THE CAROLINA CRITIC

Would like to know what you think about stories it has printed, issues it has covered, or hot topics of the day.

Please send correspondence, feedback, Christmas gifts, and innovative Critic Forum ideas to The Carolina Critic Editorial Department, 604 Tinkerbell Road, Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514. Include name, address, and telephone number in any submission.

In The Zoo

By David Hood

BUS SYSTEM MERITS PRIVATE OPERATION

OUT OF SERVICE

Chapel Hill Transit currently transports a large majority of off-campus students to and from campus everyday. This is obviously a necessity, given the critical lack of parking spaces at the University. Recent proposals to modify the University's approach towards mass transit make it clear, however, that some residents think the system could stand some careful scrutiny.

One such proposal was presented to administration officials by members of Student Government. It calls for a shuttle system, consisting of two 43-passenger buses, to be installed for "free" usage by members of the student body. The price-tag: $132,890 for the entire package.

According to the student leaders, this shuttle would eliminate the costs for campus transport currently borne by students in such remote ares as Hinton James. Tertiary benefits include experience for students in the planning stages, and more jobs for them in the bus operations themselves.

As is usually the case when Government of any kind takes on the burdens of transportation planning, this proposal is grossly unfair to both students and the citizens of North Carolina. Why do I say this?

The proposal is to be funded, among other sources, by state taxes and higher student fees. In other words, students who live in such dorms as Cobb, and students who drive to school, will be paying for the system just as much as the students on South Campus who will be the major beneficiaries of the new shuttle. And residents of such cities as Asheville and Wilmington will subsidize the comfort of people they do not know hundreds of miles away, as the proposal also calls for funding from the N.C. General Assembly.

While being touted as a "free" means of transportation, it really just shifts the burden from those who will use the shuttle to those who will not. Is it really the responsibility of everyone else to pay for the convenience of South Campus students? And what about the thifty student who walks the whole way once or twice a day? Do we force that student to pay for a system in which he or she has demonstrated disinterest?

We shouldn't blame Student Government for this kind of injustice, however. Most students have probably never heard of user fees or other free-market concepts in transportation, given the leftist political source of their education. And the only real-world role model we have is the federal government, which taxes people in Utah to pay for a bridge in Vermont

So the unfairness inherent in most Government spending projects is certainly not intrinsic to Chapel Hill. But we do not have to go the same route as the tax-and-spenders have done nationwide. Charging only the people who ride the shuttles, which is an example of a "user fee," would be a fair way to approach the issue of cost for such a system.

Even more in line with free-market theory would be to privatize transit in Chapel Hill all together. That is to say, government would step out of the business completely, letting buses be run by one or more private companies. Not only would privatization reduce costs of the system, as it has in a variety of other industries, it would also prevent the aforementioned scenario of taxing everyone for the convenience of a few.

A similar proposal was set forth by the Planner for the Department of Transportation and Parking Services, John Gardner. Details on his idea are scarce, since any talk of privatizing Chapel Hill Transit has been *squashed* by South Building. Gardner can no longer talk about it. Basically, he had intended the plan to focus on solicitation of private companies for the purpose of running buses for the University, and possibly for the Town itself. It probably just made too much sense for officials at South Building to approve it, so it got the veto.

Although Gardner's plan cannot be specifically evaluated, being dead-on-arrival and all, we can look at the success of privatization programs in Thatcher's United Kingdom and here in the US. By opening up such activities as trash collection, prison administration, and some mail delivery to the pressures of the free market, we have seen lower prices and better service from a majority of the private companies. It does not take a leap of faith to imagine that much of the same could happen if buses were run by private firms.

The major obstacle to privatization plans is a long-held mindset in favor of state control over transportation industries. Some believe that such services should be provided cost-free to citizens of a nation, or in this case, a University. Others argue for extensive oversight of any private company which dares to take on the job itself.

But this is clearly the wrong focus. Instead of finding new ways to tax everyone for the benefit of a few, we should let those who need a service pay for it. After all, we don't raise student fees to subsidize "free" haircuts for the student body; we let each person go out and find his own barber. If someone wants a ride from the Smith Center to Franklin Street, they should contract the services of someone willing to transport that someone. Whether this comes in the form of a bus or a taxi or a friend's car is not the business of Student Government or any other government. And it certainly should not be the responsibility of others who dodge cars on Cameron Avenue everyday to get to classes on bikes.

The answer to the current transit controversy is the same for most other "policy questions" — absence of State control. Only by exposing the business to market forces can economic efficiency by achieved in the long run. Only by the installation of user fees can funding by acquired in a fair and sensible manner. And only by recognizing the integrity of free choice, even in mass transit, can true human freedom ever be realized. Ω

THE CRITICAL EYE

Vol. 1, No. 3
December 1987

— Well, since Soviet leader and American media darling Mikhail Gorbachev might be visiting Williamsburg, Va. during his North American tour, we at *The Carolina Critic* thought about inviting him to come on down to Chapel Hill for a gig. But then we remembered the date of his arms control summit arrival — December 7 — and nixed the idea. The symbolism was just too much for us.

— Praise for the land of the Tiger Paw! A report by two Clemson University Researchers offers evidence that contrary to popular myth, deregulated airlines have no market incentive to cut corners on safety. When a plane crash occurs and is attributed to something the airline is responsible for, like maintenance or pilot training, the study shows that the airline's stock is almost certain to experience a sharp drop. This may be no surprise to free marketeers, but studies like this one are the only thing folks in D.C. understand. There can never be too much hard evidence to use against would-be regulators. But, of course, Clemson still sucks.

— The student referendum on Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association funding, to be voted on in February, misses the crucial point on CGLA funding. Sure, public opinion should not be shunned (and student "leaders" no doubt fear it), but the real question is how student opinion can most accurately be presented: by the ballot or by the free market of voluntary contribution. Campus elections consistently have a very low turnout, as most students rightly have more important things to do. Therefore, a vote on whether the student body should fund the CGLA will likely involve only a small percentage of the student body, from only two groups — those who are either homosexual or actively support their "cause," and those who spout slogans like "AIDS is a curse from God on the fags" and actually believe sodomy should be illegal. The homophiles and the homophobes are both irrelevant minorities of the student body: most students simply respect each other's privacy and religious convictions, and care very little about becoming "educated" to embrace *or* despise gays. That's why CGLA funding — as well as funding for other political or "consciousness-raising" groups — should be prohibited by constitution, or more appropriately, by the administration. Let students freely contribute to such groups if they wish. That way, those students who don't want to persecute homosexuals, but who also don't particularly care to fund their activities, can use their dollars for something more productive. Like buying a burrito at the new Taco Bell.

— It is, however, extremely scary to hear the CGLA's response to the referendum threat: "We don't think that public opinion should be a criteria for funding a group; it never has been for any other group," Jim Duley, the CGLA outreach coordinator says. *Yes, he really said that.* Duley added that if students are going to vote on CGLA funding they should also vote on funding other student groups, such as Student Television, Student Congress, and the Black Student Movement. We agree. But voting directly with dollars rather than indirectly with ballots is the way to go. And Mr. Duley: there's a document about *taxation without representation* by a guy named Jefferson that you should take a look at. You might even be able to find a copy in the Undergraduate Library.

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— Speaking of unfair taxation: the *Daily Tar Heel* and others have reacted caustically to graduate students' demand that their student fees not be raised to pay for a new registration system they won't really use. The system will use telephones to alleviate the long lines at Woolen Gym every semester. But since most grad students take care of registration in their departments, they don't really need to use the new phone system. So why tax them to pay for it? How about this as an alternative: instead of raising student fees, simply charge a user fee, a toll, for the telephone registration service. Charging only students who use the system — and charging by the call so students who use the phones a lot pay more — would be more equitable for *everyone* concerned. Meanwhile, the DTH editorial writers have demonstrated once again the shallowness of their thinking on student fees and economics in general by rejecting the grad students' clearly-legitimate beef.

— Gov. Jim Martin has set up some sort of commission to evaluate North Carolina's Safe Roads Act. There's no need, Jim, we'll tell you flat out that the Safe Roads Act (a misnomer if there ever was one) is one big flop. Drunk driving is still on the increase despite all the "task forces" and "awareness campaigns." The one significant portion of the Act — the part raising the drinking age to 21 — was misguided and doesn't address the problem of drunk drivers. Young people *should* be in more drunk driving arrests and accidents simply because they drive a heck of a lot more than any other age group. The problem is the habitual offender, usually an alcoholic and middle-aged, who simply cannot be prevented from driving by revoking his or her license. More drastic measures are needed. And reliance on sometimes meaningless blood-alcohol levels to determine impairment is also a big mistake. Studies have shown that some people are unfit to drive with blood-alcohol levels of .06 or .07, much less than the current cutoff point, .10. Such things as belching can throw tests results off, as smart defense lawyers point in in court. Much more scientific are the good old coordination tests. The only way to get drunks off the road, whatever the driver's age, is to throw them in jail. There's your answer, Governor. Now, save the taxpayers some money and dismiss that silly commission.

— The Littlest Dictator, Daniel Ortega, left Managua and the city's 100,000 refugees and 1,000 percent inflation rate to come to Washington, D.C. to talk "peace" last month. Despite all his oratory excess the message was clear. Ortega's idea of a peace plan is simple: if the Contras give up, maybe he'll talk to them. Of course, the Democrats and the liberal media hold Ortega's proposal up as evidence of his "commitment" to peace. But, the administration has been reluctant to call Ortega's plan what it is — a scheme to cut off US support for the Contras while the Sandinistas launch attacks to annihilate them. You'd think the White House would recognize this strategy, as Ho Chi Minh used it to perfection once. If this is the best deal Ortega can come up with, our advice is to wait until hyperinflation exacts its toll and Managua's streets are choked with refugees. Then see what Mr. Ortega has to say to his rich gringo neighbor to the north.

— Let's get the facts straight on the progress of the Central American Peace Plan in Nicaragua: 1) Yes, *La Prensa* is now being allowed to publish, but the Sandinistas have made a standing warning to the publisher that if criticism of the government is "too extreme," the paper will be closed again. Luckily *La Prensa* has been very critical without yet triggering retaliation, but the threat nonetheless was given and reported on the inside pages of an agonizingly few American newspapers. 2) Yes, the Catholic radio station has been allowed to broadcast again, but *it is not allowed to broadcast news or comment.* Remember that Nicaragua used to have dozens of independent newspapers and several radio stations before the Sandinistas took over with a vengeance. 3) Yes, 1,000 political prisoners have been or are slated to be released, but observers estimate that 5,000 to 9,000 more remain in prison or in labor camps. 4) Yes, progress has been made — but all these actions were already required by the Sandinistas' own promises made in 1979 to their people and to surrounding countries. The Sandinistas aren't saying anything more conciliatory than they said then. 5) Yes, all these developments are welcome, but the Ortegas only started becoming peacemakers when the Contras were succeeding in their hit and run attacks, and were using American-supplied weapons to destroy the government's high-tech Soviet helicopter fleet. The peace plan merely vindicates

Clipboard

Average speed of a car on West Germany's *Autobahn*: a fraction under 80 miles per hour. . . The fallout among the general public from October's stock market crash differs pronouncably from the standard line of journalists these days, according to Peter Hart's poll for the *Chicago Tribune*: 36 percent of respondents said they thought Republicans would do a better job of producing economic prosperity, while 26 percent chose the Democrats as economic leaders — and an ever-present 35 percent had no preference. . . Remember Sen. Al Gore's (D-Tenn.) play to Democratic moderates and conservatives in foreign policy debates by pledging support to the administration's Persian Gulf policies, among other things? Well, it seems Gore actually has quite a naughty resume: the Ameican Conservative Union gives him a very low rating in its survey of recent Senate votes, similar liberal watchdog groups rate him highly, and the conservative weekly *Human Events* recently published Gore's zero rating on the Competitive Enterprise Institute's Pork Barrel & Subsidy Index. . . The more public opinion polling these days, the more outright terror — case in point is Gallup's poll of Americans rating public figures as "favorable" that rates these top six: Dan Rather, Billy Graham, Ted Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Jesse Jackson, and Mikhail Gorbachev. . . For all you doubters, Evans and Novak report that a secret CIA study of the INF treaty's verifcation concludes that it would be "impossible" to prevent Soviet cheating on the treaty. . . Local political scientists Earl and Merle Black have a new book out, called *Politics and Society in the South*, that forecasts the completion of a nationwide political alignment will occur as disenchanted Southern Democrats who have voted Republican for president the last few elections become outright GOP'ers.

Military Insignifica

Not bad for two missiles worth less than a million dollars each. An estimate is in on the repairs to make the American guided missile frigate USS *Stark* combat ready again:a mere $142 million (a brand new guided missile frigate would cost perhaps twice as much). Repairs are schedueled to be completed in August 1988 to the ship, which was hit by an Iraqi Exocet missile in May with the loss of 37 of her crew. . . It seems Italy will finally modify its constitution and allow the Italian Navy to operate fixed wing aircraft (and not just helicopters) from its newly commissioned short takeoff and vertical landing (STOVL) carrier *Giuseppe Garibaldi*. The only problem remaining is obtaining the 14 or so Harriers for the completed ship; deliveries of enough planes for a ship which took so many years to build could take years. . . And rumor has it that they actually might get these things fully operational before they are replaced by a more advanced aircraft: the Royal Air Force will have its Tornado F-3 fighter/ interceptors equipped with a radar that meets all the specifications set forth within the "next two to the three years" the Ministry of Defence has announced. For the present, after the aircraft has been in service for almost six years, planes are receiving interrim versions of the radar in question, named Foxhunter, replacing ballast in their noses. . . Why does this scare me? It seems that a team from the U.S. Army, 3rd Armored Division won the Canadian Army Trophy for tank gunnery. Painted on the side of the turret of a tank shown taking part in this competition (in a General Dynamics advertisment toutting that its tank, the M-1, won) was a large drawing of "Bill the Cat" —of Bloom County fame — "acking."

— *Michael Lowrey*

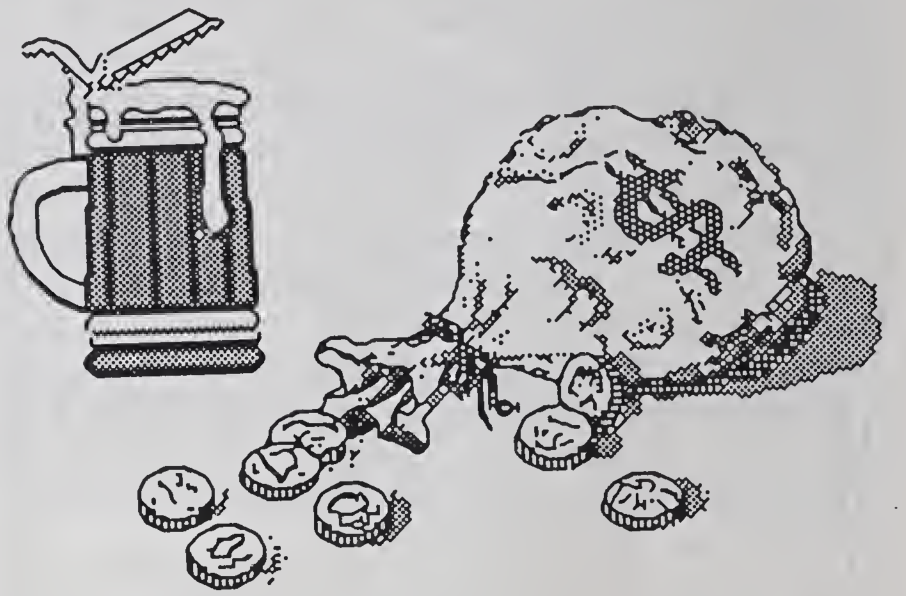
the Contra policy. 6) Yes, Nicaragua is a slightly better place after these developments, but it has a long way to go before it even reaches the level of freedom allowed in Chile, which is not exactly a swell place either. But curiously enough, Chile seems to monopolize the thinking of human rights activitists around the world, who in the same breath praise the peace plan. 7) And if the Sandinistas actually hold free elections without military pressure on them to do so, we'll eat our word processors.

— One of the more fascinating events of the past month offers hope for, believe it or not, peace in the Middle East. At a summit of Arab leaders, the usual target of abuse and threats — Israel — was *scarcely mentioned.* The Arabs spent most of their time censuring Iran for its refusal to accept a U.N. ceasefire proposal in the war with Iraq. Several states in the 21-member Arab League even decided to accept Egypt back into their ranks, so that its armed forces and diplomatic resources can be used in the fight against Iran. Egypt was expelled for the peace agreement it made with, you guessed it, Israel. Just think: the Ayatollah, by continuing the jihad, could be responsible for a more moderate tone in relations among Arabs states and between Arabs and Israelis. What a guy!

— On Ginsburg and pot: one-third of all Americans and over 60 percent of young adults have tried marijuana. Vast majorities of Americans don't think pot should disqualify people for public service or even for the Supreme Court. So we don't deem it an issue worth attention, and merely issue a sad farewell to a Chicago-school jurist who could have been an excellent addition to the court on economic freedom cases.

— Back in 1791 Congress passed an excise tax on whiskey. By 1794 a full-fleged revolt was underway. Today historians call it the Whiskey Rebellion. In 1987 Congress is kicking around the idea of tripling the federal beer tax to 65 cents per six-pack. We love beer and hate taxes, so this pernicious proposal has us thinking another revolt wouldn't be such a bad idea. And if there's unanimity among college students on any issue, it is that beer should be cheap and plentiful. If the tax-hikers in Congress get their way you Michelob drinkers out there will be choking down Hamm's or, dare we say it, Black Label beer. So write your representatives, make musket balls, stockpile gunpowder, and wait for the signal. How's this for a rallying cry: "Tax our beer and we'll break your face."

— The film classic "Alexander Nevsky," made under the thumbs of the Stalinist propaganda machine by the legendary Sergei Eisenstein, depicts a Russian hero's valiant leadership of his peasant army's successful struggle against the Teutonic Knights in the 13th Century. Released in 1938 at the height of fear in Soviet Russia that Hitler would try a similar Teutonic invasion, the film's stirring patriotism and anti-German theme was emmensely popular (of course, the Russian public was presumably unaware of how helpful Stalin was to Hitler at the time). But even so, Stalin's henchmen had a field day cutting up Eisenstein's creation, and the rough-and-tumble censorship ruined what was one of the film's most important features — a beautiful unity of images and music. Now a new version of the



soundtrack, which was reconstructed by composer Sergei Prokofiev, is being played live at a few select showings of "Nevsky" in L.A., Cleveland, and Washington. Andre Previn conducts, using a video screen to maintain sychronicity between image and music. The film has been a cult favorite of many *Critic* staffers for years, and we hope that the D.C. showing will be rescheduled to coincide with Gorbachev's visit to our national capital. He should be shown that disdain for Soviet hegemony and tyranny can exist side-by-side with a love of Russian culture and music. Maybe it will sink in. Who knows?

— A Stockholm-based human rights group reports that the Soviets recently used violence to quell demonstrations in the tiny Baltic state of Latvia. Thousands of Latvians marched to commemorate the Latvian Independence Day. Latvia is one of the Baltic republics that was overrun and annexed by the Soviets at the beginning of World War II. Since then the Latvians have struggled fiercely to free their country while the world looked on with indifference. While it's of precious little help, all we can say is that if there's justice in the world, Latvia will one day have a second Independence Day to celebrate.

— Meanwhile, half a world away, the Soviets are doing their best to insure that the kind of demonstrations that rocked Latvia don't occur in Afghanistan in 40 years. The Independent Council on Human Rights reports that the Soviets are forcibly taking children out of Afghanistan and sending them to the Soviet Union for indoctrination. Children are regularly sent to the Soviet Union for several years against their and their parents' wishes. The goal is to produce a generation of Afghans schooled in the socialist faith. This coupled with the Soviets' all out war against Islamic culture and tradition is calculated to produce a docile Soviet colony. The Soviets had better be careful, though. Giving these poor youngsters an inside look at what life is like in the USSR just might give them all the more reason to fight Soviet rule in their homeland.

— Rep. David E. Price, a former Duke professor, should be given credit for voting against a House bill that called for $12 billion in higher taxes. Unfortunately, the measure passed by one vote. Price says that the bill simply relied "too much" on tax increases, and was not hard enough on federal spending. Fellow Democrat William Gray of Pennsylvania, who recently improved his own standing by calling for international censure of Ethiopia's Mengistu regime, defended Price in his vote against the tax increase. Now if Price will just understand that any tax increase will do nothing but harm to the economy and that only spending cuts should be used to cut the budget deficit, we could have a genuine boll-weevil on our hands.

— So Tipper Gore says she smoked pot while she was in college. The next thing you know she'll say she was in a rock 'n roll band, too.

— In a related note, Secretary of Education William Bennett divulged that he had a date, admittedly a "blind" one, with Janis Joplin in 1970. Well, at least it wasn't Mama Cass.

The Economy: Myth vs. Fact

The record 508-point plunge in the October 19 stock market made a lot of people poorer. But it also made some people very happy. Longtime critics of the Reagan Administration's economic policies — liberal journalists and columnists, Harvard (Keynesian) economists, and Democratic politicians — seized the moment to proclaim the correctness of their warnings, which had previously fallen on deaf ears. The U.S. economy is in shambles, they said, and heading for recession. Budget deficits accummulated during Reagan's watch were finally hitting home. Clearly the disasterous combination of a defense buildup and a supply-side income tax cut would have to be reversed "to save the Commonweal." Reagan's budget priorities had caused a "consumption binge," they said, which we would now all have to suffer for.

Think about it. According to this explanation of the crash, investors were asking the powers-that-be to raise their taxes, decrease their customer's consumption, and end Reagan policies that had coincided with phenomenal growth in the U.S. economy over five years — as well as record corporate profits during 1987. Are Wall Street investors really so altruistic?

It's no wonder that confusion abounds among observers and even market "spokesmen." Amid the clamor over the federal budget deficit issue, the real questions faced in putting the fiscal house in order — those having to do with philosophical and economic principles — have become obscurred by partisan rhetoric, academic gloating, and the call for budget "compromise." In the mad rush to condemn the Reagan administration, supply-side economics, and America's consumption "binge" for the crash, the realities of America's last five years of economic boom have been buried. It's time to unearth those realities.

Myth 1: *The Reagan economic boom is a sham, as latent problems like the national debt to foreign creditors, lack of business investment, and trade deficit demonstrate.*

Reality: Many of these so-called problems are either mislabeled as evils or misjudged by faulty math. Take the "U.S. as the largest debtor nation" issue. Even if the Nov. 16 *Business Week*'s predictions are correct, and our foreign debt reaches an "eyepopping" $1 trillion by the end of the decade, that would constitute only 16 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP). Why measure debt in percentage of GNP? Because of the obvious fact that a larger economy will have a larger *dollar value* of debt than a smaller economy, regardless of each country's debt as a *portion* of its economy, since there are more people and businesses in the larger country.

This 16 percent figure certainly does not qualify the United States for "world's greatest debtor" status, as many countries of Latin America and Africa owe a larger proportion of their GNP to foreign creditors. Of course, the level of U.S. debt to foreign creditors does seem rather high, but what base is there to compare it to? Capital — domestic or foreign — flows to where it is most productive, and the U.S. economy has surely outgrown and even outproduced other economies over the last five years.

The crisis of business investment has also been decried as foreboding. As it would be, if only such a crisis existed. In fact, business investment in plant and equipment is now rising at a 23 percent annual rate. From 1982 to 1986, real U.S. total fixed investment rose by 38 percent, compared with less than 18 percent in Japan and 7 percent in Germany. Analysis of the trade gap suffers as well from a shocking lack of perspective, ignoring the higher trade deficits of places like Switzerland.

Myth 2: *The Reagan boom in employment (13 million jobs have been created this decade) came mostly in low-paying service jobs, labeled "McJobs" — and thus did not really address the unemployment problem.*

Reality: This particular myth was first presented last year in a Joint Economic Committee study that has since been indicted by numerous sources, including the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bureau reports that the share of overall employment that pays low earnings (50 percent or less of mediam income) went down from 30.1 percent in 1973 to 28.9 percent in 1985.

And a study conducted by the American Enterprise Institute found that from 1979 to 1985, 51 percent of new jobs yielded "high earnings" while 24 percent yielded "low earnings." In short, the McJobs theory used to dismiss the falling unemployment rate is either a lie or a sloppy bit of math.

Myth 3: *The U.S. economy is probably heading for a recession, because the Reagan administration has not induced individual savings and is keeping capital occupied to finance the budget deficit.*

Reality: There is clearly a risk posed by continued deficit spending. It is a debacle that must be resolved. But to say that a recession is imminent unless people start saving more and spending less of their income is a self-fulfilling prophecy. By definition, a recession means that the economy slows down — that people are buying less goods and services so that the overall economy ceases to expand, and begins to contract. Telling people to stop spending so much may be good advice to particular individuals, but bad advice to a growing economy.

In addition, the entire concept of predicting recessions or anything else with such self-assured accuracy may be a flawed one. As noted Nobel economist F.A. Hayek argues, economic models that have "predictive force" — that claim to show with statistics and quantities what is going to happen in the future —

Campaign '88

In a recent speech before the Federalist Society, Rep. **Jack Kemp** (R-N.Y.) kept up his attack on the establishment wing of the Republican party. Kemp wants to be seen as the champion of party conservatives and argues that moderates are unable and unwilling to expand the party's base. The **Bush/Dole** section of the GOP, Kemp says, is interested only in maintaining the status quo and not in attracting new Republican voters. Kemp believes that conservative ideas and programs can capture the imagination of voters and draw them to the party. What Kemp fails to mention is that the conservative *social* agenda alienates as many voters, especially young people, as conservative enlightenment on economic policy attracts. Kemp needs to keep in mind that the marketplace is not the only place where Americans value their freedom.

Every four years the **Libertarian Party** trots out a candidate to joust the windmills of statism. Their platform usually calls for slashing the budget, especially defense, cutting taxes, and staying home to watch America prosper. But for '88 the LP candidate, **Ron Paul**, is running on a platform which includes renouncing the ABM Treaty and immediate deploying of SDI systems. Granted, much of the Libertarians' enthusiasm for SDI is due to their naive isolationism. But when several GOP candidates seem to view SDI as some sort of bargaining chip and all the Democrats except for a lukewarm Sen. **Al Gore** (D-Tenn.) opposed to SDI, the Libertarians have filled something of a vacuum. SDI is an idea that has great common sense appeal to voters if it isn't muddled with unnecessary details. It seems it would do the two major parties much good to do as they have done before and adopt a third party's platform for their own benefit. Americans deserve to be able to vote for a candidate — a candidate that can win — who will do everything possible to protect them from nuclear holocaust. (Editor's note: Paul will appear on Dec. 11 at the Raleigh Marriott; for more information, contact Rick Henderson).

What a spectacle it was to see Sen. **Bob Dole** (R-Kansas) on the **Larry King** show attempting to justify farm price supports. Dole actually said that price supports keep prices low for consumers! How does that work, Bob? Does paying farmers not to plant somehow increase yield, thus lowering prices? Or are you saying that without payoffs no one in America would grow food? Whatever the case, Dole had better be thankful he was being questioned by Larry King and not **Bill Buckley**, or better yet, former Delaware Gov. **Pete du Pont.**

— *Jeff Taylor*

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are interesting but hardly merit basing *government policy* on. Even so, a fairly successful model cited by columnist Warren Brookes shows that the U.S. economy is poised on the brink of new growth, not contraction. It uses a spread of American companies' sales vs. unit labor costs to predict recession. For example, in 1974 that spread was -3.5 percent — and there was a recession. Recovery began in 1975, with a spread of 4 percent. The model successfully predicts the recessions of 1979, 1981-82, and a slowdown in 1985, when the spread hit .6 percent. The spread for the first half of 1987? *Five percent*, the largest sales vs. unit labor costs spread in 15 years!

If the dire rhetoric of would-be tax increasers and budget compromisers is so full of myth, is there really anything to worry about under the Reagan budget regime?

Definitely so. A continued deficit spending spree can do nothing but hurt the economy in the long run. The mistake made by so many Reagan critics — as well as some Reagan supporters — is looking only at the current numbers and polls. At what level might the economy have reached during the Reagan presidency had Washington not borrowed and spent so much?

But these justified concerns unfortunately seem to spawn even greater threats to the economy. The current fashion in Congress and even in the White House favoring tax increases, gingerly spending cuts on the periphery, and business regulation are hysterical reactions to hysterical rhetoric. First of all, they will hardly decrease the deficit. Tax increases will fail, because giving politicians more revenues will most certainly result in more spending, as Nobel economist Milton Friedman continues to warn. Small, incidental cuts in the budget that ignore the big ticket items (entitlements, Social Security, nonsensical defense spending) are irrelevant and self-deluding. And any measures that risk bringing on a recession, whether they be tax increases, regulation, or protectionist legislation, are the worst form of deficit reduction imaginable — since a recession would decrease tax receipts and increase entitlement payments.

For all these reasons, the current political games played by the administration and Congress won't reduce the deficit, and may indeed threaten the robust health the U.S. economy currently enjoys. A bolder, more principled route is needed, made up of the following factors:

No tax increases. The administration should stay the course on tax cuts, which have stimulated a growing economy out of the last decade's malaise. In fact, a good way to increase revenues without adversely effecting the economy would be to lower the tax rate on long-term capital gains to 15 percent, an idea quickly gaining bipartisan support. Predictions of possible revenue gains vary from $3-9 billion in 1988, and $12-32 billion over the next three years. (By the way, this move might also restore stability to the stock market, which after all became so volatile in part because the 1986 tax reform bill taxed short-term capital gains much lower than long-term gains — thus inducing more turnover in investments).

Cut some defense spending. On this point we need some real strategic guidance: SDI should be off the table, but the B-1 bomber program — which has wasted hundreds of billions of dollars in an impossible attempt to challenge Soviet air defenses — should be cut immediately.

Cut entitlement spending. These are politically difficult to cut, but at least a freeze on cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security and other programs would be welcome. We should remember that the current budget balance of social spending vs. defense spending is favors the former more than ever before.

Get the facts and figures straight. Debunking myths like the ones above simply must be done — in the media, in academia, and in the minds of the general public — before reasoned economic policy can be made.

Otherwise, policymakers will be responding to problems that don't exist by creating problems that do. Ω

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THE UNC GENDER GAP

Admissions policy should place more reliance on the SAT, less on class rank, for equity and accuracy

By Steven Wagner

Too many female students?

Some of my male friends would say there can never be too many. Our campus is certainly a distracting place to be for men and occasionally annoying for women, but is it an educationally and socially well-balanced place?

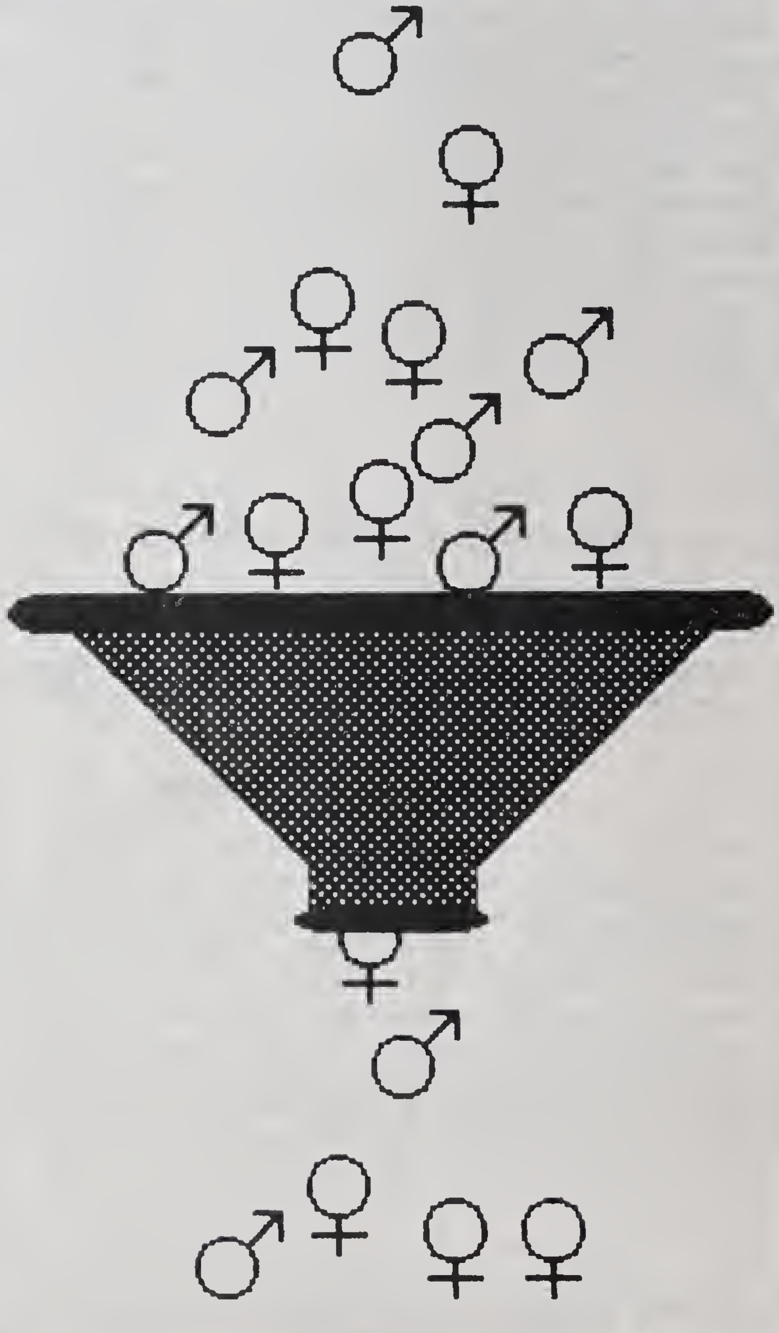
Of the 1986 freshman entering class, 62 percent of the instate students were women. Sixty-two percent! That means there are almost two women to every man on campus. Again, on the surface I find this almost idilic. But let us assume that fraternity parties and the bar scene are not the only activity that matters to students. Let us assume that ultimately we are all here for that often elusive but always productive "liberal college education": to learn to read, write, and think critically as well as to gain expertise in a certain field.

What, then, is the effect of of an imbalance in the ratio of women to men on campus, and more importantly, is this imbalance justified by the higher credentials of applicants accepted? I say no! I contend that the inflated number of women on campus is the result of flawed administration policy driven by egalitarian and "ivory tower" academic interests. I believe that this imbalance is just a symptom of a larger disorder the University faces: we consistently misunderstand and misinterpret the role of the *public* university in society.

Before you accuse me of sexism or racism or any other "ism" that might come to mind, please give me the benefit of the doubt. The bulk of this article is the product of longterm research on the subject. Figures don't have "isms." While you may disagree with some of my conclusions, they are solidly based on facts and analysis. Besides, the issue here transcends the gender gap — the UNC admissions policy is fundamentally flawed by its over-reliance on an applicant's class rank and under-reliance on SAT scores. Pointing out that mistaken emphasis cannot be classified simply as "male chauvenism."

In order to truly understand my argument it is important to grasp the different roles of a *public* as opposed to a *private* university. Private universities are privately chartered and are primarily financed by private funds. This gives them a great deal of autonomy in the marketplace of ideas and education. They can run their admissions process in almost any way they choose. If they want only to admit students who are interested in pure academic reflection and research, then they may choose to do so. If they want to admit only students with demonstrable "real world" experience, they may do this.

The public university, however, faces a far greater responsibility. By definition, the public university is founded by the legislature. Its primary funding comes from tax revenue collected from the people of the state. The state university must always be bound by the people that fund it. Therefore, the primary benefit of the University should return to the people that fund it (I will address only the teaching role; the research role is also subject to such analysis and more money is spent on it than teaching). There is no question that attendance at the public university is a limited public resource, as there are far fewer positions for students than there are taxpayers. It is therefore the responsibility of the University to ensure that those people allocated a portion of that resource (i.e. are admitted to Carolina) must be individuals who can most effec-



tively return the benefit of that resource to the people of the state. Deciding which individuals have the highest potential of returning the benefit of their education to society is a challenging process.

I think it is justified to say that those individuals who become influential in the social, economic, or political circles are those most likely to be in a position to return a benefit to society. This ability is not due to some inherent good I see in a successful person, but rather the simple fact that they have the potential to demonstrably effect the lives of average taxpayers. Any admissions policy of a public university that does not strongly consider potential for social, political, or economic success is in direct conflict with the role of the public university. Bearing this in mind, I will now examine the male/female imbalance more closely.

THE UNC ADMISSIONS POLICY . . .

Favors this type	*Disfavors this type*
The studious person who spends several hours each night studying	Working teenagers or teens with widely varied interests who can not spend as large an amount of time studying
Students whose parents attendend college or provided a happy home environment	Students from welfare families or with single parents and little encouragement to improve status
Introverts who have limited interests outside of home and school	Extroverts who have a strong interest in living a full life and putting their energies into every aspect of life
Individuals who mature early in life	Late-bloomers, or individuals who realize their goals aspirations later in school
Well-rounded students who perform above average in all subjects	Students who perform exceptionally in only one subject
Students who are "tracked" in college prep honors or advanced placements courses	Students who are "tracked" into regular or slow classes because of poor performance
Low risk takers who take the minimally difficult courses in order to achieve higher grades	High risk takers who demand the most difficult courses in a variety of subjects but do not earn top grades as a result

A substantial and lasting trend such as the gradually changing gender ratio over the last 20 years demands explanation (see table). In a public university, however, it is our *responsibility* to question and understand such a trend. The most common way of dismissing this responsibility is to simply state that if we admit the best qualified students then the male/female ratio is irrelevant. This argument assume that the admissions process is working at intended, which it is not. It ignores three important questions: 1) Does the gender gap impact on socio-educational objectives? 2) Does our present admissions policy actually admit the most qualified students? and 3) Assuming our policy does admit the most qualified and assuming that admitting the most qualified is the purpose of the policy, is that purpose in line with the role of the public university in society?

First of all, the value of a college education extends beyond academic endeavor. There should be far more learned from your stay here than how to write a term paper. I am not going to expound on the "educational opportunities" inherent in a keg party. Rather, my concern is that in the professional and social "real world," we live in a heterogeneous society. A public university should not protect students from the real world for the sole purpose of academic endeavor and contemplation. It should use academic endeavor and contemplation to help us master processes we can then use in the real world. The key here is that life and success in the real world is the goal — not life in the academic world. Central to achievement of this goal is a heterogeneous university community as a model of the real world. In social relations outside, two women to every man is present only in the dreams of 15 year-old boys. Professionally, it is present in only a limited number of occupations, few of which students here are being trained for. From this standpoint, intellectual and social interchange is present in an increasingly convolunted fashion at UNC.

Another important point to consider here is how the public and our financial supporters perceive the University. There is no question that the professional and political world is still a male dominated world. If we are perceived as a "girl's school" will we be considered as important an institution and will we receive the accompanying financial support? Is Radcliff as well-known or as well-endowed as Harvard? One may argue that such an effect is the result of a sexually-biased society and should be ignored. But to ignore the reality of society in favor of the argument that the University should lead society out of its racial and sexual prejudices is wrong. *It is not the role of the public university to take on a social agenda and then try to engineer a change in society.* This does not return the benefit of the University to the taxpayer because in that instance it would not be the taxpayer who determines the social agenda — it would be the University. When this happens the University is claiming autonomy from the taxpayers because it assumes it can better determine social norms than society can on its own.

The second question and more important question to be answered is whether we are truly admitting the most qualified candidates to the University. To consider this issue with clarity, the admission process must first be understood. At

The SAT: Is Today's Test Biased?

It has often been charged that standardized tests like the SAT are biased towards certain segments of society. The validity of these charges rests on the fact that standardized tests have been found to ask questions that rely on ceratin cultural-specific knowledge for full understanding. These allegations were voiced lound in the civil rights-conscious era of the '60s. But in the last 20 years , extensive and continual review by the Educational Testing Service has removed any such bias in the SAT. ETS also made changes in the question writing and approval processes. The most obvious of these changes is in the race and gender diversity of the writing staff.

The College Board, which administers the SAT and employs ETS to write questions, recently testified before Congress. They argued that differences in average scores on the SAT among groups reflect unequal education backgrounds of students taking the test, and represent an "unfinished social agenda" for the nation. The differences are not caused by bias, they said, so that the SAT-bashers are just "blaming the messenger for bringing the reality of this educational deficit to our attention."

The testimony clearly indicated that the SAT is a fair and impartial measure of educational reality, and of a student's achievement of ability. It is the only criteria that can be used to judge one candidate against another without the problem of misleading regional and school variations (as class rank evaluation inevitably runs up against). All students take essentially the same test uder near identical circumstances.

Other popular indictments of the SAT also lack justification. Some say that the test measures only ability and not performance. But the SAT contains mostly specific questions in math, analytic skills, and knowledge of vocabulary. Potential does not answer these questions: only knowledge of learned analytic processes do. The SAT as only a measure of ability is a myth.

Some fault the SAT for measuring test-taking skills rather than knowledge or academic competence. They say that class room performance as measured by grades is the only true measure of knowledge. But grades themselves are determined primarily by three things: 1) ability to take tests, 2) ability to be consistent in turning in homework, and 3) ability to write papers and essays. None of these things necessarily measure your real knowledge of a subject better than the SAT process does. And the structure and breadth of the SAT better tests retention of material than tests in school, since students can cram or learn by rote for the latter. Surely long term retention and the ability to apply concepts signifies a student with more real knowledge and a broader understanding of the world.

I do not advocate basing college admissions on any single criteria. Only a balance of criteria will produce an effective admissions process. But the SAT is an excellent criteria, and I think it should be given at least equal weighting with more relative and questionable criteria like class rank in the UNC admissions process.

UNC, it consists of a subjective portion and an objective portion. Ostensibly because of limited funding and resources (see table) the University stresses the numerical objective sections more than most of the other "Public Ivy's."

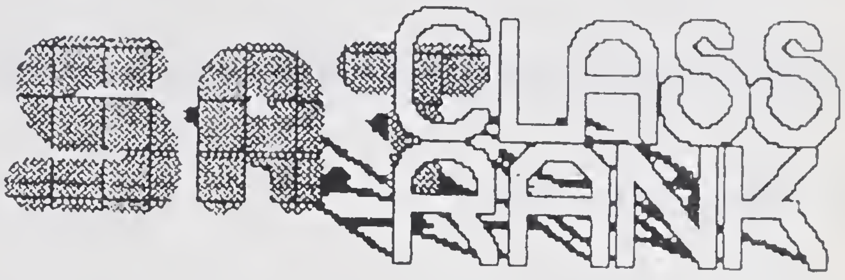
The objective portion is determined by two factors: class rank and the SAT. These two factors are plugged into an equation that is intended to produce a "predicted Grade Point Average." The weighting in this equation is 2 to1 class rank to SAT. This predicted GPA is recombined with class rank in a regression index to determine floors of acceptance to the University. Because this other procedural weighting combines with the original 2 to 1 weighting of class rank to SAT in the equation, it is my contention that the total weighting is more severe (3 to 1? 4 to 1?). It is interesting to note here that on national average women consistently do better in class rank than men, who do better on the SAT than women (see table). When I questioned why the University stresses class rank more than the SAT score I was told that the weighting was determined by analyzing the records of students completing their first year at Chapel Hill. The freshman GPA of each student in a sample year is compared to the credentials of that student upon entering. Then the process is reversed so that a prediction equation is developed.

There are two major flaws in this process. The most important is that only data from the first year at UNC were used to determine predicted GPA. How would the results change if students were followed through to graduation? One might expect that predicted GPA to be much higher, thus meaning higher admissions standards overall. After all, was your freshman year really representative of your performance throughout college? The second major flaw is that the present prediction equation was determined years ago when the male/female ratio was different.

Once the objective factors are compiled there is consideration given to subjective factors, like extracurricular activities. This is done by reading the application. Unfortunately, the application is probably read by a tired reader who may have seen 30 to 40 other applications that day and several hundred that week. Will that reader really care if you worked on the yearbook staff? A rating is given, and can make a difference in a marginal case. It is important to note that the subjective is only used to mitigate some possible inaccuracy in the objecitve criteria — but is never strong enough to admit a student who fails the objective criteria (except in the case of athletes and minorities).

It should be clear that the objective criteria are very important. But class rank far outpaces the importance of any other objective criteria. So is class rank the best measure for qualified applicants? Not at all. Here are some aggregate effects of class rank emphasis:

1) *Each person is evaluated against his/her peers instead of against other applicants.* Being ranked in the middle of a class at a suburban upperclass high school is probably more difficult than being ranked fairly high at a rural county high school. In addition, even though the admissions department claims to weigh the difficulty of the different schools it is also my understanding that they have unofficial "quotas" restricting



the number accepted from many of the better schools. Using class rank as a primary indicator of probably college success is unfair to middle and upper income students who attend school systems that are more academically demanding.

In addition, variance in ability between classes within the same school cannot be compensated for. For instance, a given school might have had four graduating seniors of Morehead Scholar capability in 1985. In 1986, however, the graduating class might not have even one student break 1200 on the SAT, much less produce a Morehead Scholar. Clearly if you were in the class of 1986 your chances of being higher in class ranking — and therefore your chances of being admitted to UNC — are much better than if were your in the class of 1985. The mediocrity of your scholastic environment, therefore, increases the chances for any one student or high school graduating class in the admission process.

2) Male students of all races consistently rank lower in class standings. This is a mutlifaceted phenomenon caused primarily by the different socialization of males and females in our society, not inherent ability. Females are generally socialized to be more accepting of authority, and therefore function better within the structured class/school bureaucracy. Males, however, are generally socialized to be less accepting of authority, and many experience problems in the school bureaucracy. This basic difference in socialization impacts on measures like class rank. There are also studies indicating that the neural development of males lags behind that of females by several years. This could possibly decrease the aggregate performance of males in the freshman and sophomore years of high school, again affecting class standings.

In short, then, the primary factor used at UNC to determine admissions — class rank — is not truly admitting the most academically qualified. Instead, it seems to admit those students who function best within their particular high school class or academic bureacracy. Beyond this criticism, however, there is the fact that use of class rank has a disproportionately adverse impact on men. A smaller percentage of men than women applying to UNC are admitted (see table). Vice Chancellor Susan Eringhous is quoted as saying: "The University may not use any criterion for admission that has a disproportionately adverse effect on persons on the basis of sex, unless it is shown that the criterion validly predicts success in the education program and alternative criteria which do not have such an effect are unavailable." This obviously subjects the school to the possibility of lawsuits (under section 901(a) of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, as cited in Cannon v. University of Chicago et. al, 441 U.S. 677, 60 L.Ed. 2d 560). This is because there is a measure that does not have the same unfair effect on either sex, the SAT. At the very least we should be emphasizing the SAT more so as to offset the effects of class rank.

GENDER BREAKDOWN: CLASS OF '91

	total	male	female
applied	5,830	%44	%56
admitted	3,806	%40	%60
enrolled	2,599	%38	%62
average scores for all applicants			
class rank	62.12	61	63
SAT	1032	1061	1010

If the SAT is emphasized more heavily then part of the problem will be solved. The most important change that needs to be effected, however, relates to the "mindset" of the whole admissions program. Presently, my research into the program indicates that we have an exclusionary process. We put too much emphasis on numerical criteria *in toto* — on criteria that really do not consider the person and his/her real ability or accomplishments. I would like to see a program that seeks out and identifies the exceptional and unusual, those students who through particular accomplishments demonstrate that they are people who have a high potential for success in the real world. Perhaps more attention should be paid to the student who runs his or her own business, who demonstrates leadership at school and elsewhere, exceeds in one academic area but not all (like the brilliant physics candidate who fails English.) These are the kind of students whom we should seek out. We must try to create an inclusionary admissions process, a process in which we can override the numbers in favor of the exceptional spirit.

Such students become the people who can return the benefit of the public university to society. We must work for a structural change in the admissions policy, or this University will become exactly what DTH columnist James Surowieki described in a recent column — a haven for pure academic contemplation supported by a group who gets no benefit (taxpayers) and without the spectre of the real world ever intruding. Ω

Wagner is a part-time student and Virginia native who, inexplicabl and unfortunately, calls himself a Yankee from N.J.

AFFIRMING RACIAL ANIMOSITIES

Race-conscious admissions is neither ethical nor practical

By Morgan R. Gurley

History has demonstrated again and again that humanity must constantly be on guard against tyranny. We all know this. Slightly less evident than the armed variety — and therefore far more potent — is the insidious method of linguistic oppression utilized by true masters of the art. No one has ever attained power by proclaiming: "I am evil. Follow me!" The crafty have always understood that terminology is all-important in sugar-coating their true motives and intentions, and have been aware as well that this terminology is most effective when it is fed to the masses disguised as nationalism, humanitarianism, divine grace, genetic superiority, or some nebulous "greater good."

Why go to such trouble? Because in order to subjugate fully, the victims must be at least willing and (tyrants dare wish) enthusiastic. What better way is there to rule than to have your subjects embrace you as a man of great ideas, of destiny? To counter this technique it is necessary, and usually very difficult, to unmask these concepts stripped of their disarming titles ("ubermensch," "purge," "New Deal," etc.) and study the ideas exposed.

This method — typifying what it is to be a "critic" in the truest sense — has been discussed previously in this publication, so I won't belabor it. But I would like to zero in on one contemporary example which I consider a fine specimen. That is the nightmare known as "affirmative action" in higher education. It is my goal to show that not only are government-enforced, race-specific programs unethical, they are also blindly self-defeating. All that is affirmed by "affirmative action" is the perpetuation, if not exacerbation, of senseless racial resentment and conflict.

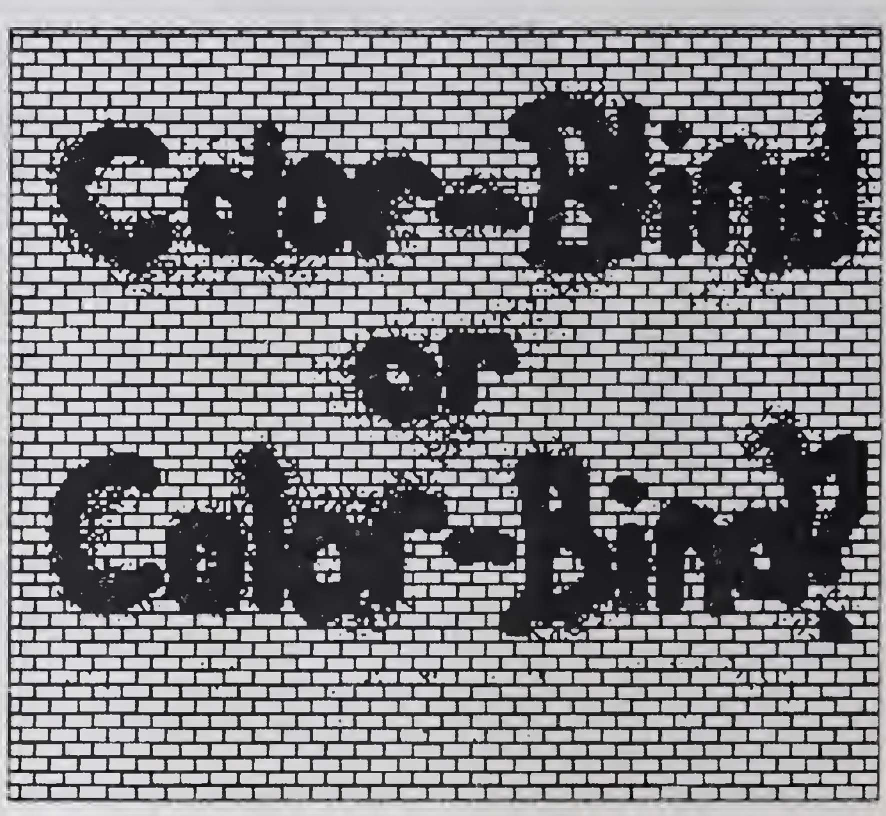
To begin with, we can ask some very simple questions to ascertain the actual nature of the political subject at hand:

What is its *philosophical justification*?

What is its *goal*, and can it *realize* this goal?

What are its probable *rammifications*?

It seems to me that proponents of affirmative action most often cite past racial injustice as the reason for "promoting" minorities with legislation — in effect seeking legal recompense for acts supposedly propagated or endorsed by every living Caucasian. I refuse to consider the mythical "civil rights" of particular "social groups" (again meaningless, undefined terms) as excusing one from assessing the validity of the legal claim involved: looking for specific violations of the actual rights *of individuals by individuals*. The only thing which serves as an example is the long-defunct practice of slavery. This was, of course, a horrid violation of natural rights, but as far as I know every person guilty of it is dead, along with every person victimized. How, then, can there be a legal case for recompense, especially in higher education enrollment? We cannot allow the former pervasiveness of slavery to be used as a tool to cultivate some sort of "guilt by inheritance" mentality. We must remember that human beings are responsible only for what they have done, not for the transgressions of their ancestors.



This outrage is worsened by the fact that many people have used the questionable justification of a certain mentality as raw material to manufacture government policies. The state is attempting to grant itself the power to suspend property rights and free association rights because of this thinking, in both the private and public sector.

In private enterprise, the interference is best seen in hiring quotas.This is an easy example, as by definition a person who is hiring has at his or her legitimate disposal some property, i.e. the wealth available to exchange for the labor in question. Since the employer owns this wealth, or is entrusted with it, who has the right to semi-nationalize it by telling the employer who will be hired? Forcing a man to hire another for any reason is no less an infringement of his liberty than robbing him, extracting welfare-bound income tax from him, or punching him in the nose. Why is this true? Simply because no one has the *right* to be employed unless we are to abandon the idea of property all together, *a la* Marx (and for anyone tempted by Marxist rhetoric, please read *Marxism* by Thomas Sowell). Hiring is a transaction between men, and governmental meddling therein should be easily recognized as wrongful, and feared for the precedent it sets.

In the public sphere, the best example of my argument is indeed to be found in higher education — specifically, in the racially-biased admissions ratios in state-supported universities. On the surface, the argument that a public institution should reflect the cultural distribution of the population may seem compelling, but is it not the purpose of a university to strive for excellence? Why have admissions screening at all if not to select the most qualified students in the population? If we do not use merit to choose, then we fatally compromise educational objectives, as the mediocre and worse are shuffled through the system whether they learn or not — in some warped payment for their "social deprivation." Moreover, it seems to me that advocates of "racially-progressive" admissions are slapping their own faces, claiming that minorities cannot achieve success without artificial assistance. Does any one really want to accept that reasoning? If so, consider this embarassing example at the University of California at Berkeley. Thirty percent of the student body is of Asian descent, yet Asians comprise only seven percent of graduating high school students. Further, Asians as a group were heavily discriminated against when they began arriving in America, and were in many cases relegated to performing the most arduous of manual labor. In other words, they might justly be considered an "underprivileged" group.

Someone check me on this, but could this show, just maybe, that individual effort is the most important factor in success? And might this example succeed in debunking the oft-heard lament of "white-bias" in the SAT, as the Asians — scoring higher as a group than whites — must often be tested in a second language? (By the way, I almost ran off the road last week laughing when I heard on National Public Radio that activists at Berkeley are attempting to *limit* Asian admissions. Limit minority admissions! What is so funny to me is that these people don't even realize how twisted and inconsistent their thinking is.)

In my mind, it is sufficient to end the discussion here, with only ethical reasons to back me. But we've yet to expose the contradictory nature of affirmative action by posing our other two questions.

Now correct me if I'm wrong, but shouldn't the goal of these race-specific programs be to educate people that it is unwise to make prejudicial decisions about others based on their race? And that even though it is within our rights to do so, we are cheating ourselves by not practicing the most efficient method of selection of employees, students, etc. — which is selection by relevant merit? If such is true, then it seems impossible to achieve this by mandating that people make these choices on a racial basis. It seems elegantly simple to me that this can only serve to prolong racial indignation. Why not let bigots learn the lesson themselves, by being bested by more enlightened competition? And, even in the improbable world, if bigots are more successful in business or education, who can say they choose foolishly?

In short, it seems clear that there should be no legal recognition of race, as it is completely irrevelant to an individual's ethical status. And we shall never convince people that they are acting ill-advisedly or unethically by ourselves violating their property rights, insulting their intelligence, and cramming ideas down their throats with government censure. So let's allow race to drift into legal obscurity, and make it the non-issue it deserves to be. Ω

Gurley is a student at UNC-Charlotte.

"CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND' TARGETS PROBLEM, BUNGLES SPECIFICS

By Jeff Taylor

When a work is called "Book of the Year," "Publishing Event of 1987," and "Rarest of Documents," it is easy for what the book actually says to be lost in all the hoopla. This seems to be what has happened with Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind.* It is time to take a step back and examine Bloom's work away from all the hype and try to fit *Closing* into a broader context.

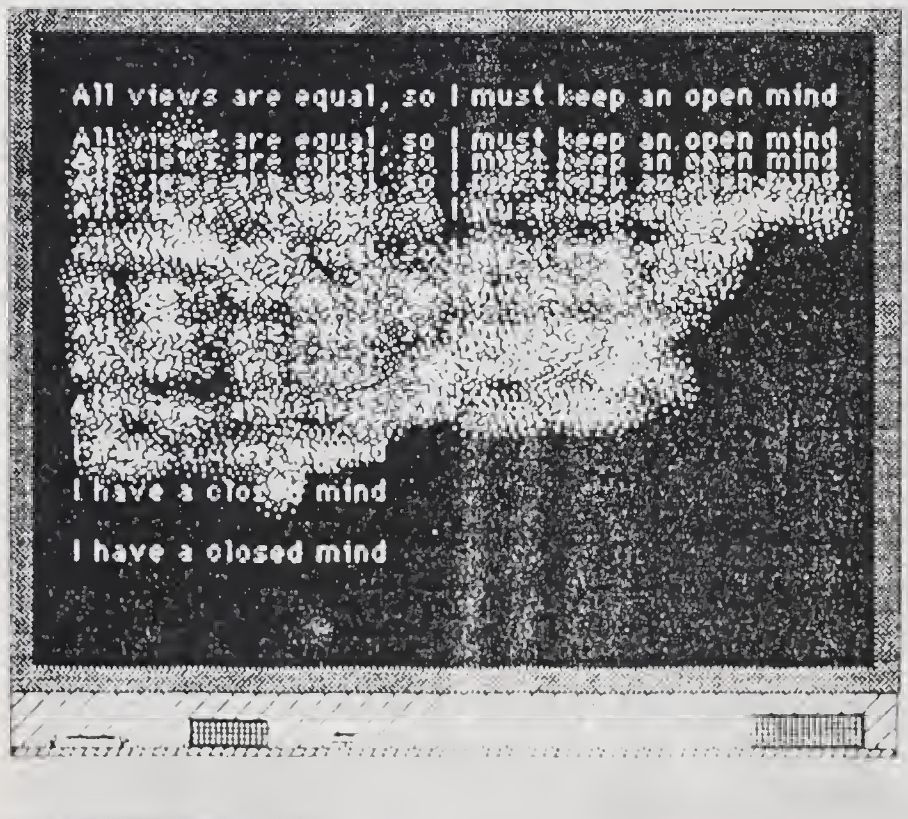
One of the first things commentators gush about Bloom's book is what a surprise bestseller it is. That's true, but only in part. Yes, no one had ever heard of Bloom before and works by Platonic philosophers generally don't become selections for the book of the month club. But *Closing* fits into a long line of American gloom and doom works. From *The Jungle*, to *Silent Spring*, to *The Pentagon Papers*, exposes and books that relate crises have always been popular with American readers. We Americans like to read about our institutions in turmoil, it confirms our suspicions about Things Big, be they Big Business or Big Government. the difference with bloom is that he attacks an institution that has too long escaped criticism — Big Education.

It is also noteworthy that this attack comes from within. An academic, not a hostile outsider, is finding faults with academia.

Bloom's account of the problems in higher education begins by putting much of the blame on the quest for "openess." To be open is to recognize that one's own point of view is no better than anyone else's. The absolutes, the rights and wrongs, of natural rights theory have been abandoned, Bloom explains. In its place we have a kind of smug relativism that takes pride in its flexibility, its "openess." Bloom points out that this kind of intellectual framework gives one no reason to critically examine anything. There's no truth to be found, no right to be done. If each viewpoint is no better than the next, why subscribe to any position? Or, why should one change his view if it is as good as any other? The result, Bloom argues, is a closing of the mind to new ideas. This is a profound point that goes a long way towards explaining how student dogmatists and apolitical students can be the products of the same education.

Bloom believes that American universities began to lose their ties to the enlightenment tradition as German philosophers became popular subjects for study. Scholars and academics fleeing from Hitler in the 1930s and '40s brought expertise to this field. Students learned about the will to power and soon, Bloom says, they wanted to try it in practice. Bloom makes much of the similarities between German universities in the '20s and '30s and American universities in the '60s. In both cases students acted out the ideas their professors had taught them and they turned the universities upside down. The professors, who after all had held up the works of the German prophets of irrationalism as blueprints for a new society, were powerless to stop them. Bloom's account of this similarity, though, is fragmented and disjointed. Much better accounts, especially of Germany in the Weimar years, are to be found in Paul Johnson's *Modern Times* and Leonard Petkoff's *Ominous Parallels.*

Another aspect of *Closing* that makes it sometimes difficult and disturbing to read is Bloom's habit of making assertions for which he has not argued. Admittedly, some of the statements are so insightful that one cannot help but to agree with Bloom. His remark that educational TV is the most intellectually demanding thing that enters American homes can only be quibbled with. But his assertion that children of divorced parents "have rigid frameworks about what is right and wrong" and are unwilling to do any thinking that might upset their preconceptions is at best an ignorant opinion. In fact, if any glittering generalization can be made it is that children of "broken" homes are often forced to deal with complex quesions at an early age and sometimes are compelled to search for a better, more reasoned understanding or right and wrong.


All views are equal, so I must keep an open mind
All views are equal, so I must keep an open mind
All views are equal, so I must keep an open mind
I have a clos mind
I have a closed mind

Bloom's viewpoints also seem to contain some inconsistencies of which he may not be aware. Bloom rips John Dewey's pragmatism and its undue influence of American education with good reason. Dewey's vision of a "common faith," of the religious without religion, taught by a homogenous education system that would end social conflict is naive if not dangerous. But Bloom's view does not seem to be all that different. He says what is needed is a belief that is believed in seriously enough to make people respect themselves. Bloom longs for the days when strong beliefs, even prejudices, could be counted on to restrain people's actions. This can only be construed as valuing beliefs not for their content, but for the effect they have.

A pattern develops within *Closing.* Bloom writes well and with great insight about things he knows about and haphazardly on topics outside his speciality. What is interesting about this is throughout the book Bloom decries narrow specialization of knowledge. Bloom recognizes the stifling and dehumanizing effects of expertise in a minute part of life, but *Closing* reveals Bloom to be far from a Renaissance man himself.

Perhaps the most telling section of the book in this regard is the section on music. When Bloom attempts a discussion of rock and roll he is totally lost. He seems to think that Mick Jagger, Michael Jackson, Prince, and Boy George represent the entire spectrum of rock music. Bloom actually says "Rock music has one appeal only, a barbaric appeal, to sexual desire." Somehow Bloom is stuck in the '50s on this issue. Even Tipper Gore doesn't go this far. Bloom continues though: "Young people know rock has the beat of sexual intercourse." Thus in one sentence Bloom confesses both his ignorance of rock time signatures and his lack of sexual imagination. These statements only begin to make sense when you remember Bloom's intellectual mentor is Plato. Plato would banish the poets from his Republic lest they inflame the passions of the young and mislead them. Likewise, Bloom would rid us of the disbasing and barbaric influence of rock and roll. It would all be very humorous if Bloom were not so serious.

Bloom is at his best when he chronicles university life in the last twenty years or so. This section is eye-opening reading for anyone unaquainted with life at a big university. Bloom describes how university departments wage war against each other for students with the students often caught in the crossfire. Bloom eloquently laments the rush to "succeed" that results in students choosing a career before they know anything of life. As Bloom mentions, this trend is turning our colleges and universities into four year vocational schools. The real secret, Bloom confides, is that universities don't have four years worth of vocational instruction for those interested only in a career. Bloom also regrets the division that has sprung up between the sciences and the humanities. The natural sciences regard scientific knowledge as the only kind of knowledge. If this were true, Bloom points out, biology wouldn't need "ethicists." And Bloom refuses to accept the absurd contention of the social sciences that man can be abstracted down into a few numbers and a bar graph or two. But the sad fact is, and Bloom would have to admit this, that the days when Aristotle could write with equal authority on biology and poetry are gone forever.

Since he has criticized so much of higher education, one wonders what kind of program Bloom would implement if he could. Bloom's rather unimaginitive positive program would be a "Great Books" curriculum. While this would doubtless be an improvement in some areas it would not solve the basic problems. Instead of taking on the ideas and concepts he finds odious and defeating them through argumentation and criticism, Bloom merely banishes them. They would not be false, dangerous, and misleading ideas, just taboo ones, and thus likely to attract more attention than ever.

This is where Bloom's affinity with Plato's Republic really shows. Bloom sees nothing wrong with imposing a point of view on a student, to *make* him study certain ideas and not others. In the *Republic*, Plato would impose a strict course of study upon all those who would be Guardians. Bloom seems intent on creating his own Guardian class and does not want them tainted with improper influences. The problem is that Bloom has identified the insipid "openness" all thinking men should despise with fairness. Bloom should be willing to expose his students to a wide range of philosophies and then argue forcefully against the ones without merit. If Bloom really believed in Enlightenment thought he would be eager to show it superior to Hegel, Nietzsche, and Schopenhauer. The reason why Bloom is reluctant to engage in serious discussions about these German thinkers is no doubt because he would be forced to admit that they are in many ways the intellectual heirs of his beloved Plato. And as so many, Karl Popper especially, have pointed out, Plato's *Republic* was the first blueprint for a totalitarian state.

Bertrand Russell once had this to say about Plato's narrow view on philosophy; that for Plato "a philosopher is to be, for all time, a man who understands and agrees with Plato." Similarly, for Bloom an educator is now, and for all time, a man who understands and agrees with Bloom. This is not to say that *The Closing of the American Mind* should be dismissed as a grandiose polemic. Bloom has too much to say and gives one too much to ponder for that to be true. Readers must critically evaluate the evidence Bloom gives them for his account of what ails the American university and, ultimately, make up their own minds. Americans must become accustomed to rigorous thought, for, as Bloom points out brilliantly, "Just as in politics the responsibility for the fate of freedom in the world has devolved upon our regime, so the fate of philosophy has devolved upon our universities." Ω

Taylor is a recent graduate of the University in philosophy and political science.

Will An SDI System Work?

(continued from page 4)

have to be designed to handle a variety of responses since a specific threat cannot be predicted in advance of deployment. This last point could also be called the "Maginot Line Effect."

For all of its political neutrality, clarity, accuracy, and authority, the APS DEW report has come under some attack. Two SDI researchers claimed to have found errors in the report as large as a factor of 160 in the estimates of power required for a particular class of lasers. The APS committee has responded that the difference arises from the the two critics using mirrors larger and closer to target than the committee used in its calculations, larger and closer than the DEW report finds to be reasonable, and also larger and closer than the Pentagon's SDI Organization assumes for its own published calculations. Even SDI Organization officials have said they were "pleased with the overall content of the [APS] report."

The report makes it clear that DEW technologies are out of the question for warhead-destroying "Star Wars" applications for the next fifteen to twenty years. The SDI Organization now says that they will use KEWs for target destruction, and will only use DEWs for tracking and for discriminating between decoys and actual warheads. The APS report discusses some of these aplications also, as well as general power requirements (for both day-to-day peacetime and battle needs), survivability, and number of orbiting stations required to cover the U.S.S.R. at all times. Some of the conclusions from these sections apply to KEWs as well, and they are not encouraging. Even if these obstacles could be overcome, a large number of orbiting KEW stations would be required to stop the present Soviet threat. This would be expensive enough, but there would be nothing stopping the Soviets from building more missiles to try to overwhelm our defense. We would have to build and launch more KEW stations, and then the spiral would continue.

Not discussed in the report are questions of costs of development, which are likely to be large not only in dollars, but in manpower as well. For example, if most of our scientists and engineers are working on "Star Wars," new inventions would then come from Europe or Japan almost exclusively, since it has been shown that there are relatively few "spinoffs" from military (vs. civilian) projects. Also not discussed in the report are the costs of launching all of the required equipment, issues of command, control, and communications, and very serious questions of software design and reliability. These are each critical issues to the feasibility of "Star Wars," whether besed on DEWs or KEWs, and all need to be thoroughly addressed before any real progress toward an actual weapons system can be made.

I believe it is clear that for the next two decades, or longer, President Reagan's dream of making nuclear missiles "impotent and obsolete" can only remain a dream. There are too many critical technologies that remain unproven and undeveloped for it to be otherwise. Those insisting on immediate deployment of "Star Wars" are acting on the basis of political, rather than physical, reality. Ω

ESSAYS

EMULATING AMY— AND *OH* SO WELL

By Jeff Evans

It is a curious phenomenon that protests — which, like parking citations, are a constant reality at UNC — are taken in some quarters to be the sole indicators of intellectual vigor and independence.

For their recent efforts in disrupting and preventing job interviews with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency at Hanes Hall by screaming and obstruction, "student activists" were given high praise by the *Daily Tar Heel*: "Instead of blindly chasing the dog biscuit of a college diploma, most student activists show an intellectual independence that is rare on college campuses in the 1980s." How? By staging an Amy Carteresque protest? Several points merit reflection.

One is the deification of the protesters by the *Daily Tar Heel*. While recognizing the playground-like atmosphere ("Hey hey, ho ho, CIA has got to go," they chanted) of the protest, a DTH board opinion concluded that the "demonstration . . . rais[ed] awareness of the value of social activism." How? By preventing fellow students from conducting job interviews? One wonders if the DTH editorial board would have been so charitable if the object of the demonstrator's detestation had been, say, abortion. If half a dozen students prevented two women from entering an abortion clinic by chaining themselves to the entrance, would they be "consciousness-raising student activists" or would Jill Gerber and company see shades of the Hitler Youth?

Another point of interest is the irony inherent in the actions of the demonstrators. While protecting the peoples of the world against our American intelligence service, the protesters managed to disrupt classes and disrupt the activities of the University Career Planning and Placement Services. While exercising what they probably consider to be First Amendment free speech rights, the demonstrators ignored the part in the same amendment about freedom to assemble peaceably (even with a CIA representative).

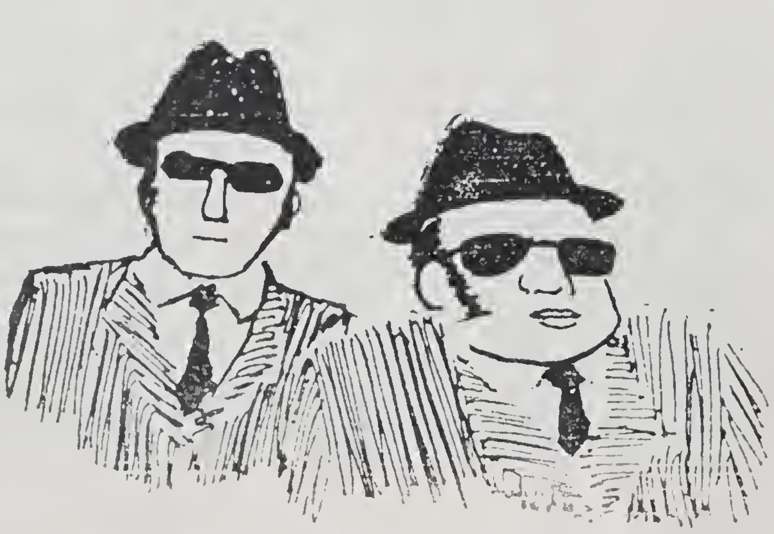
Thirdly, there is the question of the object of the protest itself, the Central Intelligence Agency. I mean if Abbie Hoffman, Amy Carter, and Dale McKinley are upset by it, it must not be very nice; the CIA doesn't give us a warm and toasty feeling like a disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union does, so why not just dispense with it? Anyone who thinks the United States can do without an intelligence network in a world of Ghaddafi, Khomeini, and the Gulag tenders of the USSR will probably be voting for Jesse Jackson next year.

Which brings us to what is probably the crux of this issue: underlying values and attitudes towards the United States. Someone should ask these people, "Do you believe America is worth defending?" For the rest of us who are definitely committed to the defense of freedom and the sovereignty of the United States, William F. Buckley reminds us that "there is a real world out there, and *sic semper tyrannis* is still the guide of American emotions; either it is, or we should repeal 'The Star Spangled Banner,' lower the flag, and be done with it." Ω

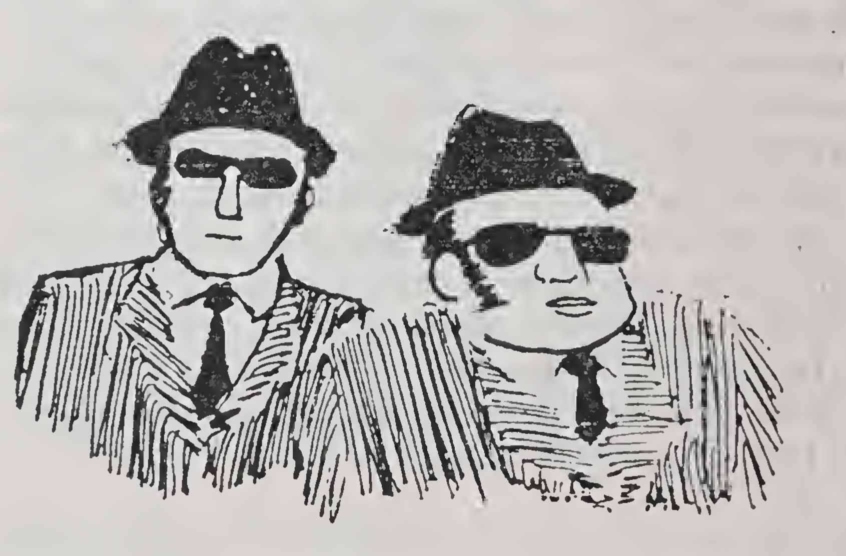
MINERS, SWEEPERS: LOSERS. . .GET SUNK

By Michael Lowrey

The *Bridgeton* incident underlines the longstanding neglect of the U.S. Navy's mine countermeasures resources.



common campus costumes



common campus recruiters?

Whatever Comes to Mind

The walrus would like to welcome all of you back after his hiatus. This translates into "missed deadline." I was more worried by a different deadline — midterms. Ready for exams, the university's yardstick and favorite form of sado-masochistic competition, exceeding even sports? The walrus is one of those who despises grades. Why refer to a university as a place of higher *learning* when it would be more truthful to call it a place of higher competitive job-placement? Please, don't tell me that grades are a measure of the student's efforts. Grades are much more often the disiplinary tool of the instructor to encourage recalcitrants, who should not be at a university in the first place, to study.

Speaking of things that shouldn't be in a certain place, think of the lovely woods to the south of campus, referred to as the "Big Woods," then think of that wood with a building plopped down somewhere in it. Sound ugly, or to be kind, less beautiful? There is something within the souls of some powers-that-be that cries "We need a new building, let's cut down some trees." I intend on being an alumnus some fine day and an alumni building concerns me not. Trees, on the other hand, do concern me and I begin to wonder if there will be any for me to wander under when I'm seventy or so, finally attending University Day.

While we're here let's discuss the impact on student parking. What's that, you say there's no such thing as student parking, that it's all state property? Who says? Oh, well, so's his office and likely its furnishings. It still begs the question. There *is* such a thing and anyone who says otherwise is blind or conniving to further his own cause at the students expense.

To my editor: Dear John, it is hardly wrong for the University to tell a prospective student to support student government (pay student fees), or go elsewhere. There are other fine universities, even in-state ones. I don't like much of what they do. A government spends money because it has to, it wants to, or because it has it to spend. Nevertheless, *caveat emptor.*

It's quote time again, and no correct guesses have arrived so far. There is, once again, no prize but our delight to discover that some of you read and are not asleep. " Government is an association of men who do violence to the rest of us." And this week we'll try two. "Society is produced by our [illegible] and government by our wickedness." [illegible] them to your favorite type of tyranny. Or even to student government.

T'was the issue before Christmas and all through the masthead ... yuck ... well ... what do you expect? I've seen my first Christmas decorations and sale blurb, so I know Thanksgiving can't be too far off. Of course you might not read this till after Turkey day but try to understand what I mean. At one time I worked in a store that refused to put up any Christmas decorations until after Thanksgiving. It waited until the day after. It depresses me to see what could be a lovely, nostalgic season marketed. Yes, the walrus knows that it's been said before, many times, many ways, but I'll continue to hope for a return to a less hurried and less shallow holiday.

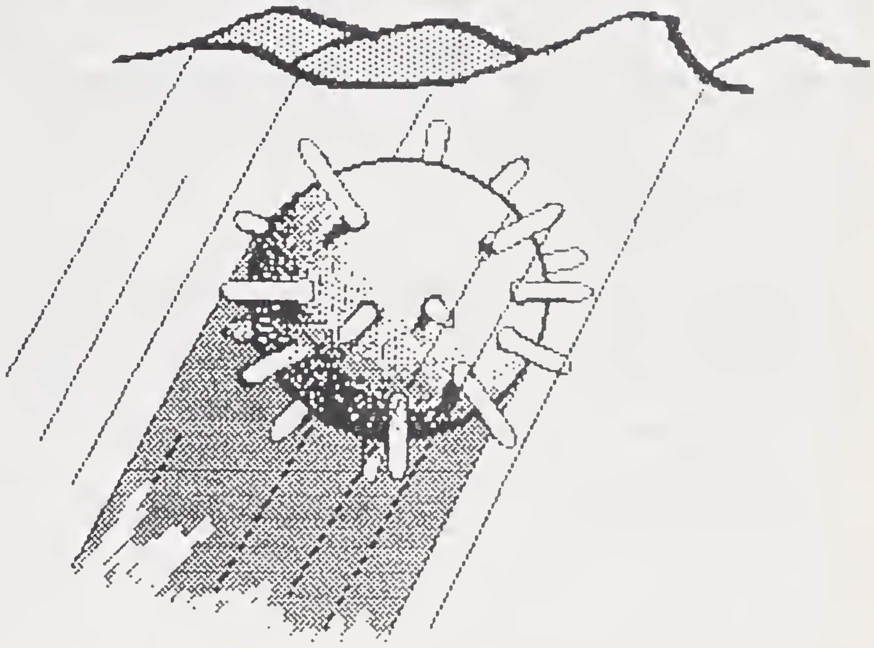
May your holiday be merry, your tomorrows bright, your leave taking serene, and your return joyful.

—The Walrus

Desmond Wettern in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, August 1, 1987 (p. 163)

To say that the mining of the Kuwaiti owned, American flagged tanker *Bridgeton* in July was a major embarassment would be an understatement. To sat that it was a surprise that this nation's mine warfare forces were not up to the task at hand would be to misinterpret the situation. Simply put, the United States has in the past and continues to put too little interest and too few resources into mine warfare. Unlike many other threats against which the U.S. military spends huge amounts of money to defend against, naval mines are something every nation has within both its technological and financial grasp. Consider our current minesweeping forces: 3 active ocean minesweepers (MSOs) and seven small minesweeping boats (MSBs) plus some 18 ocean minesweepers manned by a combination of regular navy and reservist crews. All of these ships were built in the 1950s and are utterly outdated. In addition, three minesweeping helicopter squadrons exist. Of these, one is basically used for crew training; all have yet to recover from a certain disasterous attempt to rescue hostages held in Iran (the helicopters provided came from these squadrons).

The emmense threat by Iran, which hasn't even tried a consistent mining campaign, has forced us to send over a third of our minesweeping assets to the Persian Gulf: 5 ocean minesweepers (a sixth broke down enroute and had to return to the U.S. for repairs), 6 minesweeping boats and a squadron of helicopters. Needless to say, if we had to actually fight a real enemy (one that presents more of a challenge than, say, pumping shells into oil platforms), never mind the Soviets who actually take such things as dropping naval mines very seriously, we'd be in trouble.



To be fair, the United States has started building minesweepers again. In 1983, this nation laid down the U.S.S. *Avenger*, our first work on a minesweeper since 1958 (that's 25 years). Unfortunately, this program of 1,300 tons was cut back from 21 to 14 ships and has been plagued by an almost comical series of delays and cost overruns. The *Avenger* was recently commissioned after a construction period of over five years, some two years behind schedule. It takes less time to build a 6,000+ ton nuclear powered attack submarine! Also projected are a class of 17 smaller minehunters (MSHs). Even this force, if we manage to finish them, is totally inadequate for keeping all of our major ports open in wartime as *Jane's Fighting Ships* is quick to point out.

So why is it that the United States has come to have such an inadequate force of ships for performing such a critical task. Part of the answer lies in America's geographical position; we are a nation with vast oceans separating us from major, unfriendly powers. There has been until quite recently no real perception of a threat. Furthermore, we have come to assume our NATO allies for help in dealing with such threats, should they arise. In retrospect, we should have been aware that Europe would be unwilling or unable to provide this help. Yet the bulk of the blame must lie squarely with the the Pentagon and Congress. Simply put, sweeping mines is unglamourous. It has zero sex appeal. It wouldn't look exciting in a 30 second TV ad. Minesweepers don't really project naval power, their mission is, after all, defensive. As a result, minesweeping has gotten lost in a military procurement world based largely on big ticket items, distribution of home district goodies and the like. Congress has also been more than willing to let minesweeping slip to near non- exisence; ships were not approved early in the Reagan years to show a sign of their interest. Hopefully, the lessons learned from the *Bridgeton* will help this nation, including the powers-that-be in Washington, learn that in defense as well as so many other things, small things matter. One is only so strong as the weakest link in the chain. Ω

Movie Review

FILM EXPLORES ROOTS OF GIRL'S ALIENATION

By Lisa Ashburn

It has all the situation comedy of Three's Company. It has a lead character with all the sexual adventures of the worst soap opera harlot. However, even within the first few minutes it becomes obvious that *Wish You Were Here* has a second layer of incredibly moving drama.

The main character, Linda (Emily Lloyd), has a hilarious English sense of humor which she maintains through her numerous losses. When her father (Tom Bell) returns from World War II, she and he have lost touch. He's a man whose highest priorities are a good reputation and an idealistic dignity for himself and his family. His "play-by-the rule" attitude directly conflicts with Linda's lifestyle. Since Linda and her sister are totally incompatible, her sole source of affection and understanding came from her mother, who died when Linda was eleven. Throughout the course of her adolescence, she desperately tries to gain attention by using her only asset — her body. In addition to being a promiscuous picaro, Linda is a girl starved for attention.

Throughout the movie different slices of her life are fused together. They have a distinctive pattern of cause and effect. The camera centers on Linda sitting and watching alone at her window, and then the scene flashes back to a time in her childhood when she was misunderstood and made her haven at the same window sill. The different periods are blended so well that it takes a minute to realize that the time period has changed. First time viewers will want to note that to avoid confusion.

The meaning of the title becomes indisputably obvious as the movie progresses. *Wish You Were Here* refers to her mother, her one vein of sympathy. In Linda's mind, her mother is symbolic with someone who will constantly supply her with unconditional love. This is the central theme of the movie.

Through the duration of the movie, Linda struggles tro find her identity. As the film ends, Linda is parading defiantly through town with a baby carriage. She has found her identity and unconditional love in that baby. Nothing conveys this more emphatically than her proud reply to the shocked faces as she strolls through town: "Yes! It's all mine!"

She looks very pretty; she's dressed respectably, and she seems happy. However, something is wrong. The uncharacteristically bright lighting gives the final shot of Linda and baby a dream-like quality. In the final scenes, the waves lap up on the beach inferring the passage of time. A new generation of Linda's family has commenced. The audience can sense the beginning of an unconscious cycle. Linda grew up without her mother and now her child will never know its father.

Even though she's gone through pregnancy and sorted mismatched "relationships", Linda grows very little. She maintains her natural frankness and vivaciousness, but the only thing she seems to have learned is not to trust men.

All the characters are portrayed brilliantly. Hats off to Emily Lloyd's colorful interpretation of Linda and to Tom Bell as her father, a disciplined man who is seen out of control only once during their almost absurd confrontation in a restaurant.

The 1940s post war flavor adds a lot to the movie. Certain motifs of the movie — the window, the beach, bicycle wheels, buggy wheels, and pinwheels — work phenomenally with the movie's central themes. The plot, the acting, and the camera interact so well that the entire film seems to take only five minutes. DON'T MISS THIS ONE! Ω

But Tune In Anyway

NEW TREK IMPRESSES LITTLE, PREACHES MUCH

By Kenny Felder

Science fiction fans tend to be both obsessive and fickle, creating an environment of instant fads which rise instantly to fame and often die as quickly. At present, the hot topic is the latest adventurous inspiration from "Star Trek" creator Gene Roddenberry. "Star Trek: The Next Generation" premiered this fall with thousands of Trekkies eagerly videotaping, trading rumors, and slavering with anticipation to see if any show could live up to comparison with such a predecessor.

After two months, the verdict is not yet in on the controversial new show. It is not good enough that fandom

cheerfully ranks "The Next Generation" with the original; neither is it bad enough to have been abandoned altogether. To enable *Carolina Critic* readers to watch and judge for themselves, I present here a summary of the setting and the main characters as they have been revealed so far in the pilot and eight episodes.

In the 24th century, Starfleet is a far more peaceful organization than the original Enterprise crew fought in almost a century before. The new Enterprise is an enormous vessel with a crew of over a thousand and a bridge which looks like an officer's lounge. The Romulans seem to have disappeared altogether, and the arch-enemy Klingons have actually joined the Federation. Space battles and fistfights, both staples of the original episodes, now save the day less often than philosophical argumentation. Of course, the hearty Enterprise crew is still beset with difficult problems and forced to use violence, but only as a last resort, and far less often than some viewers are ready to believe.

The Captain of the new Enterprise is Jean-Luc Picard, a Frenchman with an accent that sounds distinctly English. Stately, balding, and much older than any other prominent character, Picard makes a far more believable Captain than the youthful James T. Kirk ever did. It isn't Picard's job to go down onto the planet, beat up all the aliens, and seduce a new woman every episode. Presumably, he did that twenty years ago; now he's the Captain, and his job is to delegate such tasks to the young while he himself makes decisions from the bridge of the ship. This by no means makes him a minor character, however: on the contrary, the focus of the show is almost always on the Captain. Picard agonizes over decisions, makes speeches about the glorious French in the barbaric twentieth century, and suffers the most dramatic personal conflicts of the show. Patrick Stewart is very impressive in the role, with a somber power and far better acting than the very early Star Trek episodes had to offer.

Filling much of the role originally played by the Vulcan science officer is an android named Data. Apart from a very white face and yellow eyes, Data looks entirely human; however, he memorizes all the facts he is exposed to and performs instantaneous computations on request. Data seemed awkward in the early episodes, as both the writers and the actor struggled to define the personality of the almost-human android. The character gradually came together as he became more whimsical, imitating Sherlock Holmes or getting stuck in a Chinese finger puzzle. Data now provides most of the comic relief for the show; at the same time, Brent Spiner's acting lends itself as well to the calm, serious duties of the character as to the comedic.

A complement of secondary characters fills out the new Enterprise just as it did the old. First officer William Riker (Jonathan Frakes) plays much of the role that Kirk played in the original episodes: young and headstrong, he fearlessly strikes forth to protect his ship and Captain. Lieutenant Tasha Yar (Denise Crosby), chief of security, is an angry woman from a barbarian world. Often too quick to suggest an attack, she is just as quick to apologize and offer a more rational solution. Lieutenant Worf (Michael Dorn), the token Klingon, is a great idea who has yet to be developed into much of a character. Doctor Beverly Crusher (Gates McFadden), in the time-honored Starfleet Doctor tradition, spends less time in sick bay than she spends on the bridge, playing friend and advisor to all. Her son, Wesley Crusher (Wil Wheaton), is a boy genius who, between his school lessons, invents new Starship devices that astound the engineering staff. Deanna Troi (Marina Sirtis), the ship's "counselor," has empathic powers which seem to be something of an embarassment to the writers, who must keep finding excuses not to have the entire dilemna sorted out from the beginning by an overly knowledgable character. At the same time, Counselor Troi provides some diversion for the viewers, who can watch eagerly as her neckline plunges a little lower each episode. The cast is rounded out by Geordi La Forge (Levar Burton), whose only characteristic seems to be his visor. This remarkable head-worn device enables Geordi to run a full spectral and molecular analysis by eye, and far outstrips the sensors on the Enterprise herself. Hmmm ...

The Next Generation comes on Saturday nights at 7:00, and again on Sunday mornings at 11:00, on WLFL channel 22. So far, in my opinion, the show is distinctly inferior to its predecessor. The characters are not as complex, the situations are not as interesting, and Roddenberry's preachy tone has gotten far less subtle than it used to be. However, there is no doubt that the quality of the writing has been improving since the (admittedly horrible) pilot; and, certainly, the special effects are far more elaborate than the original Star Trek budget allowed. I recommend that readers give the show a try, if only to see what's happening in science fiction lately. Ω

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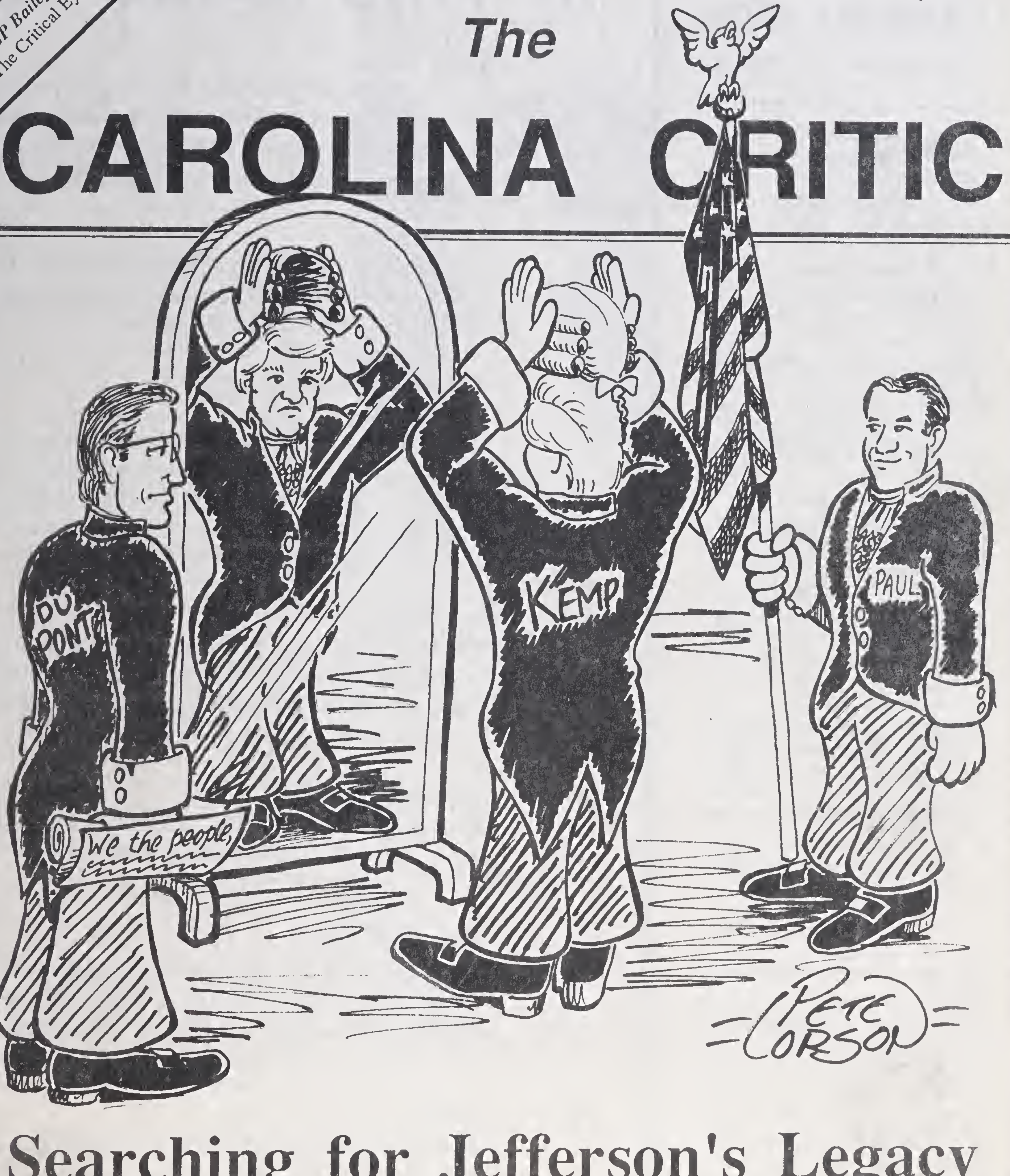
SBP Bailey Bungles
The Critical Eye, Page 6

Vol. 1, No. 4
January 1988

The CAROLINA CRITIC


DU PONT
We the people,
KEMP
PAUL
PETE CORSON

Searching for Jefferson's Legacy In a Presidential Field of Tories

A CRITICAL LOOK BACK AT THE CRASH OF '87

LAW SCHOOL APPLICANTS NEED ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE POOR

The
CAROLINA CRITIC

A Student Journal of Opinion

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The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. It is affiliated with no party, religion, domicile, or social group. Subscriptions cost $10 a year, but think of all the money you'll save by never buying another magazine again. Correspondence and submissions are welcome, and should be sent to:

The Carolina Critic
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604 Tinkerbell Road
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

In This Issue ...

3 **Critic Forum**
Kenny Felder and guest contributor Chris Kremer debate the rights of children, parents, and the state, dealing with such issues such as pornography, drinking ages, and privileges of citizenship.

4 **Up Front**
The stock market crash is a symptom of the abandonment of free market principles by the Reagan administration, says Rick Henderson.

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Cover Story: The Race for 'Classical Liberal'**
John Hood analyzes the presidential campaigns of Jack Kemp, Pete du Pont, and Ron Paul to find the true exponent of Founding Father Liberalism — and finds more Tory than Whig in them all.

15 **In the Zoo**
The UNC Law School admissions office issues a telling statement to potential applicants: only those "able to communicate with the poor" need apply, reveals University columnist David Hood.

16 **Our Altered State**
State affairs columnist Michael Lowrey chronicles the all-out attack on the American driver — coming soon to a highway near you.

17 **The World Stage**
What's stopping the Japanese digital tape craze from hitting American markets? Why, only the familiar disease known as Protectionism Fever, says international affairs columnist Jeff Taylor.

18 **Essays**
Michael Lowrey reviews Gorby's *Perestroika* bestseller . . . 'The Walrus' reflects on whatever comes to mind . . . Larry Iversen chronicles the effect of female audiences on 1987 fare. . .Music writer Connie Smith reviews five new albums

23 **Dateline: Washington**
Teddy Kennedy's midnight coup that backfired

DO KIDS HAVE SAME RIGHTS AS PARENTS?

Aye — By Kenny Felder

My views on the legal status of children, like my views on most political issues, are very simple and very complicated. Very simple: I think all arbitrary age limits should be immediately abolished, and people should be full citizens as soon as they can form intelligent sentences. However, as soon as I say that, I dive into the realm of the very complicated: picture the problems with five-year-old drivers and voters, or child labor problems, or education, or.... I have thought all these issues through, in enough detail to make my friends wonder why I bother. However, I obviously can not address twenty separate issues in one article. I am therefore going to go easy on myself, and deal with one of the issues that I find most clear-cut: why do we spend so much time and money preventing children from seeing "adult" entertainment?

All of us have heard the answers to that question. Children, after all, don't know what's good for them. Their impressionable minds will be stamped indelibly by any exposure to sexual activity, naked human bodies, four-letter words or explicit violence. Children so warped will grow up to be perverts, hookers, and rapists, rather than pursuing the degrees in law and medicine that most of them would have eventually obtained. And all because they saw "Fritz the Cat" at the tender age of four instead of having to wait until they were eighteen like the rest of us.

Maybe I'm overstating the case. But what, exactly, are we so afraid of? What do we really believe will happen if children rent "The Blue Lagoon" and see Brooke Shields' stunt double's breasts? When I was ten years old, I saw all the R-rated movies that HBO had to offer, and I don't think I grew up to be a pervert. I've spoken to two college students who saw hard-core sexual movies at around six years old, and neither seems to have turned out warped. In fact, both were bored by the adult films that they were not yet ready to understand. Are children really so ignorant of what's good for them?

Before you answer that, I urge you to recall your own halcyon bygone days of youth. Better yet, find yourself a minor and converse for a while. Start off by talking to a sixteen year old, who still has over a year to go before R-rated movies are permitted. Decide for yourself if you are dealing with someone who, as our laws would have it, can not differentiate between reality and fiction. Now start working your way down. Visit a third grade and try to gauge the suitability of these children to see grown-up naked people without being psychologically damaged. Show a videotape of "Debbie Does Dallas" to a five-year-old and see how quickly he becomes bored and wants to go back to playing hide-and-seek. (I'm assuming here that you don't preface the movie by telling the child that he *really shouldn't* be seeing this film: the one guaranteed way to make it appealing to human beings of any age).

Most children's issues are characterized by blanket assumptions rather than rational thought: obviously children can't vote because, well, they're *children* for goodness sake! In the case of pornography this leads us to a policy which, if only in terms of precedent, is not only foolish but downright dangerous. The first step toward tyranny is the statement "I will keep you from being exposed to this information, *for your own good* , because I know your own mind better than you do: after all, you are black, or female, or too poor and uneducated, or too young.... Such a statement must never be allowed to any government. (Classified information is, of course, in an entirely different category.) In individual families, if the parents wish to prevent their children from reading or seeing certain materials, they of course have that power: the law will never prevent parents from placing restrictions on their own children. But neither does the law owe it to anyone to enforce familiar rules for the parents, or to mandate restrictions that parents can choose to create (or not) at their own discretion.

Nay — By Chris Kremer

Within the last 20 years, social revolutionaries have made ever bolder proposals for the removal of various legal protections for children in the name of children's rights or liberation. Some of these proposals have succeeded, such as the loosening of restrictions on the availability of abortion and contraceptives to minors. Other proposals have failed for the present, such as the drive to lower the legal drinking age in America or the move to abolish the law's distinction between minors and adults all together. So-called child liberation activists base their efforts on the premise that all people, regardless of age, are capable of responsible decision-making. This premise is faulty, and its widespread application would be harmful to children.

The law's disctinction between adults and children is a crystallization of the widely known fact that children are different from adults. Children are less experienced then adults and therefore less able to cope with life's hardships and responsibilities. In addition, children undergo significant physical and mental developments during adolescence which leave them more vulnerable to adverse pressures and stimuli then adults, to whom adolescence is merely a memory. What is good for adults is therefore not necessarily good for children, and what is bad for adults can be worse for children.

Take the capacity to contract as an example. A contract consists of the exchange of promises by the contracting parties who hope to profit thereby. The law enforces an adult's contractual promises against him, even when the bargain is a poor one, because it is presumed that the adult has lived long enough to acquire experience sufficient to enable him to make intelligent business decisions. For the opposite reason, the law does not usually enforce a child's contractual promise against him. Children are not so capable of bargaining as their seniors, and justice works to protect children from being victimized by the handicap of youth.

For a second example, consider sex. Between married adults sex by consent is a most beautiful expresssion of love which develops a healthy psychological bond between husband and wife. Sex between unmarried adults is somewhat less than beautiful, as it is either casual and unmotivated by love, or part of an ugly power game whereby one partner dominates and neither partner is protected by reciprocal promises of lifetime commitment. At least the

(Continued of page 22)

By Rick Henderson

FREE MARKET GUIDE TO THE '87 CRASH

October 19. Black Monday. The Dow-Jones Industrial Averages dropped 508 points. Twenty-two percent of its value was lost in one trading session. The owner of Wal-Mart stores lost $1.1 billion in one day. The five-year Bull Market had come to a screeching halt.

What happened? And why (unless our parents lost their shirts during the crash) should we care? The second question is much easier to answer than the first. But let's take a stab at both of them.

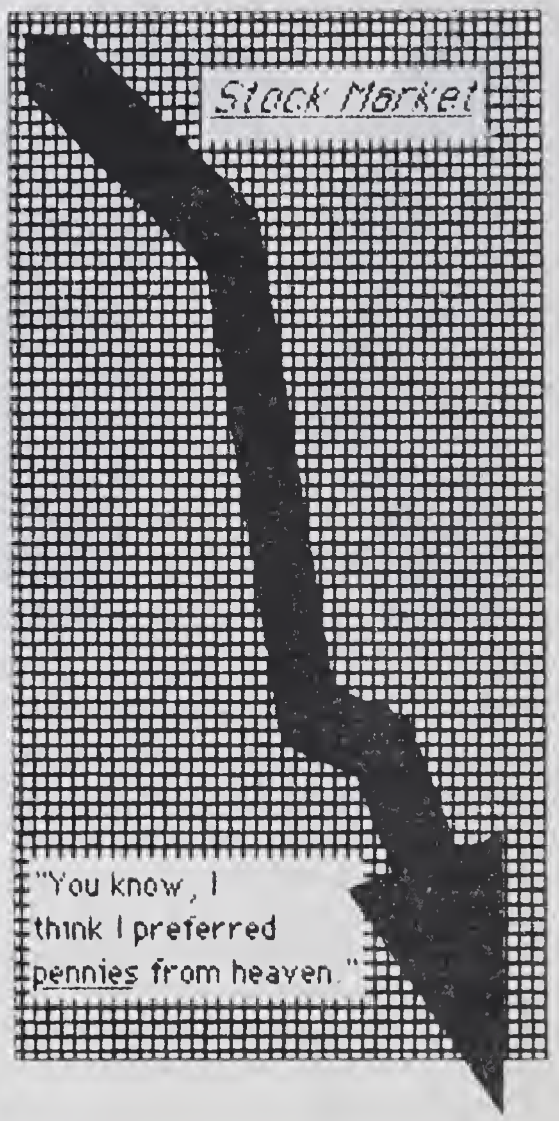
What caused the crash? That largely depends on your perspective. Everybody has a different answer. Some blame computer trading — the fact that much Wall Street activity is "dictated" by computer orders to buy or sell when certain trends are detected. Blaming computers for the crash puts the cart before the horse: the computers can't give the order to sell before getting the signal to sell. Who rang the alarm?

Some people, mostly Democrats, blame the "free market excesses" of the Reagan administration. I'm no fan of Mr. Reagan or his policies — precisely because *he has not* delivered on the free market promises he made in his two campaigns. He told us he believed in limited government and private enterprise, but look at what he's done. Doubling the national debt? Reflagging Kuwaiti tankers? Trashing the dollar? That ain't the free market at work. It's a wolf in cheap clothing, as Bugs Bunny would say: Big Government being cheerfully presided over by an alleged small-government lover.

Those three items — the federal deficit, the Persian Gulf War, and the fact that the historic drop of the "dollar" (which may soon be called the "quarter" or the "dime") has not alleviated the trade deficit — could indeed be the triggering factors for a stock market drop. But a 22 percent fall? Only a few days after reports that the trade deficit had fallen, and that the budget deficit had dropped by 33 percent this fiscal year? There must be more to it than that.

Alas, there is. A series of articles in the November 20 *National Review* shed some light on the matter. Andrew Redleaf, a Chicago bond trader, places much of the blame on partial deregulation of the securities industry. Not that he's for re-regulating the industry: he says deregulation hasn't gone far enough.

Deregulation has lowered commissions for big traders by over 90 percent; to keep their profits up, many of these traders have become active in more speculative high-risk investment products. Futures markets, stock options, and "mergermania" have all changed the rules of investing and made the market much more susceptible to violent twists and turns.


Stock Market
"You know, I think I preferred pennies from heaven."

Redleaf says that the stock market, which used to be a safe haven for long-term investment, has now become little more than an enormous poker game. Stock transactions are now "bets." By trading in futures and options you are attempting to guess which way the market will go next. "And because all the big players now know they are in a market where the game is the thing, everyone is poised to jump all the time."

Redleaf offers a few policy suggestions to make Wall Street more of an investment center and less of a casino: legislation to make dividend income tax free, so that investors can really profit from gains in their investments; replacing the capital gains tax with transactions fees, thus encouraging investors to keep their dollars in one place; having the government purchase a perentage of the Third World debt it foolishly encouraged banks to lend, and cutting off future loans to these bankrupt regimes; and encouraging stable currency by moving toward a gold standard.

Not earthshattering proposals, perhaps. But Wall Street doesn't need any more tremors just yet.

In another article, economist Alan Reynolds cites fear of potential new government interventions in the economy as the triggering factor leading to the crash.

The stock market is partially a barometer of investors' confidence in the future. When information affecting the predicted future changes, investors change their buying and selling patterns. "To sink ALL the world's stock markets requires some extremely bad news."

Reynolds says that the political contest — between the supporters of free trade, low taxes, and limited government and the advocates of protectionism, high taxation, and increased government regulation — has been the dominant factor in both the five year bull market and the recent crash. When the "freedom fighters" had the upper hand in international political dealings, the market soared. But since the "forces of darkness" seem to be taking the upper hand, especially in Germany, Japan, and the United States, investors have become worried about both the short and the long term.

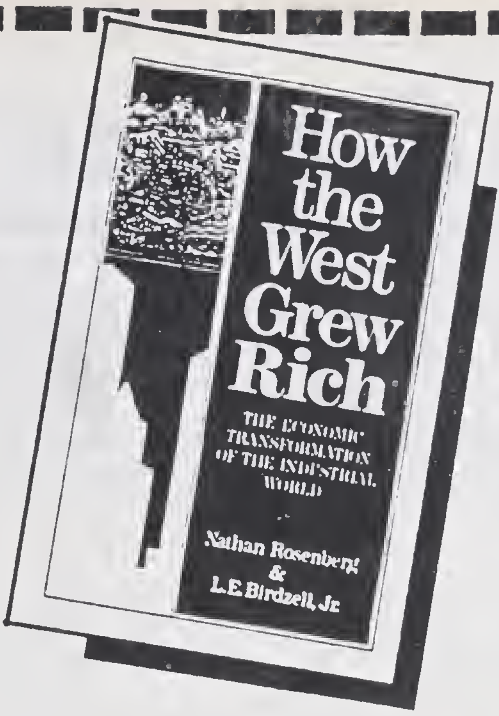
Just before the crash, Dick Gephardt's atrocious trade bill would have probably passed, even over Reagan's veto. Some on Capitol Hill talked of new taxes of up to $100 billion (despite that fact that tax revenues have increased by over $300 billion under Reagan — spending has increased nearly twice as fast).

After the crash, clearer heads may prevail. Anyone who's studied 20th century history *at all* knows that a major cause for the Great Depression's length and severity was the worldwide trade war, sparked by the Smoot-Hawley Tariff bill. And sharply increased taxes can kill incentives to produce, thus leading to further economic slowdown. "If the risk of bad policies fades, markets can and will adjust to changing probabilities on the up side just as suddenly as they did on the down side."

A final observation of a historical nature comes from Nobel Prize-winning libertarian economist Milton Friedman. Friedman says that parallels between the crashes of 1929 and 1987 aren't substantial. First, the market crashed in October of '29, two months after the economy reached its peak. The current economic expansion is still continuing.

(Continued on page 22)

PROSPERITY IS NO ACCIDENT


How the West Grew Rich
THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD
Nathan Rosenberg & L.E. Birdzell, Jr.

"How The West Grew Rich" is a sweeping history of the economic growth of Europe, the United States and Canada that adds a whole new dimension to the case for capitalism and freedom.

It explains *why* and *how* the West escaped from grinding poverty and misery while other societies and cultures have not. A central theme is the steady decline of centralized political and religious authority over economic action, allowing innovation and experimentation to flourish.

Along the way, authors Rosenberg and Birdzell demolish prevailing pseudo-explanations of how the West became economically dominant. The reasons for Western prosperity are *not* a fortunate abundance of natural resources, or reliance on such evils as colonialism, exploitation, and slavery, or even a vaguely-defined "spirit of capitalism." Instead, Western prosperity can be traced directly to the development of market-oriented organizations and institutions that succeeded to the degree that centralized authority got out of their way.

In its comprehensive explanation of Western economic growth, *How The West Grew Rich* also provides insights into the economic future. Will prosperity and growth continue, or do we face stagnation and decline? Is there hope for other parts of the world in their struggles with poverty and misery? This is an exciting and provocative book that makes a monumental contribution to the understanding of economic history. 353p.

> **"A lucid, well-reasoned antidote to false notions that prosperity has been built upon imperialism, exploitation, or legerdemain. It goes far toward helping explain why modern attempts to achieve prosperity through fiat and force fizzle out in confusion or worse."**
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THE CRITICAL EYE

Vol. 1, No. 4
January 1988

• The last time Gary Hart, currently leading the national polls among Democrats, was involved in a presidential bid, he lost the nomination to Walter Mondale, who got clobbered in November. The only other time, Hart managed the 1972 presidential campaign of George McGovern, who also got clobbered. Welcome back, Gary. Goodbye, Democratic victory.

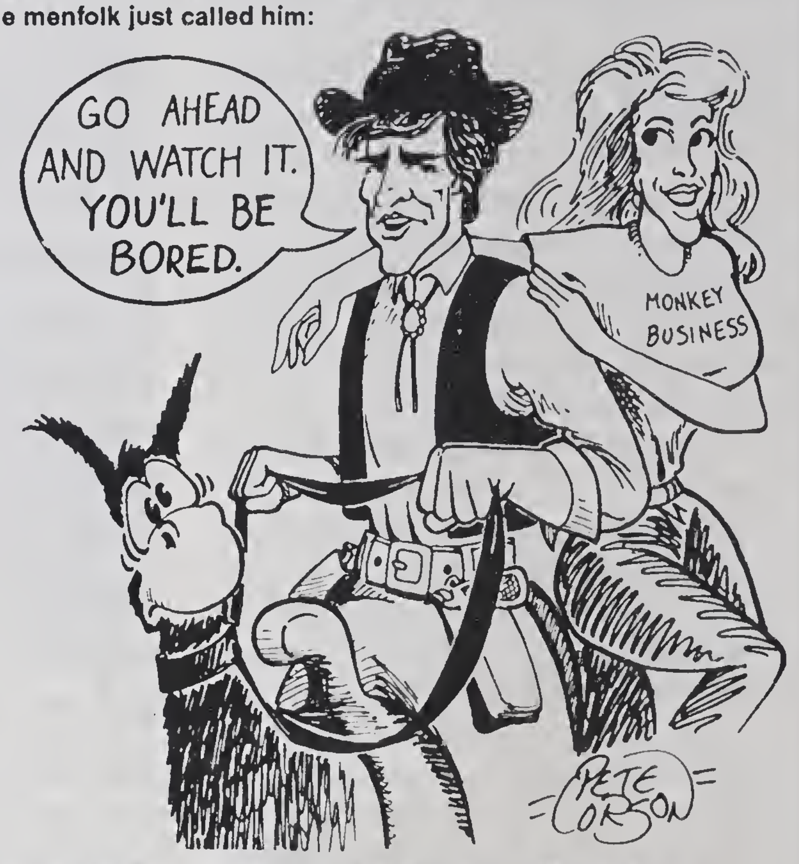
• Speaking of losers, actor and infamous womanizer Warren Beatty was instrumental in convincing Hart to resume the campaign trail, *U.S. News* reports. Need we say more?

• We are *so* relieved that the office of student body president has no real power and principly serves as a resume stuffer. SBP Brian Bailey seemed ready to hand the University over to the Politburo after he was bowled over by a photo opportunity (read: disinformation) session with the Gorbachevs during the summit. Just a few questions, if you would, President Bailey: 1) You said that "the frustrating thing is that both sides agree on the same things. They just want to take two different routes to get there." If you have found such fundamental common ground between the US and USSR, then you, sir, have made history. And what are the two different "routes": freedom and tyranny? 2)Why exactly do you have "total trust" in Mr. Gorbachev? Is because he insists there are "only" 200 or so political prisoners in the Soviet Union — when there is clearly that many in Moscow alone? Do you really believe they can't leave because they possess 20 year old "state secrets?" Do you trust Mr. Gorbachev because he has presided over the maiming and killing of thousands of men, women, and children in Afghanistan? Do you think Mathias Rust trusts Mr. Gorbachev? Do you believe Jews in the Soviet Union have "total trust" in Mr. Gorbachev? 3) You said that "we need to know what the Soviet Union is like now, not twenty years ago." Twenty years ago Soviet tanks were rolling into Prague grinding college students under their treads. Today Soviet pilots drop bombs disguised as toys to maim Afghan children. Twenty years ago the Soviet life expectancy was higher than it is now. Twenty years ago Soviet alcoholism was rampant, today it is endemic. Soviets still wait in line for the basic necessities of life. Do you think Mr. Gorbachev would like you to know these things? Do you really believe that he wouldn't try to make sure every citizen you met would be a hand picked representative of the party? Maybe we shouldn't be so hard on Mr. Bailey; after all, ignorant statements like his are to be expected when a political neophyte is exposed to the well-schooled Soviet propaganda machine. Perhaps this distressing incident will convince more people that student government is chiefly skilled at embarassing the University, and would not be missed were it abolished. Otherwise, step right this way to Suite C to see a real live useful idiot.

Out of the West came the legend
No one knew his real name
No one even knew his real age
But as quickly as he appeared, he was gone
The men sighed. The women cried

And then, suddenly, he was back
Drifting on the High Plains of Iowa
Riding the Pale Ridges of New Hampshire
And cutting it Every Which Way But Loose
In search of a Fistful of Dollars

The womenfolk called him Honey
The menfolk just called him:


GO AHEAD AND WATCH IT. YOU'LL BE BORED.
MONKEY BUSINESS
PETE CORSON

THE OUTLAW
GARY HARTPENCE

• If Margaret Thatcher's Great Britain seems a little too far away to move, why not emigrate to Vander Zalm's British Columbia? Zalm, the Social Credit Party premier in the province, has just introduced a massive privatization of state-owned enterprises, in which employees as well as citizens will be able to buy shares of the new companies. Land and services to be sold total $2.26 billion. In addition, new labor laws were recently passed to end union tyranny. "We emphasized the rights of individuals," Zalm says. "We have removed any opportunity for people to coerce or use threats against others in the marketplace or otherwise." On the party's platform: "We are a party that is strong on free enterprise and is very much aware of the need to recognize the individual in society," Zalm says. We at the newly-christened *Columbia Critic* have only one question: who's driving?

• Former Charlotte "civil rights" lawyer Julius Chambers has been ordered to pay a $30,000 fine for *filing* a frivolous lawsuit. Apparently a discrimination action pursued against the Army at Fort Bragg, the biggest civil rights action in Army history, had basically consisted of the following argument: certain employees at Bragg were black, they were fired by whites, so "discrimination" had occurred. Chambers says the result signifies "increasing conservatism" in the federal courts. No, Mr. Chambers, what it signifies is that civil rights claims filed *in bad faith* are fraudulent and should be discouraged. Of course Chambers will appeal, certain irresponsible columnists will cry "racism," and the whole affair will become a bloody mess.

• So Defense Minister Humberto Ortega pledged to put 600,000 Nicaraguans under arms by 1995. Many observers were stunned by the news and coudn't fathom why the Sandinistas would make such a boast just as US/USSR relations seemed to be improving. Our best guess is that the Sandinistas wanted to show everyone in the socialist camp that they are ready, willing, and perhaps able to serve as the vanguard for an East Bloc push into the American mainland. In short, their aim is to show that it is Gorbachev, not the FSLN, that is soft on capitalism. Whether the Sandinistas will succeed in pressuring Gorbachev into supplying greater amounts of advanced Soviet military hardware is unclear. What is certain now is that the Sandinistas intend to build a military juggernaut that will dwarf the rest of Central America's armies. Only the densest of peacniks could doubt that now.

• What a big surprise: the University's Highway Safety Research Center reports that since seat belt use by North Carolina motorists has been "encouraged" by the state, seat belt use has increased substantially and highway deaths have decreased somewhat (of course, highway deaths had been decreasing steadily for other reasons for the last few years). After all, threatening people with police and fines over something that seems so small — like buckling seat belts — *will* probably work. This is not a case like prohibiting alcohol or drugs, which are deemed more important to one's lifestyle. The real question is: is it right to manage citizen's lives, even if we are confident we know what's good for them? "If our aim in passing it was to save lives, should we also pass laws as to diet, as to the amount of sleep we get?" ask Richard Wright, state representative from Columbus county and an opponent of the seat belt regulations. "Where do we draw the line?" Apparently the line is to be drawn outside the bounds of legitimate state power.

• Hey, for all you "concerned" folks at the Campus Y, we have a new bad guy for you. Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi recently exclaimed: "Amnesty International, I say to hell." Now, sic him! Maybe you can get Sting to write a nasty song about Moi, too.

• In case you haven't heard, all you industrious working stiffs out there will have slightly less take-home pay — thanks to "our" spineless friends in D.C. Unable and unwilling to admit that Social Security is an inefficient, unjust, insatiable monster

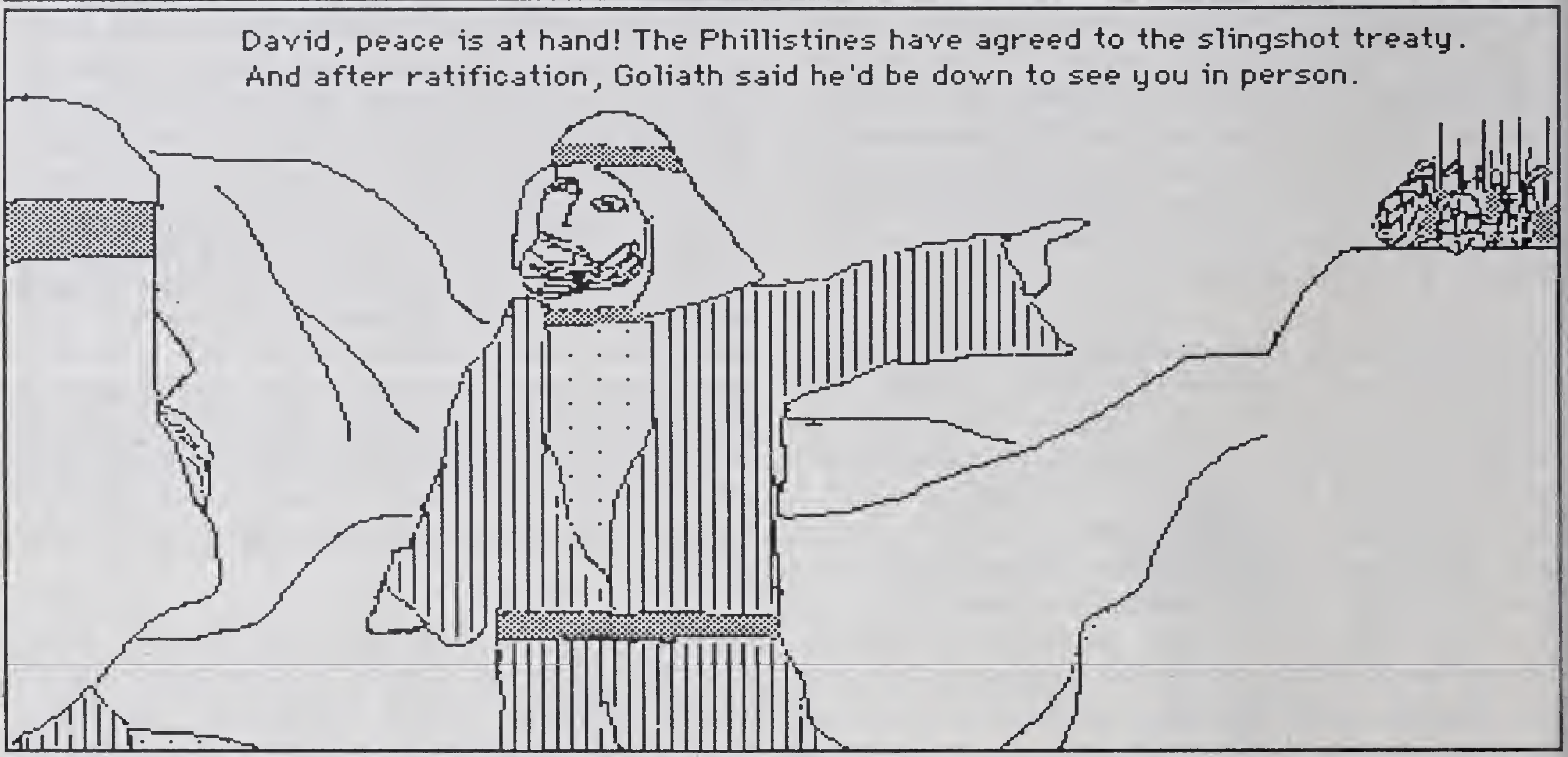
Clipboard

We're all so happy to hear that Chrysler has bought out Italian supercar maker Lamborghini; after all, could you bear the thought of the $120,000 (give or take a few paltry thousands of dollars) LM002 sport ulitity vehicle not being available in the U.S.? This three-ton jeep comes with a 450 horsepower 12 cylinder engine and a top speed of a mere 125 miles per hour. A top Chrysler executive is quoted in *Autoweek* as describing the 002 as "On the outside . . . (it) looks like a polished tank while the inside looks like a Bentley". . . We always knew Pink Floyd was different but this is ridiculous: seems the sleeve of the new Floyd album, *A Momentary Lapse of Reason*, is so designed that when the plastic wrapping is put on it tends to warp the record. Motto of this story: buy the CD or tape of *A Momentary Lapse of Reason*, as you might not have to run to the record store four times to make exchanges. Incidentally, rumor has it that the people responsible for this snafu are due to reinvent the wheel sometime within the next decade. . . So much for boring politics: The ruling West German Christian Democratic Party (CDU) finds itself in the mitts of a huge slide in the state of Schleswig-Holstein. Last January, the party of Chancellor Helmut Kohl was preferred by 70 percent of the electorate in the traditionally conservative state bordering on the Baltic and North Seas. After the breaking of the scandal known as "Waterkantgate" in which the local party head was engaged in a campaign of dirty tricks, the party had dropped to a mere19 percent in a *Der Spiegel* poll in November. The Free Democrats, the alliance partner of the CDU, leaped from three percent to 31 percent, *a ten fold jump*, while the pacifistic/ environmentalist Green party dropped from 21 percent to 4 percent because of internal divisions. The biggest winners were the Social Democrats, which *tripled* their share of electorate (to 42 percent from 14 percent).

Military Insignifica

An important but little noticed change in the rules of engagement has occurred in the Persian Gulf: U.S. ships will be allowed to help allied nation's *warships* should the Iranians decide to target them in one of their speed boat attacks. . . There's something queer about this deal: The People's Republic of China has found a new way to earn foreign exchange; they are selling their old Soviet-designed fighters to Americans. For a mere $175,000 you can buy a genuine (and perfectly maintained) MiG-15 (NATO code name: Fagot) jet fighter, the same type of plane that was used by our adversaries in the Korean War. Reservations are also being accepted for the more advanced (in service from the mid1950s) MiG-17, with delivery to occur as the planes are withdrawn from Chinese service. . . National security at its finest: Seems that there's a U.S. depot in a place called Fischbach in West Germany, the contents of which are (supposedly) so secret that the MPs stationed there are not allowed to tell their families what they are guarding. Our only question is, from whom are we trying to keep information, since pictures of Fischbach have appeared in the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, and what's stored in the depot (chemical weapons) has been an open secret for years? . . . Nothing like Western togetherness: The Defense Department is opposing the use by a consortium of European nations including West Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Spain of the Hughes APG-65 radar (which is also used in the Navy and Marines' F-18 fighter) in their EFA fighter for the 1990s. Seems they're afraid that the West Germans would be unable to keep the software associated with the radar secret. The European nations are considering building their own radar to replace the American device.

— *Michael Lowrey*


David, peace is at hand! The Phillistines have agreed to the slingshot treaty.
And after ratification, Goliath said he'd be down to see you in person.

that will contine to demand ever-increasing portions of hard-earned casa, Congress and the administration have refused to even delay an increase in benefits. Not cut anything, mind you, just delay an increase. The result is that the Social Security tax must increase from 7.15 percent to 7.51 percent to pay for it. The simple fact is that everyone would be better off if Social Security was phased out. The government, which has a hard time finding hammers for under $500 and rarely delivers a letter across town in less than three days, should not be trusted to come up with sound pension plans for millions of Americans. But until the politicians get up enough backbone to admit this (like presidential candidate Pete du Pont) the nightmare will continue.

• Perhaps President Reagan and the INF treaty backers really do have a rational policy in mind. In the wake of the Washington summit, French President Francois Mitterand has declared a more unified defense and nuclear weapons strategy for the European theatre. Mitterand told *Le Nouvel Observateur* that his new approach includes a commitment never to use French nuclear weapons on German soil and coordination with Britain in nuclear targeting. Expanding new initiatives at least suggest that one feared result of pulling U.S. missiles out — a weakened defense against the Warsaw Pact and consequent Finlandization of Europe — is less likely than treaty foes insist. Lest we totally discount the negatives of summitry and arms treaties, another Mitterand proposal — to plan for a "global" rather than "gradual" nuclear response in case of Soviet attack — means that European nuclear deterrence could become less rather than more credible. And this policy declaration is almost definitely a play to the less rational bulk of European anti-nuclearism, stoked to great effect by treaty rhetoric that treats nuclear weapons as inherent evil rather than amoral but very destructive tools in the defense of freedom.

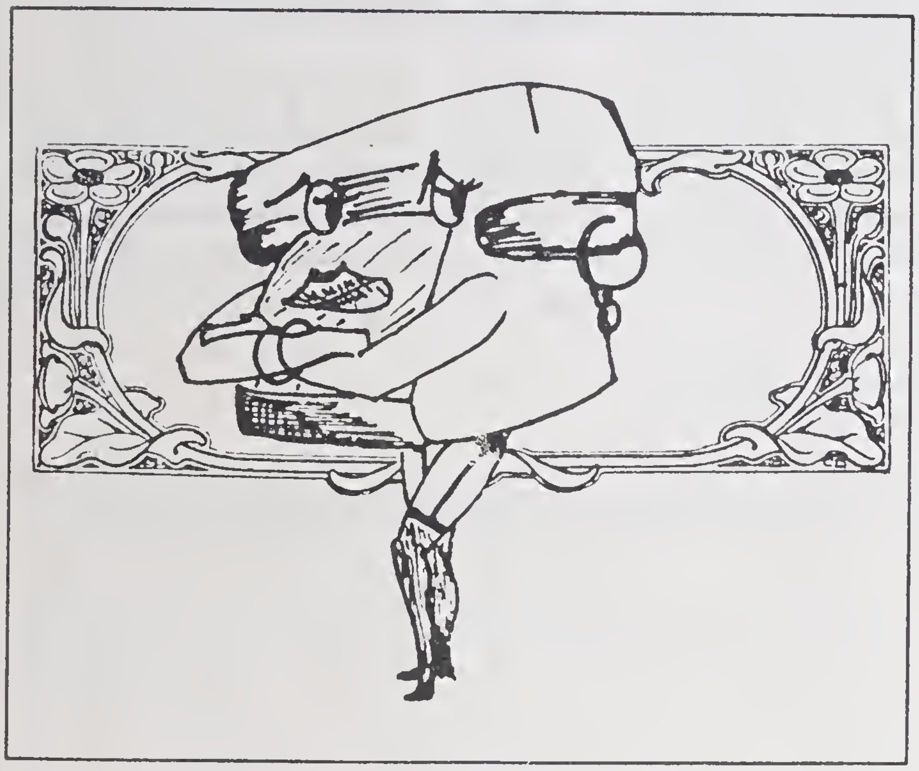
• Confronted with a skyrocketing inflation rate, i.e. too much government spending, what does the Mexican government do? Why, raise the salaries of government workers by 15 percent, of course. The Mexican government has consistently shown it lacks the political will to put its economic house in order. This needs to be remembered the next time Mexico City holds its sombero out for more American loans.

• Since the nuclear freeze movement cranked up in the early 1980s, all the rage has been "peace education," a thinly-veiled attempt to teach children a simplistic case for disarmament: Nuclear weapons are bad because they blow up and kill everything. The peace education craze was fueled in large part by "teaching packets" prepared by national or even international disarmament advocacy groups like the Union of Concerned Scientists and Educators for Social Responsibility — groups whose propaganda masquarading as curricula were full of factual errors ("Soviet SS-20s are not first strike, counterforce weapons") and trite pacifist absurdities ("Disagreements and conflicts between nations merely stem from 'misunderstanding'"). Well, *The Christian Science Monitor* reports that many educators, even those sympathetic with the freeze movement, are rethinking their use of the new peace curricula. The well-intentioned attitude promoted by these materials, says one critic, includes "a willful denial of the face of evil in the world, and of tragedy." But rather than reacting with blanket condemnation, school systems should develop balanced, factually-accurate materials on defense issues. Materials teaching that the SS-20 is a modern, accurate counterforce weapon — and that some wars, many wars, are fought between adversaries who understand each other all too well.

• Just when you thought you had it all straight, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has decided to "go beyond" civil rights and begin work on "economic and sociological" issues like universal (socialized) health care and everyone's favority cause, the elusive homeless. And if that wasn't enough, the

LDF has decided to create even greater appellational confusion" "We of the Legal Defense Fund are moving beyond the level of a single weapon, legal action, as our sole method. . ."

- Every now and then news comes along that shows free markets are free in more ways than one. As everyone knows (perhaps firsthand?) AT&T carries so-called "Dial-A-Porn" services which essentially allows callers to pay a lot of money for an obscene phone call. And, of course, there have been efforts to ban such, um, "services." Meanwhile, one of AT&T's competitors in long distance, MCI, announces that it will not offer any phone filth. The result is that those offended have dumped AT&T and signed up with MCI. Many churches are urging their members to take their business to MCI. This happy situation should remove any "need" for government intervention. Consumers are able to purchase services in a competitive environment without compromising their ethical standards. Our advice? Boycott them all and use carrier pigeons.



- Durham is responsible for trashy streets, Duke basketball, and electing a mayor named "Wib." It is also the home of the infamous Institute for Southern Studies, whose newest perfidy can be found in a report called "Who Owns North Carolina?" It correlates the concentration of land ownership in North Carolina counties with socio-economic conditions and property tax assessments. And their earth-shattering conclusion? It seems that counties with the worst housing conditions, least educated population, fewest doctors, and highest unemployment are also counties where more than 40 percent of the land is held by large landowners. Of course, the implication is that concentration of land ownership is the cause of poor living conditions. The danger in turning such correlations into causalities is that sometimes the converse is true — in this case, that poor socio-economic conditions (brought on by various factors) cause land ownership to become more concentrated. The explanation that *poverty causes concentration* may even be more likely than the Institute's, for the simple reason that it makes more sense; as small farmers in rural areas became less successful and moved to the cities to look for work, their land was bought by larger farms, agribusinesses, industry, and even government. The study argues, however, that *concentration causes poverty* through the intermediate step of poor property tax policy, in which large landowners get away with paying less than market value assessment — so county schools and health care get less money. But the study's own data shows that only 24 of the 40 high concentration counties have poor property tax collection and only 17 of the 40 have both poor property tax collection *and* poverty. So the Institute's explanation can't hold true for over half of the counties in question!

- By the way, if the Institute study's thesis does have any merit, it would be for the largest landowner by far in North Carolina: government. The feds top the list with 2.23 million acres, owning more N.C. land than the next six highest owners combined. The state weighs in at third, owning over 450,000 acres. Say, let's test the Institute's thesis with a massive sell-off of public lands to homesteaders and the private sector! (Just don't tell the Durham lefties that much of this government land happens to be their precious wilderness areas. . .)

- For all you true believers out there, don't forget the Carolina Critic organizational staff meeting to be held Thursday, Jan. 21, at 7 p.m. in the Union. Brings your friends, bring your foes, and most importantly, bring some cash.

Hype outstrips plague

It's official. The AIDS scare, which over the past couple of years has consisted of dire warnings that the disease was "breaking out" of the homosexual and drug user populations, is exactly that — a scare.

Banner headlines and chilling magazine covers have promised that the AIDS epidemic is "creeping out of its traditional confines" and that the threat to heterosexuals is "increasing at a worrisome rate."

The trouble is that at some point these hysterical predictions must be treated by medical and empirical evidence if they are to serve as the basis for public policy.

There are three elements to the scare that merit close scrutiny: the whys of AIDS, the rise of AIDS, and the lies of AIDS.

First, why do people contract the disease? The HIV virus that is responsible for acquired immune deficiency syndrome and AIDS-related-complex is carried by blood; specifically, it is borne primarily by white blood cells. That means that passing the virus from one person to another must involve a transfer or exposure to these white blood cells, which are carried by body fluids. Obviously blood contains the highest concentration, but the cells containing the virus are also found in lesser concentrations as semen, urine, saliva, and even tears.

AIDS is different from other venereal diseases in that it is extremely difficult to transmit or contract. That is why blood is by far the most likely avenue of transmission, because there are many more chances of a sexual partner or drug needle sharer to come in contact with the cells, and hence with the virus. In fact, the amount of white blood cells in saliva and tears is so small that scientists rate the chances of contracting AIDS

Campaign '88

As unreliable as opinion polls are, they are especially unreliable this early in the election process. What *is* a good indicator of a candidate's performance is the amount of support he or she has among state and local party functionaries. They're the ones who can turn out the vote. On the Democratic side it is noteworthy that many local officials and state representatives in both North and South Carolina seem to feel most comfortable with Sen. **Albert Gore** (D-Tenn.) as the party's nominee. They are convinced it will take a Southerner to win the South for the Dems in '88. And now that Sen. **Terry Sanford** (D-N.C.) and former Gov. **Jim Hunt** have announced for Gore, the Tennessee senator looks like the man to beat in N.C. To our south, Democrats are in full flight away from native son **Jesse Jackson** and proclaim Gore as the only Democratic candidate with a chance of carrying S.C. in a general election. These would-be Gore backers appear to overlook a couple of obstacles to Gore's election, however. His record really has very little to support his appeal for "moderate" status. And more importantly, is American ready for a First Lady named "**Tipper**"?

So **Gary Hart** is back in the race? Mildly surprising, perhaps. Hart is, after all, a publicity-seeking creature that seems to feed off media attention. What is shocking is the unwillingness on the part of other Democratic candidates to denounce Hart for what he is clearly doing — reentering the race for the cynical reason of qualifying for federal matching funds. Hart is still in debt and in court over his '84 bid, and his '88 campaign is/ was also up to its eyeballs in red ink. Now, Hart is eligible for $1 million in taypayers' money to pay off his debts, and still the Dems look the other way. Hart is an unprincipled rake whose only value seems to be power — his power to manipulate others while they praise him for it. His behavior suggests he is all together amoral, or at best an opportunistic hedonist willing to do anything to take the easy way out. Perhaps the other candidates' silence can be attributed to the dark knowledge that confronted with a situation like Hart's, they'd do the same thing.

Here are a couple of state notes of interest: state Sen. **Harold W. Hardison** (D-Lenior), a candidate for lieutenant governor, was recently endorsed by the North Carolina Medical Society Political Education and Action Committee for what MEDPAC calls "a track record of concern for medical issues" — in other words, for his efforts to increased state participation in provision of medical services, especially to rural citizens. . . Current Lt. Gov. **Bob Jordan** announced Jan. 4 his bid to challenge Republican Gov. **Jim Martin** in November. Given his low-key manner and penchant for backroom negotiations, Jordan may indeed rival Martin — in the lack of charisma category. Only the partisan shenanigans of state party chairs **Ken Eudy**, Democrat, and **Jack Hawke** will keep N.C. voters from being bored to tears.

From the Kiss of Death Department, we bring you this: the Democratic (sic) Socialists of America (**Michael Harrington** and crew) have endorsed Jesse Jackson for president. Let this be a lesson on what speaking in rhymed couplets can accomplish.

— *Jeff Taylor*

from those fluids as next to impossible.

Activities between people that involve an inordinate amount of contact with blood are the most likely way to spread AIDS. These activities are sharing of IV needles in unsanitary conditions (drug users), direct sharing of blood between mothers and babies in the womb, and anal intercourse (homosexual men and some heterosexuals). Anal intercourse is more likely to pass AIDS than vaginal intercourse because the anus tears much more easily than the walls of the vagina.

Other medical factors, most especially multiple partners and the existence of other infections like syphilis, help spread the disease. But the basic "why" of AIDS is that actions which are undertaken disproportionately by gay men and drug addicts explain the epidemic in those populations, not "luck" or "God's wrath," as some moralizers have charged.

Statistics demonstrate that the rise of AIDS is related to the populations most affected. According to the Centers for Disease Control, of all AIDS cases reported, only four percent were attributed to heterosexual contacts. A recent CDC conference produced a report predicting a nine percent AIDS rate for heterosexuals by 1991. Even this figure is suspect, however, according to a recent article in *Commentary*, because it includes a whole new set of cases as yet unexplained and because a separate post-conference CDC report predicted only a 5.3 percent rate by 1991.

As for the disease "breaking out" of the gay populations in major cities, the CDC reports that heterosexual-to-heterosexual contact accounts for 18 of San Francisco's 3,061 cases, 30 out of 3,469 in Los Angeles, and no cases of heterosexual-to-heterosexual transmission in New York City, where one-third of the total national cases have been reported.

If the whys and rise of AIDS do not corroborate the scare, why are some people apparently telling blatant lies about AIDS? It's not that hard to understand. Gay activists are seeing their friends die before their eyes and feel compelled to stretch the truth a little to draw more attention and money to the epidemic. Christian fundamentalists have a somewhat less sympathetic aim: to scare people into following codes of sexual morality.

The utilitarian uses of the "everyone is at risk" slogan do not make the slogan true. AIDS is not spreading rapidly through the general population — only the AIDS scare is.

Wright and Left and Budgets

If ever there was a case to be made for giving the president a line-item veto, Congress's end-of-the-year shenanigans — "negotiating" an emergency spending bill before the federal government ground to a halt — have made it.

By the time the spending package was finally put together, the House of Representatives had to hold its first Sunday session since 1982, while the Senate held its first since 1985. For a second year in a row, Congress failed to pass even one of its 13 appropriations. Instead of tackling 13 separate divisions of the federal budget over several months, the Congress simply threw together an enormous stack of paper (the "emergency" spending bill) over a working weekend.

After all, we wouldn't have wanted our dear congressmen to have to straighten out their messes during the holidays.

This haphazard approach Congress has taken to its constitutional funding duties is disgraceful. Special disdain should be directed towards House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Texas) and others in the Democratic leadership who seem quite content to procrastinate consideration of crucial budget items until the last minute, and then spring them on the Republican minority and President Reagan — who can scarcely afford to oppose or veto the measures with the government's daily operations at stake. Wright calls this strategy "the nature of the beast," but it is really just a slick manipulation of imperfect political rules.

It is just plain ridiculous to hold hostage the salaries of Interior Department workers, for instance, to resolution of the Contra funding debate. Or to link Medicare reform to SDI funding. But under the present system, that's the only way business is done in Washington.

The enormous continuing resolultion passed each year regularly have items in them that surpise the very congressmen who approve them. Remember those infamous Boland amendments that banned U.S. intelligence aid to the Contras in 1985? They were tacked on to that year's continuing resolution, so that Reagan and other Contra backers would have no choice but to approve them.

But during the Iran-Contra hearings last summer, much was made of the shady way those Boland amendments may have been broken. What about considering the shady way those amendments were enacted?

Wright and company were planning the same kind of legislative coup this year by tacking on a reinstatement of the Fairness Doctrine, a rule requiring broadcasters to give equal time to different political viewpoints. The Fairness Doctrine is, despite arguments that it may be "useful to encourage political debate," is on its face a violation of the First Amendment. It mandates what views broadcasters must air, because of some nebulous "public good." And any justification that it may have had when first enacted in 1936 — that radio and television stations were a scarce resource and therefore needed public oversight — has faded with the advent of cable television and other technologies. That is why the FCC, rightly, rescinded the doctrine last summer.

But Wright wants it reinstated. And instead of debating it soberly and properly during the year, he had languaged reinstating the doctrine tacked on to the emergency spending measure. Should anyone doubt his intentions: "I can't conceive of the president of the United States vetoing and letting the whole government come to a crashing halt because he is against fairness," Wright says.

Well, the speaker and his cronies in Congress know exactly what they're doing with this tactic.

The real question is: does the public know what the speaker is doing, and do they resent it enough to make support for the line-item veto a major campaign issue in 1988? Ω

If You Like What You've Read So Far . . .

(Or Even If You're Just A Sniveling, Godless Pinko Looking A Good Argument)

Attend an Organizational Meeting of *The Carolina Critic* Staff on Thursday, Jan. 21, at 7 p.m. in the Student Union

Come one, come all: especially if you can write, sell, lift heavy objects, or pilfer

The Race for Classical Liberal

Young people valuing economic, personal liberty as well as solid defense planning have slim pickings in 1988 election

By John Hood

I am a liberal. And like many other young, liberal college students, I'm looking through the current crop of presidential candidates to find the one appealing to the liberal principles I espouse — the one candidate who exemplifies and promotes a liberal vision of the world I see, in record and in rhetoric.

So far I'm not having much success.

Now before things get out of hand, let me point out that what I refer to as "liberal" politics is not exactly what the label means in today's confusing, unprincipled vocabulary. I am a liberal in the sense that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were liberals. I favor the principles that 19th Century Liberals did: individual rights, limited government, free market capitalism, and a vibrant, resolute national defense against aggression.

In fact, the original dispute between American liberals and conservatives was fought between Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, between liberal opponent of government tyranny and conservative advocate of strong, central government. One major issue of contention was whether the federal government would assume control of banking and currency (Jefferson said no, Hamilton said yes — and won.) At the time, Jefferson said: "We can pay off [Hamilton's] debt in fifteen years, but we can never get rid of his financial system." Given the trouble centralized monetarism is causing today, exemplified by abandonment of the gold standard and the bulemic binges of heavy federal spending and then heavy taxation, Jefferson's prediction has been fulfilled.

The European thinker revered by American liberals was John Locke, advocating religious tolerance, individual liberty, the free market, and representative government. The conservatives' hero was Edmund Burke, advocating a return to "tradition," "civic duty," fairly strong (but pragmatic rather than principled) dedication to capitalism, and to a conscious political foundation in religion. The main difference between the two visions lay in their fundamental focus or unit of measurement: for Locke, the unit was the individual; for Burke, it was the sovereign nation, to which individuals owed allegiance and certain duties.

Boy, how things have changed. Today, people like me who oppose government intervention in economics are classified as "conservatives," even though Burkean traditionalists, religious demagogues, and proto-fascist fringe movements are also placed in the same category. But when we say that we favor legalization of marijuana and other measures to increase personal freedom, the political environment calls us "liberals," which today also means love of state economic planning and even a mild affection for "democratic" socialism (which means that if a minority decides to take your property and manage it for the public good, that would be bad — but if a majority does it through the vote, then it's okay.)

Modern Liberal *(Favors economic controls and personal freedom)*	**Classical Liberal** *(Favors economic and personal freedom)*
Populist *(Favors economic and personal controls)*	**Conservative** *(Favors personal controls and economic freedom)*

Anyway, this curious reversal of political meanings causes some problems for the classical liberal in communicating ideas, and in finding others whose own visions are consonant with those ideas. Where does classical liberalism fit on a spectrum between the "Right" of Jesse Helms and Pat Robertson and the "Left" of Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson? In the "pragmatic center"? Of course, the newest group claiming to represent classical liberal status is the Libertarian Party, who unfortunately suffer from extremely muddled national defense thinking as well as from extreme tackiness (more on the LP later.)

For the classical, Jeffersonian liberal, then, it becomes necessary to dispense with the flawed Right-Left perspective and look at candidates from a new political locus (see table), a locus that compares candidates on the advocacy of liberty in all segments of life, and on the candidates' solid commitment to defense of that liberty with the tools available.

Now before we go on, it should be noted that the classical liberal position is not without widespread support — especially from the college student population. Recent polls suggest that young people are generally believers in free enterprise, a strong national defense, and personal liberty. They exude a fairly casual "live and let live" attitude that infuriates both the student leftist protest crowd and religious youth crusaders. Both groups call the college population today "selfish" (it's about time) and "apathetic," which is true, but at least young people aren't becoming very active in the causes those groups want them to. It is up to the growing trend of alternative campus groups and newspapers in the classical liberal tradition (like The Carolina Critic) to transform unenlightened apathy into thoughtful, principled apathy — apathy towards the "progressive" causes and "return to tradition" sloganeers so visible on the American college landscape.

With this task defined, let's look at the current choices for president. It is, after all, the office that so clearly represents the philosophy and sets the pace for federal governance. First of all, we can disqualify all the announced Democrats. Most are either populist demagogues calling for soak-the-rich schemes (the Jackson wing) or left-leaning, Harvard-spawned pragmatists intent on "managing" America (the Hart-Dukakis wing.) The only thoughful candidate in the Democratic field, Bruce Babbitt, is so-called because he has a consistent philosophy; unfortunately, that philosophy is a "progressive" 1960s Rawlsian liberalism.

Turning to the Republicans, there are more interesting things happening. Two candidates, indeed the front runners according to the latest regional polls, are Vice President George Bush and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole — both establishment Republican types. In other words, they have a Burkean view of governance that is both pragmatic (in the sense of disdain of abstract principle) and leadership-oriented. They place a premium on tradition for tradition's sake. They're running as potential national leaders, not as advocates of a particular ideology. Indeed, when former Delaware Gov. Pete du Pont presses either candidate to explain his vision of what government should be, Dole and Bush seem geniunely mystified. "Well, I can govern this country," says Dole. "I have been in the cockpit helping to steer this country for the last seven years," says Bush, so I can lead this country."

Towards what?

Pat Robertson, the former television evangelist, does have a very consistent vision: the reestablishment of the Judeo-Christian tradition in government. Of course, he makes the common conservative mistake of assuming that there was a "Judeo-Christian" basis for the American Revolution that needs reestablishment.

"History, I believe, furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government," said Jefferson. "In every country and in every age the priest has been hostile to liberty. He is in alliance with the despot, abetting his abuses in return for protection of his own." But Jefferson directed his bile, not at religion itself, but at the tyranny of government when under its thumb: "It does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg." Somehow, I don't think Jefferson and other classical liberals would be too crazy about a president who claims he can make storms change course through prayer.

Now we come to Alexander Haig. A refreshing political figure in the Eisenhower mould (like Ike, a reluctant intervener) and ethics in government. "I think there is a tendency today for politicians to watch the polls and then act, saying that it is democracy," Haig told his colleagues at a recent debate. "I say that a president should follow a certain path, whether the polls deem it right or wrong at the time, and be judged at the ballot box."

Wonderful stuff, except that we're not really sure again what path President Haig would stick to. He isn't strident on the social issues like Robertson, to be sure, but when economic topics come up he seems lost or uninterested. If the president's job was to conduct foreign policy only, with someone like a prime minister running things on the domestic front, Haig would be a solid choice. But in reality he ends up being a good candidate — but a bad selection.

That leaves us with du Pont and New York Representative Jack Kemp, the architect of supply-side economics. Both are indeed fervent supporters of low taxes and economic opportunity, of free markets and privatization (Kemp is pushing the wonderful idea of selling public housing units to the tenants, even at a loss, so as to encourage urban homesteading and reduce inner-city crime.) But while du Pont also attacks the

Paul savages GOP, Dems at Duke

The American public has had enough of being chiseled, cheated, and conned by the politicians of both major parties and are seeking a libertarian alternative, LP presidential candidate Ron Paul said last month at Duke University.

Calling the Republican and Democratic parties "Tweedledee and Tweedledum," Paul argued for greater personal and economic liberty, a return to the gold standard, and for "bringing the boys back home" from Europe and Asia.

"It's not just the Libertarian Party, it's the whole country that's waking up," he told a crowd of 70. "Many people agree with my ideas, but the labels keep getting in the way."

Paul directs special criticism towards the Internal Revenue Service, whose collection politicies he labels "totalitarian"; the Federal Reserve Board, whose easy money/tight money shenanigans exacerbate recession; and the hypocrisy of the Reagan Administration, whose supply-side policies "are not at all libertarian or free enterprise."

On foreign policy, Paul counsels free trade and non-intervention: "The Communists do have designs on the world, but the fact is that troops won't stop them." He used the example of the Philippines to show that even massive amounts of foreign aid don't automatically help America's image. In an interview after the speech, Paul said that the Strategic Defense Initiative wouldn't work and that the armed forces of the United States should function only to defend the territory of the country from aggression.

The Libertarian Party, the largest alternative party in the US, was created in 1971 by a small group of young people intent on returning the country's leadership to the "principles of our Founding Fathers." Libertarianism as a modern movement owe much of its impetus to the works and Objectivist philosophy of Ayn Rand, a Russian emigre, and to the so-called Austrian School of economics, including Ludwig von Mises and F.A. Hayek. A Cato Institute survey found that the number of respondents who took libertarian positions rose from nine percent in 1972 to 18 percent in 1980.

Some excerpts from the LP platform should be instructive to classical liberals: support present laws on the rights of the criminally accused; against compulsory jury duty; against all forms of government censorship (including wartime and defense information); support abolition of the CIA and FBI; support right of abortion (but against government funding); against all military conscription (again including wartime); oppose "all government activity that consists of the forcible collection of money or goods"; oppose "all direct or indirect government participation in the nuclear energy industry; oppose funding for the Nicaraguan Contras; oppose presidential authority to initiate military action; and support "the right to political secession by political entities, private groups, or individuals."

current exorbitant budget for domestic spending, Kemp is reluctant. "Americans don't elect Republicans to repeal the New Deal," Kemp says. Well, you could have fooled me.

Kemp has sensed the chasm between the political labels bandied around the country today and the true beliefs out there, especially among the young. Unfortunately, he has seized upon the wrong area of modern liberalism — social spending, unionism, and even deficit spending — to graft on to his conservative principles.

Kemp is quite an optimistic fellow. He promises, for instance, that under his presidency the United States could move to full employment without inflation, with interest and poverty rates falling. But what does he mean by "full employment"? If he really means 100 percent employment of the work force, would that really be good for labor markets and wages? And what of the massive budget deficit? Kemp suggests that the economy could simply grow out of it, which has an element of truth in it (growth does indeed reduce the deficit in a number of ways) but is essentially a bottle of snake oil. Jefferson said: "I place economy among the first and most important of republican virtues, and public debt as the greatest of danger to be feared." And that essential principle of public finance still holds today, especially when applied to the big spending approach to social problems, which assumes that after those problems are "solved" the resulting wealth will more than refil public coffers.

Kemp is strong on national defense issues, especially on the rapid development and deployment of strategic defenses. He supports free trade zones and deplores protectionism. But once again he has picked the wrong leftist idea — foreign economic aid — to combine with his otherwise excellent program. Jefferson would have shuddered at the thought of praising free trade between nations but at the same time accepting implicitly the notion that prosperous nations must bend over backwards to help other nations become so. "It is a kind of law of nature that every nation prospers by the prosperity of others," Jefferson said. What he meant was that trade itself between nations will help both economies — a fundamental maxim of 19th Century Liberal thinking. Economic aid, which is not trade but a subsidy, only stunts the growth of LDC economies by making them dependent on unearned wealth.

Now let's take a look at du Pont's program. He calls for phasing out farm subsidies (Kemp disagrees), offering a private alternative to Social Security (Kemp really disagrees), privatizing American education through vouchers (you guessed it, Kemp says no), and phasing out welfare. These are all solid, classical liberal ideas. And they contain well-planned transitions and realistic timetables. Du Pont does stray on a couple of side issues, the most important of which appears to be his anti-drug proposal to link teenagers' driving privileges to random drug testing. I say "appears to be" because first of all the idea is not without merit — assuming the existence of public roads and public schools. But also a very interesting thing happened when a reporter, asking about du Pont's teen drugs plan, inquired if the candidate thought adults should be able to use drugs in the privacy of their own homes. Du Pont basically declined to answer. Hmmm. . .

The Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank in Washington, seems to be pushing for a du Pont nomination. This brings up an interesting question: if we're looking for a true classical liberal, why not pick Libertarian Party candidate Ron Paul. Well, there are a couple of reasons why Paul is not a good selection. First of all, though sharing most of the principles, Paul doesn't seem to have an organized program for carrying them out. Being in the LP rather than a major party seems to make Paul less conscious of the need for such a program, but in fact most classical liberals recognize the importance of a smooth transition — for instance, it would surely be cruel and unjust to end the Social Security program at once, leaving some elderly persons without any income. For good or bad, they did plan their lives on the promise of federal pensions.

The second and more important reason why Paul doesn't cut it is his failure to grasp foreign and military policy. At a recent LP speech in Durham (see related story), I asked Paul about his support for SDI. "I'm not really supportive of the SDI program any more, because it just doesn't seem like it will work," Paul said. His example was that the Soviet Union could simply launch a first strike against the US with submarine-launched cruise missiles fired off the American coast. Really, he did. That a candidate for president would show such a lack of understanding of basic nuclear weapons and strategies (cruise missiles are hardly the weapons to take out hard targets, for example) is most distressing.

But it is hardly an exception. The LP platform is rife with very strange positions, ranging from outright pacifism to opposing resistance force funding — on the confused and mistaken grounds that other "nations" governments are "their" own business. The LP should know better than to treat groups as actors. "Nations don't choose governments; people do, sometimes violently. And if a bunch of thugs take over a country, the US should support forces intent on restoring freedom, as much for our own self-interest as for justice. How would the American classical liberals of Jefferson's day have triumped without the help of France?

So it seems that for now, Pete du Pont carries the banner of 19th Century Liberalism into the presidential fray. He may not be very successful — though his chances in the New Hampshire primary were recently bolstored by the the *Manchester Union-Leader's* endorsement — and some of his rhetoric tends towards the traditionalist rather than the liberal message. But right now, he's our best choice.

Of course, if George Mason University professor and syndicated columnist Walter Williams suddenly announces his bid, we'll really have a classical liberal candidate. . . Ω

In the Zoo *By David Hood*

WANTED: LAWYERS WHO SPEAK *POORLY*

For many seniors at Carolina, the Christmas season was more than just shopping malls and football games. We were hard at work completing applications to graduate or professional schools, especially if it had been put off until December . . .

I was no exception. Grabbing my application to the UNC Law School on my last day of exams, I finally got around to completing it by the week before Christmas. I expected to have to put down all my extracurricular activities (you know, those clubs you join just so you can put them on your resume.) But I was surprised to learn that grades and test scores were not all you needed to get into the Carolina Law School.

According to page three of the application, another factor which can be a basis for decision is your "ability to communicate with the poor." Aside from the obvious disadvantage this criterion poses to deaf or dumb applicants, there are even more serious problems with this as a standard for admission to law school.

First, what does it mean to "communicate" with poor persons? Is there a particular language one must study in order to say hello to a street person? And if that language is offered at UNC, does it fulfill the General College language requirement?

Or maybe this phrase refers to the ability to "identify" with the plight of the "poor." I'm not sure how that could be measured except by looking at the financial status of the applicant. And I wonder what role that kind of information should play in an admissions process supposedly based upon ability and merit.

Secondly, what exactly is meant by "the poor"? Does the amount of money in one's pocket determine what that person will think, or "communicate"? Perhaps I am an idealist, but I would like to believe that individuals practice individual thought — that it would be impossible to communicate with every person of an economic class in precisely the same manner. And if that is true, then why doesn't the application simply read "ability to communicate with people"?

Obviously the fact that the person is poor must have more to do with this than communication skills themselves. I suspect that this criterion really means "sympathy, or advocacy of beliefs that benefit the poor." I'll bet that if you are in favor of wealth redistribution, welfare subsidies, or socialized medicine, then you have demonstrated your "ability to communicate with the poor." I fail to see why political philosophy should be a legitimate basis for admission to law school — but who knows, maybe they're just not "communicating" it well enough to me.

Now perhaps you are an idealist, and don't believe that the underlying reason for this criterion is political. After all, they're not supposed to do that, are they? I would be inclined to agree, except that I can see no other purpose for this in a law school application. Why would communication skills be important for only dealing with poor people? Why not with rich people (who are sometimes impossible to communicate with.) I come to the unfortunate conclusion that the admissions people are looking for applicants with "progressive" ideas, in order to train them to change society in a particular manner.

But that was only Exhibit A. Exhibit B is a later criterion in the same paragraph of the application — "demonstrated compassion." Again, we have a phrase which sounds perfectly harmless. After all, who wants a bunch of compassionless lawyers tearing up witnesses on the stand? "Compassion" is usually seen as a very positive attribute.

My problem with this concerns the word "demonstrated." How is such a quality to be measured by an admissions officer who has reviewed dozens of other applications that day? And what abilities would be considered "compassionate" by the law school? Again, I fear the haunting spectre of politics has entered into the admissions process of a state university.

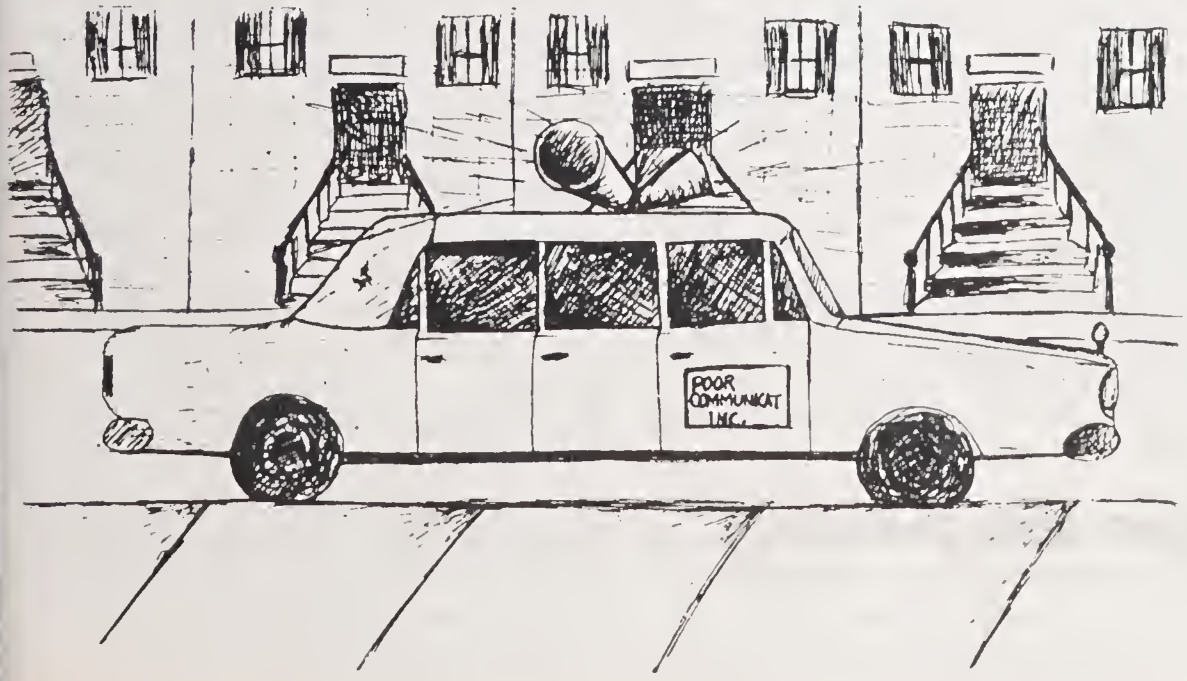
Perhaps membership in "progressive organizations" like the Campus Y or the Anti-Apartheid Support Group would prove "compassion," or maybe demonstrated support for handouts and government housing subsidies would do the trick. At any rate, I doubt the position that welfare breeds dependence, or that government should get out of the education business would be considered proof of "demonstrated compassion."

The bottom line is that something must be rotten in the State of North Carolina, specifically, in its Law School. It would be an outrage for a qualified applicant with leadership experience and extracurricular involvement to be passed over in favor of someone with about the same test score with only an "ability to communicate with the poor," whatever that means.

It shouldn't be all that surprising, however, that the Law School wants certain beliefs to be prevalent within its student body. Universities have consistently claimed that they will attempt to steer society along a "progressive path" to reforms, rather than society deciding what will be reflected in its universities. They probably see nothing wrong with advocating the "cause of the poor" as a matter of university policy.

But in a nation which thrives on diverse opinions and the marketplace of goods and ideas, government sponsorship of one particular political point of view is clearly unfair. After all, one man's "compassion" is another man's "tyranny," especially when dealing with basic economic theory. If we are going to stick with government-run educational institutions (a big "if") then let's at least try to exclude overtly political beliefs from the admissions policy.

(And to those of you who are labeled "poor" by the Law School, I apologize if I haven't communicated myself clearly.) Ω



Our Altered State

By Michael Lowrey

ASSAULT ON DRIVER RIGHTS IN FULL SWING

With the recent passage of the 65 mile per hour speed limit, one might have thought that rationality had returned to driving laws. Unfortunately, our freedoms on the road appear endangered as never before. On three separate fronts, the federal and state governments are considering actions which would greatly reduce our rights as drivers and car owners.

The first of these assaults involves the type of vehicle we may purchase. Sen. Jack Danforth of Missouri has proposed legislation which would prohibit motorcycles from being able to accelerate faster than a certain rate or achieve certain speeds. Though his bill failed, as Danforth made certain assumption about a safety report that didn't come out as he expected, the trend is disturbing. As exotic sports cars reach the levels of performance of the motorcycles affected by Senator Danforth's prososal, can car owners feel safe? The impact of such proposals on those who don't pay $100,000+ for their cars is especially great when one releases that the cars that those aged 16-24 most often died in while driving are sports cars such as the Camero, Mustang and Firebird/Trans Am. Given Congress' demonstrated desire to act to eliminate the symptom of a problem and not the cause (the requirement that states raise their drinking age to 21 or lose federal highway funds comes to mind), dare we rule out the possibility that our cars of the (near) future wouldn't be allowed to have any more get up and go than, say, a Chevette or Yugo?

As if the prospect of lamer cars weren't enough to depress the average car mad American driver, the prospects of new laws about enforcing speed limits are truly numbing. One target is the radar detector, the objective being the establish an effective ban on their use. For those discovered to have a detector in their car and are given a ticket for speeding, the mere *possession* of the radar detector by itself would be all that is needed to *convict* one of speeding! Sound absurd? Though this amounts to saying that merely because you own a gun you are a murderer, such a position has been adopted by the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety (IIHS), the influential insurance industry research group. Even more serious is that the federal government seems to be coming to support such a view. Earlier this year, studies were funded by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) to determine if radar detectors are used to speed, whether radar detectors make enforcing speed limits more difficult by the police and if drivers do dangerous things when their detectors go off. With an answer to these questions likely to be "yes", the handwriting is on the wall for laws banning radar detectors. As in the case of the notorious laws establishing the 55 mile per hour speed limit and a *de facto* 21 year old national drinking age, the states would face the choice of either banning and prohibiting radar detectors or losing federal highway funds.

The third, and perhaps the most onnerous, assault to come to the freedoms of the driver in 1987 has been the reemergence of the use of cameras to detect and catch alleged speeders. Already in use in parts of Arizona and California, this little devil called "Photocop II" is designed to take pictures of speeders' cars, including license plate number and a picture of the driver plus a reading of the car's speed via radar. Tickets are then sent out to the offending drivers. The real question comes into play now — do the police have to prove who was driving a speeding car to be able to win in court? If this is the case, the police would still have to find and identify you as the person in the picture before the case got to court. Or must a car owner whose car has its picture taken for going too fast have to prove he or she *wasn't* driving to get out of the ticket? Earlier photograph speed detectors failed to gain hold as they required the police to prove who was driving the car in question; ultimately, the systems proved to be less cost efficent than conventional speed traps, especially if a lot of out-of-state speeders frequented a given jurisdiction. Yet, should the burden of proof fall on car owners to prove they weren't driving, extremely difficult-to-beat (even if your innocent) tickets could be in the mail to all those going 56 in a 55.

Leaving aside such interesting little concepts as the assumption of being innocent until proven guilty, the face of driving could be drastically changed by the three new restrictive programs gaining steam in the nation. Simply put, proposals to make radar detectors illegal while giving cops the ability to ticket every speeder would lead to a mass of silly speeding tickets (which are, after all, a quite nice source of revenue for communities and counties everywhere) against which no good defense exists. That is, of course, if our cars can still go fast enough to speed.

Yet this does absolutely nothing to improve the safety of our roads. Danforth talks of the Japanese manufacturers' sales of high performance motorcycles being "analogous to selling Indy racers to teenagers barely old enough to have a license and then turn them loose on public streets to 'play.' Law enforcement cannot stop killer cycles; they are too fast. There is only one way to stop them and that is to limit the power and speed of superbikes sold for street use in this country." Motorcycle deaths are actually down by an eighth since 1980! What we do see again is the use of the old fiction that if you get in a fast car or bike, or drive above a certain speed, your brain somehow explodes or otherwise fails to function normally. The keys to safer roads might actually involve better driver's education, stricter licensing requirements and enforcing certain abused laws (staying in the right lane of the interstate unless you're passing and use of turn signals). How about a performance driving class for those about to buy Cameros? Nor is anything done to eliminate the most dangerous group of drivers from the road: those drunk or otherwise impaired.

The issue at hand is not safety, but rather the treatment of each of us in the cars (or pick-up trucks) of our choice as a responsible driver and citizen with rights, assumed to be above being a target for petty government schemes to collect fines or harass drivers. Write your state legislator and tell hims or her you believe in highway safety, not revenue collection, and in such American concepts as being innocent until proven guilty! Ω

The World Stage

By Jeff Taylor

On Japanese recording technology:

IF CONGRESS ACTS, DAT'S ALL FOLKS!

Rarely do we Americans get the chance to see our system of interest group politics up close. But now the attentive among us can watch as one powerful lobbying machine, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) attepts to impose its will on the nation. For in the next few weeks RIAA will press Congress for legislation that will effectively ban digital audio tape (DAT) technology from the country.

This legislation would, of course, do harm to just about everyone except for a few huge record companies and even *they* are likely to be hurt in the long run. In addition, this ban would largely affect DAT manufactors based in Japan thus further aggravating trade disputes.

The latter-day Luddities at RIAA fear DAT because it is as big a jump in technology and fidelity from a cassette as a CD is from an LP - and you can *record at home* with DAT. Like CDs, DAT takes music and breaks it down into binary code. In a DAT machine a revolving playback/record head (like those in VCRs) scans the tape thousands of times a second, "reading" the code and making minute adjustments. The code is then converted directly to electrical impulses (thus no noise) and the impulses drive your speakers to make the sound that annoys the neighbors. The RIAA argues, with a straight face, that DAT is so good consumers will significantly curtail their purchases of pre-recorded material.

The RIAA's position is flawed in several ways. The RIAA has always maintained that for every at-home copy they lose a sale. This is surely fallacious. Many consumers make copies of material they would never consider buying; they would, and do, simply do without the material if they can't copy it. Also, at home copies sometimes spark interest in material that a consumer had not been exposed to thus resulting in a purchase of prerecorded music that would not have occured otherwise. Simply, the more music people are familiar with, the more they buy.

In addition, and the RIAA doesn't like to admit this, the reason why so many at-home cassette copies are made is that at home copies made at normal speed on good quality decks sound much better than pre-recorded cassettes made at high speed. But if the corporate giants that make up the RIAA were to offer pre-recorded DAT material, as a few, small, independent labels already are, there would be *less* incentive to make at-home DAT copies. Since binary code is binary code at any speed it is imprinted, at-home DAT copies would not have an edge in fidelity.

So what would one use DAT for? There is something else RIAA has overlooked in its statements, perhaps intentionally. To get the full benefit of digital recording you need a digital source. If you don't use a digital source all you're doing is making a perfect copy of a imperfect source. And the only place you can get a digital source is with CDs. So to enjoy DAT, consumers would have to buy CD source material. If you borrow a CD for source material you'd better hope you can still find the CD when your DAT copy wears out. DAT, like all tape, wears out eventually, but CDs, like diamonds, seem to be forever.

The RIAA makes a big deal about piracy and DAT capacity for criminal use. That's the point though. Piracy is illegal — there are already laws on the books to deal with pirates. The only question is whether law-abiding citizens can use a new technology for their own personal use.

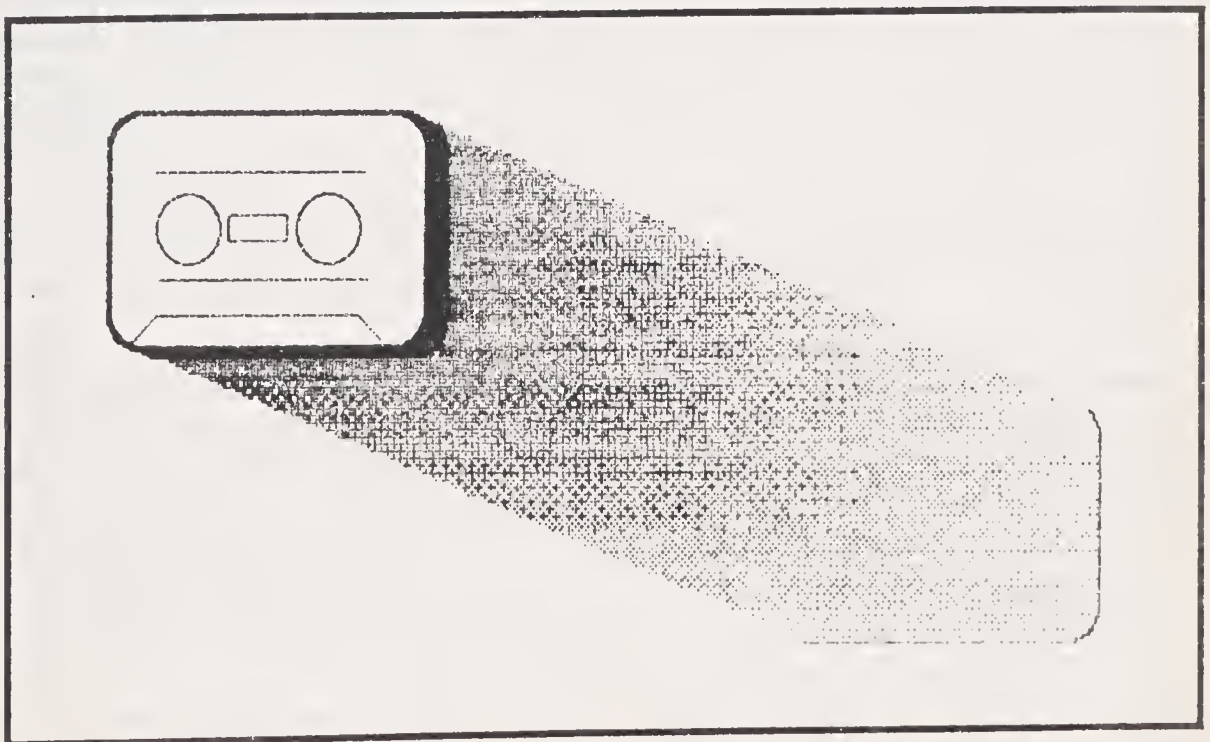
The RIAA seems to want a royalty every time a song is heard. It would be rather like an architect demanding a fee every time his space is enjoyed. More importantly, a small number of companies want to control the disemination of music in this country. And that means denying DAT technology to artists who could use it without depending on large record companies to produce their material.

If DAT technology trickles down the way other recording technology has, artists, especially new artists, will be able to make perfect demos without the use of high priced studios. If they don't need the high priced studio time, they have little use for the cash advances large record companies offer in exchange for control of their creative lives. Thus the RIAA's grip on the music industry would be significantly weakened. That is why the RIAA is so opposed to digital audio tape. DAT would give artists the choice, the freedom to create their music without the pressure and "input" of conglomerates interested not in quality music, but in profit margin.

In response to the RIAA, two new pro-DAT organizations have sprung up: Musicians for DAT and Independent Record Labels for DAT. They have realized that if Congress mandates the anti-recording chip for DAT machines that the RIAA wants, it will be a grant of *de facto* monopoly rights to the RIAA.

History has shown that banning technology in an attempt to help this group or that inevitably fails and usually backfires. In the 15th century Japan banned firearms in order to keep the cut of the Samarai's sword alive. The result was that Japan was left so far behind in military technology that Commodore Perry could sail into Tokyo unopposed.

DAT is not nearly as important, of course. Its just a case of a government deciding whether or not to extend special priviliges to one group, the RIAA, at the expense of its citizens. See, not *nearly* as important. Or is it? Let your Congressman know how you feel - *now*. Ω



ESSAYS

Book Review

GORBY'S NEW IDEAS, LENIN'S OLD ONES

By Michael Lowrey

Whenever the leader of one the world's leading powers writes a book explaining his or her world vision and hopes for the future, all interested in the future of international relations and world security should take a hard look. Soviet Communist Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's new book *Perestroika* is no exception. Unfortunatly, the hipe surrounding this book and its much lauded "new ideas" and "new thinking" are not corroborated by the actual work, which is hardy original, thought-provoking or even particularly interesting.

Perestroika is divided into two main sections, the first dealing with the Soviet economy and the need for "restructuring", the second with an analysis of the world's problems and their solutions (according to Gorbachev.) To be sure, the Soviet Union faces large internal economic and social challenges which require changes in the current order. Gorbachev's key in this area is "perestroika" or restructuring. This means more openness (*glasnost*), including criticism, more "democracy" and a general change in the attitudes of all workers and leaders. Certain structural changes would also occur in the Soviet economy. Make no mistake about it, these changes don't mean a diversity of political parties or the abandonment of communism. Indeed, the entire program is justified in the terms of Leninist political theory. The term "democracy" in Gorbachev's useage means being able to choose who your factory manager is, not electing politically independent officals to serve in the Supreme Soviet. As for the economic changes, any analysis of their real impact is extremely difficult, as our understanding of the Soviet economy is limited. Debates rage in this country and throughout the West as to how much of their gross national product the Soviets spend on defense — and even the growth rate of the Soviet economy! However, such a truly bold move as letting supply effect demand is not envisioned.

On the foreign policy side, the Soviet Communist Party chief's views are shockingly similar to those of Western Europe's left wing social democrats and pacifists. The problem, you see, is nuclear weapons which are going to somehow bring about the end of the world by their mere existence — this, in spite of nuclear deterrence having provided as long a peace as Europe has seen in several centuries. Wars are caused exclusively by "misunderstanding" and the "predatory nature" of capitalist societies. And, of course, the real force behind most American foreign policy is that traditional bugbear, the military-industrial complex, to which no foreign policy is good unless it increases or at least maintains world tensions and the need for more guns. To round the assault of standard but hopelessly simplistic and unrealistic left wing notions are dependency theory approaches to the Third World and the concept of "nonaggressive defense," which rejects the use of such things as tanks and artillery. How this is suppose to be applied to the Warsaw Pact, with an advantage of over 30,000 tanks versus NATO, is unclear.

In the Gorbachev *Weltanschauung*, communist nations do *rarely* make a mistake. For example, he states that there were mistakes made in the way collec-

Perestroika and Conventional Arms Talks

With the recent signing of the INF treaty, and the personality cult of Mikhail Gorbachev surrounding his book *Perestroika* and the Washington Summit, great pressures are being put on Western leaders to make more deals. The resulting attention has focused on conventional force levels in Europe as the next area for arms reduction talks. The issues involved in such this are much more daunting than the deal involving short to intermediate range missiles. The stakes are also much greater.

With the impending removal of the SS-20, Pershing 2, ground launched cruise missiles, and the like from Europe, conventional forces become all the more important. They will become the main force providing credible deterrence against Soviet aggression or blackmail in Central Europe. Any arms talk will have to address the issue of a vastly larger Soviet force on the ground in East Germany and places further east than NATO forces on the European continent. Equal cuts do little to improve the balance of power — the same basic problem would exist merely at a lower level of manpower on each side. The Soviets are likely to treat a straight ceiling on troops or tanks as unduly limiting their freedom to defend their home land and reducing their overall security.

Even beyond this issue lie a number of major pitfalls. The first of these involves where troops removed would go. Soviet forces taken out of Europe would probably be redeployed to Soviet Asia, which is only a train ride away from Europe. NATO troops withdrawn under an arms treaty would presumably be mainly Americans and Canadians, which face the much longer and dangerous trip of being transported, probably by sea against Soviet submarine opposition, back to Europe. In wartime this gives the Soviets a considerable advantage. Beyond this, the question of verifing any agreement reached is a true nightmare. The task of estimating *exactly* how many troops a given alliance has in a given region is virtually impossible. How does one prove the other side is cheating? Even the addition of 20,000 troops plus 350 associated tanks can make a huge difference in the outcome of a war in central Europe. The problem of counting is especially great when it comes to things like tanks, which can be keep in storage in warehouses, maintained and hidden, until a war comes. At such a time, troops (minus their equipment) could be rapidly brought in and additional formations could quickly appear at the front

An additional problem presents itself should we actually agree to a treaty on conventional arms limitation and discover the Soviets et al. cheating. Would the West find the political will to respond with an increase in their own conventional force strength? Would the Belgians, Dutch, and Danish increase the size of their army in response the discovery of an extra 100,000 Soviet troops in East Germany? Would the West Germans, especially under a Social Democratic regime, allow the return of large numbers of American troops? Given that Belgium and the Netherlands barely remained by their decision to deploy ground-launched cruise missiles when the protests started — and the main opposition parties in Great Britain and West Germany have defense policies calling for things as the removal of American troops immediately and "non aggressive defence" (which is only marginally better than no defence at all), —the answer must be: probably not.

tivization of farm land took place in the 1930s, though the basic idea was a sound and necessary one. Several million people died in the process and there is still fewer livestock in the Soviet Union now than before collectivization. More often than that, though, Soviet or Eastern Bloc mistakes are made as "the consequence of an improvident reaction to American actions, to a policy geared by its architects to 'roll back communism.'" So Soviet mistakes are the fault of the U.S. who forced them into their blunders. The Devil (the aggressive, war-mongering West) made them do it!

A telling example of Mr. Gorbachev's (mis)understanding of history and use of it in his Devil theory involves the treatment of Germany after World War II and the forming of NATO. After the Second World War, the Soviet government and people "did not confuse the German people with the Nazi regime. And we do not blame it for the woes which Hitler's aggression caused us." This explains perfectly well why the Soviets disassembled and shipped large numbers of industrial complexes home from East Germany immediately after the war, why twice as many Germans died in Soviet POW camps than did fighting in the Soviet Union, or why the Soviets held POWs for, in some cases, more than ten years after the war ended. Likewise, the formation of NATO was an aggressive act by the West, a move designed to overthrow the Soviet regime. It was the Western powers which caused the division of Germany into two nations by failing to live up to the Yalta and Pottsdam accords. Conviently left unmentioned was the earlier formation of an empire of satellites in Eastern Europe by Soviet action in violation of those same accords or the failure of the Soviets to demobilize their huge military from World War II levels until Khrushchev came to power. Likewise, in a move reminiscient of Julius Caeser refusing the crown twice, Gorbachev claims the Soviets were invited into Afghanistan (by government leaders who they soon had shot) and only accepted on the eleventh request.

Even more out of place in *Perestroika* is Gorbachev's proposal to eliminate all nuclear weapons in an attempt to establish a safer, more stable world in which mankind's very survival is not threatened. Unfortunately, such a proposal has just the opposite effect. Nuclear deterrence has successfully prevented a major war, conventional or nuclear, or large scale international blackmail by making certain both sides would receive devastating destruction.

Yet any complete ban on nuclear weapons is inherently unverifiable. Because of uncertainty and the possibility of a nation thinking it might be able to win a war if it keeps a few nuclear weapons, just in case, the world would be a more dangerous, not safer place.

To the reader, as irritating as such questionable statements are, at least they keep the reader awake, unlike much of *Perestroika.* Mikhail Gorbachev may have captivated the World; however his book of "new thinking" is simply dull. The section on the Soviet economy especially is highly redundant with words such as "perestroika", restructuring", "democracy", "glasnost" and "criticism" making appearances seemingly every other line. This might be overlooked had the authur included such things as specifics or detailed analysis and plans, all of which are conspicuous by their absence. Instead, vagueness, generalities, and the use of slogans and old stereotypes abound, which, combined with discussions of the various apparatus of the Soviet Union presented without a discernable structure, simply leads to reader frustration and confusion.

A further major flaw in the work is the repeat use by Gorbachev of what can only be described as "name dropping". Rather than present his views on their own merit, the general secretary states at every opportunity with which foreign leader or other notable or semi-notable person he has discussed the issue with and how they are in complete agreement with him. Although Gorbachev talks of the sovereignty of each nation and their right to pick their own leaders, should someone show the bad judgement of disagreeing with the Soviet leader, their position is ridiculed and they are presented as standing in the way of peace. The discussion is presented in term of a "disagreement", in which someone like Margaret Thatcher of Britain is given credit for a view only a straw man could be proud of and, naturally, Mr. Gorbachev has the final word.

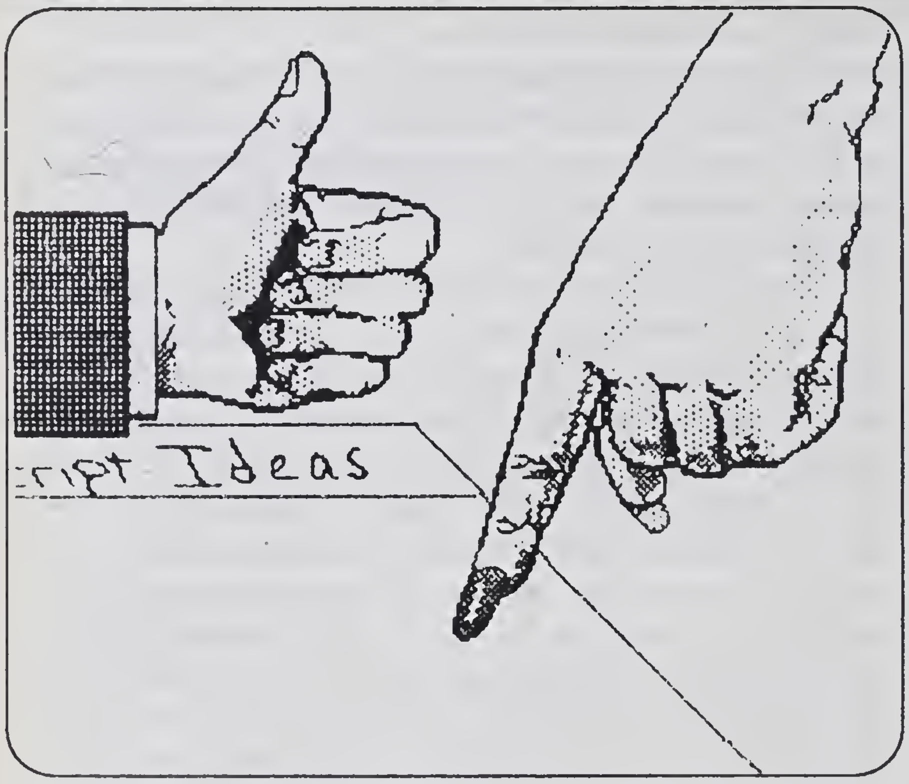
In the final analysis, *Perestroika* can be seen in one of two ways: as a work of propaganda aimed for worldwide distribution — or the writings of a Soviet leader who is really and truly a good Marxist-Leninist committed to having a world with much less "militarism". Though Gorbachev claims his aim is not to produce propaganda, the concept of someone who views the mistakes of his nation as being the fault of others, misrepresents history for his own ends, and seems not to understand nuclear strategy and reality — while offering "peace" — is too remarkable a combination to warrant anything but a cautious, wait-and-see attitude. The stakes are too high for any other response. Ω

Film, TV in 1987

FEMALE AUDIENCES USE POWER OF PURSE

By Larry Iversen

1987 isn't going to go down in anyone's book as the "Year of the Woman," but the presence this past film and television



season of the woman as consumer in the mass media market will probably not be lost on Hollywood's pundits. Perhaps the football strike took the steam out of America's armchair Ramboes. Or perhaps the legions of corporate women who launched their careers in the '70s are beginning to "arrive" and find some leisure time. In any event, indications are that the bloody reign of the teenage audience is waning after its all-time high at the turn of the decade, and more and more, 25 to 35ers are tuning in and going out. And it would seen that more and more, it is the women that are determining the brain candy of choice.

Exhibit One — the two biggest surprise hits of the '87 film year — *Dirty Dancing* and *Fatal Attraction*. There couldn't be two more inimical themes: the thrill of being introduced to the wonders of lust and the terror of lust gone violently awry. And yet both works handily exceeded all expectations. Every writer analyzing either of these successes eventually discussed the distinctly feminine appeal with which both approached the traditionally male notion of lust.

Patrick Swayze's compelling grace and tender but irresistible strength as *Dirty Dancing's* dirtiest dancer bred an overnight cult of repeat viewers, an overwhelming number of whom are women.

Then there's *Fatal Attraction*, Adrian Lyne's steamy thriller that virtually redefines the phrase "sexual tension." Many reviewers agree that the film's main appeal derives from its archetypal portrayal of the sheer evil of the homewrecking "other woman," and the redoubtable monogamy in Anne Archer's role as the faithful wife. And some appeal it must be... *Fatal Attraction* pulled in $130 million to easily lock down third place among 1987's biggest money-makers.

Okay, so maybe TV is what you prefer. A little *Dukes of Hazzard*, eh? Would you believe *A Hazard of Hearts*, a big time adaptation for the little screen of Barbara Cartland's gothic romance. If you'd like a bit more substance, stay tuned and catch Friday's critically acclaimed *Beauty and the Beast*. Yes, it's about exactly what you think it's about. Furthermore, "this series," writes critic Harry F. Waters in a recent *Newsweek* review, "ranks as a major hit, especially among women viewers. ...Beneath [the beast's] animalistic façade lurks a sensitive, intelligent, caring, vulnerable sweetheart," who recently topped Bruce Willis in a poll to determine the sexiest men in television.

And speaking of the sexiest men in television, from whom would you rather hear your evening news, William Hurt or Albert Brooks? Style or sincerity? That's the question facing Holly Hunter in James Brooks' latest serio-comic holiday smash hit film *Broadcast News*. Again the archetypes abound. Director Brooks doesn't spoon out any easy answers, but he passes out the empathy with a shovel. Most of that empathy is for Jane, a woman caught between her heart and her heart.

For more of the same, tune in NBC's *My Two Dads* on Sunday. This time your choice in men is between straight up (Paul Reiser) and with a twist (Greg Evigan). How anyone could cozy up to Paul Reiser after actually cheering when he got his brains sucked out in *Aliens* I'll never know, but the chemistry of the cast successfully recovers from any preconceptions. As a result, *My Two Dads* is coming on as one of NBC's more successful fall outings.

Finally, there's that narrative device that only a mother, or would-be mother, could love — the Baby. I for one am not charmed by the image of Diane Keaton juggling Junior through corporate Manhattan, nor by Tom Selleck with probably the same kid piddling down his midriff. But I know who is, and she and her friends have put *Three Men and a Baby* in right behind *Fatal Attraction* among the biggest hits of 1987.

In spite of some remarkable disasters, 1987 was a good year for Hollywood, both critically and financially. On television and in the theaters, I saw refreshing inventiveness and daring slipping out ever more frequently between the *Dynasties* and *Beverly Hills Cops*. If the trend is attributable to, or at least reinforced by the tastes of today's women, then I encourage more of the same. Perhaps we might even seeing some leading lady Oscars going to meatier roles than the generic love-interest. Maybe some movies about women will get the recognition they deserve. Ω

Album reviews

NEW HEIGHTS SCALED BY UNIQUE CONNELLS

By Connie Smith

Boylan Heights/ **The Connells**

It's been two years since *Darker Days*, and the Connells have definitely reached new heights in *Boylan Heights*, their latest release. Produced by Mitch Easter, *Boylan Heights* has strong, confident melodies. And though hints of R.E.M. and The Smiths can be heard, the Connells were able to move far enough away from those too familiar sounds, and discover more of their own mastery. The Connells, from Raleigh, were even able to capture the sounds of Scotland in a bagpipe guitar effect, something which one would think to hear from a band like Big Country.

Michael Connell has tightened up his writing, but his lyrical themes dealing with man's search for meaning and his melodies are almost too invariable throughout *Boylan Heights*. This could have lead to monotony, but because of Michael Connell's powerful writing skills the album is kept very alive.

Some diversity is achieved, though, with "Home Today," in which Connell didn't contribute in any of the composing. Writtten by George Huntley, it is one of the more memorable tunes in *Boylan Heights*. Also, in the piece "Over There" Bill Spencer's trumpet calls are very enjoyable; they add a new dimension to a group who puts main emphasis on vocals and simple, elegant guitar melodies.

Boylan Heights shows how the Connells have grown, and are trying to discard the label of just another "southern progressive rock band." They are discovering their own potential for creating energetic, exciting music, making the album well worth hearing.

Big Generator/Yes

Big Generator may imply big, but unfortunately it's a generator that lacks power. Yes, consisting of Jon Anderson, Tony Kaye, Trevor Rabin, Chris Squire, and Alan White, are the same members who worked together on *90125*; and in *Big Generator* they were unable to make a large enough step away from this former huge success.

Looking back on the band's history, it is obvious how new members joining gave them new directions in their music: Steve Howe joined for the making of *The Yes Album*, Rick Wakeman for *Fragile*, and Trevor Rabin linked up with Yes for *90125*. With each new member came a new angle and big hits. No change in members was made for *Big Generator*, and there was little change in their sound. So perhaps the turnover angle is the reason Yes appears to be in a rut.

Though the album has the sound of *90125* it doesn't have the vigor, with the exceptions of the songs "Final Eyes" and "I'm Running," which have creative guitar solos and enthralling harmonies. There is a greater emphasis on guitar in *Big Generator*, too, giving it another plus and moving it somewhat away from its predecessors.

Yes is a band with extreme amounts of talent and experience, so nothing they release can be said to be "bad." But when you become extremely successful, it becomes more difficult to surpass your past achievements. Taken alone, *Big Generator* is at most OK, but with the memory of Yes' past, OK may be too much of a compliment.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience: Live at Winterland

It's probably hard to find a copy, and you may not have a CD layer (in which case you tape a friend's CD), but it is a definite nust.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience: Live at Winterland is only on D and when heard it is easy to see why. From the analog ecordings of the concert in Oct. 1968 in San Francisco, a masterpiece has been born, with technology as its creator. *Live at Winterland* has crispness rare for live recordings of that time, and perhaps has better sound quality than being there.

Past live rercordings like the Jimi Hendrix Concerts and Jimi Plays Monterey don't compare. The bass and drums are, at last, clearly audible; no longer is Jimi's screaming guitar the only sound emerging from one of his live recordings. Jimi can be heard playing off the other musicians (Noel Redding on bass and Mitch Mitchell on drums), which shows a new angle of Jimi's genius. It is a band, and in a previously unreleased version of Cream's "Sunshine of Your Love" Noel Redding is given the rare opportunity to have the spotlight. Other previously unreleased material on *Live at Winterland* are live versions of "Manic Depresssion" and "Spanish Castle Magic."

Jimi Hendrix must be heard live to fully appreciate his talent. Now, without being muddled, he shines. Occassional comments between songs are heard, letting us know more about the personality of this rock legend. Jimi Hendrix may be thought of by some as a wild, raving, drug addict, but here you see only a humorous side of Jimi.

If buying Jimi Hendrix live never before seemed justifiable, *Live At Winterland* will change that. The RYKO label is an only-CD label, so it's the only way to hear this gem, but the CD is the only way a gem like this could have been made. All 71 minutes can fit on a single laser wonder, with mastering that can't be matched. It is truly the age of CD, and with releases like this we can see the doors of CD's have opened — think of the possibilities!

Kick/ INXS

Kick has finally done it for INXS — worldwide success, in their appearance, their videos, and their top of the chart hits. OK, so how's the music?

Well, there's no doubt that "Need You Tonight" has main appeal to dance-club goers, but though INXS is no Motorhead, they are able to keep a rock foundation. It is a foundation which was much more apparent in *Listen Like Thieves*, but as Michael Hutchence said in January 1988 of Rolling Stone, they are a band "mixing rock and funk." This is done on an extreme level in the songs "Mediate" and "Calling All Nations," creative blends of rap and heavy guitar.

INXS has progresssed, and must be aware of their growing talent. INXS' first two albums (*INXS* and *Underneath the Colours*) were especially weak, and with a remake of their 1981 single "The Loved One" they are saying, "look what we can do now and where we can go." On the other hand, not contrary to INXS' past albums, *Kick* lacks consistency. True, it is an inconsistency not as obvious as in Shabooh Shoobah, but songs like the love ballad "Never Tear Us Apart" have you appreciating the fast forward on your tapedeck.

INXS is a provocative group — Andrew Farriss, keyboardist and writer of most of the bands music, has limitations, while no one musician in INXS has near genius talent. But despite these setbacks, with a pouding beat, and piercing lyrics, they have you thinking.

That's right, INXS is not just a dance band or just a product of the new wave movement, and mainly because Hutchence touches on ideas besides man + woman = sex. Remember "Original Sin" from *The Swing*? Maybe not, since it had little airplay due to its stand on interracial relationships. Now, in *Kick* "Devil Inside" looks at the seedy side of life:

Here comes the world
With the look in its eye
Future uncertain, but certainly slight.
Look at the faces
Listen to the bells
It's hard to believe we need a place called Hell.
The devil inside
Every single one of us the deveil inside.

Also, you can't forget the pounding album opemer "Guns in the Sky." Antiwar, yes, but Hutchence expresses other distates, like that for the pettiness of small talk: "Well, I'm sick of it, it's a load of shit!"

Kick isn't a great album, but it's a good album. In January's Rolling Stone Hutchence says that INXS is "kicking down doors, and with *Kick* they've definitely produced songs with muscle.

RIGHTS FOR KIDS AS ADULTS?

(Continued from page three)

adult victimized by an extramarital affair has a reservoir of psychological toughness developed through time to draw upon in coping. The same cannot be said for an adolescent or young child whose psychological formation is incomplete. Sex between partners below the age of 18 — the age of majority in most American states — is almost always outside the boundaries of marriage, since teenagers rarely have the financial resources to support themselves independently of their parents. Those who are not ready for marriage are even less prepared for sex and the deep emotions which accompany it. Youths who exchange sex for false promises of love carry a needless cynicism into adulthood which impedes their trusting more sincere marriage-minded individuals. Children are protected from voluntary sexual contract with adults through laws against statutory rape, and they should also be discouraged from engaging in sexual relations with their peers.

The inexperience of youth creates other instances where children are in special need of legal safeguards. Society frowns upon pornography which uses adult models, but allow it to a limited extent; child pornography, or a child's reading of adult pornography, on the hand, is strictly prohibited. Child labor laws are more stringent than similar legislation aimed at protecting workers in general. Alcohol is forbidden to minors so as to ward off early addiction. These laws and others reflect society's understanding that children need protection during their formative years, so that tomorrow's leaders and citizens need not shoulder the baggage of early exploitation throughout their lives. Ω

Kremer, a University alumnus, is a lawyer in Chapel Hill.

MARKET CRASH REVIEWED

(Continued from page four)

Friedman says that the crash may predict a recession some months down the road, but we shouldn't be surprised, since the current expansion has gone on for a record five years.

Next, Friedman points out that the decline from late 1929 to the end of 1930 was severe, but with any economic upturn this drop would have been called "a garden variety recession." Instead, what happened (thanks to Smoot-Hawley, a doubling of the income tax, and other panicky responses by Congress and the Hoover administration) was a complete collapse of the financial system in successive waves in each of the next four years.

Finally, and most importantly, Friedman says that the Great Depression could have been avoided if the Federal Reserve had never been created. The Fed started to take huge amounts of currency out of circulation, leading to a devastating deflationary cycle. Banks ran out of cash, so debtors couldn't repay loans, firms went bankrupt, mortagages were foreclosed, etc. "The Fed's inept performance led to changes in the financial system that make a similar collapse now highly unlikely."

We've already touched on one possible outcome (and a good one it would be): Congress and the administration agreeing to scuttle the Gephardt anti-trade bill and any new tax increases. Don't hold your breath waiting for them, but they could happen.

Another possible result is a recession or some other type of economic slowdown. A recession fueled by a reduction of consumer debt might not be a bad thing. Despite what your Econ 10 professor tells you, excessive personal and government debt are bad things. Somebody has to repay them, so the sooner we do it, the better. Interest tends to get nasty when given enough time to accumulate.

A more likely result is a return to inflationary monetary policy by the Federal Reserve Board. If you or I simply printed money, it would be called counterfeiting. When the Fed does it, it's called "monetizing the debt," or "guaranteeing liquidity." In any case, the government is attempting to reduce debt by printing dollars. It prevents those in power from having to explain a tax increase to the voters, and doesn't inflame the special interest constituencies with spending cuts.

Neither of these last two choices is pleasant. My personal preference is the recession, if it were consciously triggered by lower taxes, spending cuts, and increased personal savings. These moves would do much to encourage future economic health.

Many are critical of economists and financial analysts who comment on government policy. But, as Louis Rukeyser told his *Playboy* interviewer this past April: "I'll make a deal with you. I will stay out of politics if you will get the politicians out of the economy."

Rick Henderson publishes the Deregulator, *a current affairs monthly in Chapel Hill.*

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By John Hood

TEDDY'S MIDNIGHT COUP THAT BACKFIRED

Sometimes you've just got to laugh.

Such a time has come, as Congress, the press, and about everyone else is angry about an amendment tacked on the last-minute budget package by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.). The amendment was aimed at media mogul Rupert Murdoch, to make him close either his television station or newspaper in two cities: New York and Boston.

The FCC had a rule, passed over ten years ago, that prevents "cross-ownership" — when a particular person or corporation owns both a station and a newspaper in the same city. This rule was designed to promote "free expression" and was passed during the media access craze of the 1960s and mid 1970s. The argument was that the citizenry's right to expression includes the right not to have someone own too many outlets for information. This was viewed as limiting free expression, so that positive government action was necessary to promote "freedom of speech" in the oppressed city.

Murdoch owns the *New York Post* and the *Boston Herald*, as well as Fox Television stations in the two cities. Currently on an FCC-granted extension, Murdoch was seriously considering asking for a waiver of the rule all together by his March 6 compliance date — before Kennedy decided to step in. He convinced some of his legislative buddies to concoct an amendment in the wee hours of budget negotiation that would prevent the FCC from granting any waivers to cross-ownership. Murdoch, though, is the only applicant in such a situation, so the law was clearly aimed at him.

This is not surprising. The *Boston Herald*, and to a lesser extent the *New York Post*, were very critical of Kennedy. Both papers have a conservative editorial page that generally idicules the extreme leftism that the Massachusetts senator is capable of.

Since burning the midnight oil on this one, Kennedy is hardly being cheered for his peridy. In fact, it seems that many lawmakers nd regulators who would have turned a deaf ar to Murdoch's waiver request now support — simply because of the senator's sleazy actics. Even Democratic New York politiians, such as New York City Mayor Ed Koch nd Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, are outaged at Kennedy.

Moynihan and Republican N.Y. Sen. Alone D'Amato are considering sponsoring a ill that would repeal the amendment, but ven its advocates doubt that such a law can be passed between Jan. 25, when Congress resumes, and Murdoch's March 6 deadline. But Murdoch may try a different tack — petitioning the government to repeal the amendment, claiming that it illegally singles him out. In this way he may get a restraining order from a federal judge against the government, allowing operation of the stations and newspapers during the subsequent trial.

This strategy may not work. But it doesn't suffer from lack of political support. Kennedy has gone out on a long, sagging limb this time, and many a colleague won't mind a bit if New Yorkers or Murdoch take a saw to it.

The fact is that the FCC cross-ownership rule was stupid to begin with, and is even more outdated in 1988 (as the FCC has itself been saying recently.) Given today's vastly increased number and variety of information sources, media ownership rules are irrelevant. Cable television, national newspapers, local competition, radio news resurgence, and other factors deem it next to impossible for an owner to "dominate the thought of a city," if that was ever possible at all. Especially ironic would be the application of the rule to Murdoch's holdings in New York and Boston — two cities that hardly lack other major newspapers, television, and radio stations.

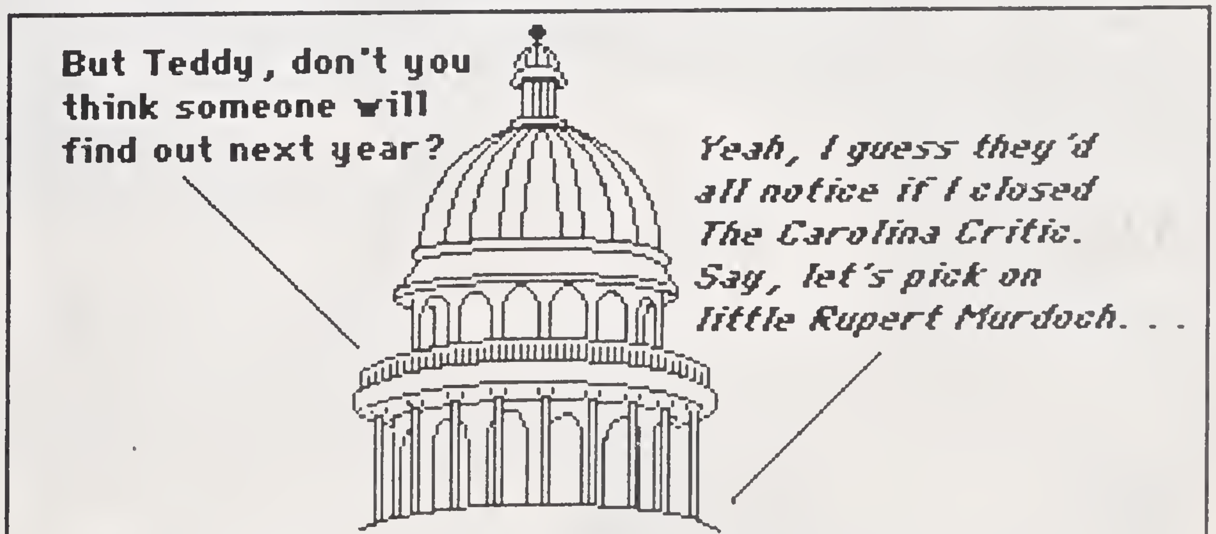
The philosophical premise underlying the provision is also flawed. Equating the *ability* to say what you will with freedom of speech — as the rule does — is just another example of "wants as rights" thinking. Newspapers, and even TV stations, are *private property*; it is pure fascism (in the true sense of the term) for a government to allow private property in theory, yet require owners to use their property "for the good of the society." Such a property deed doesn't seem very valuable, since it means that an owner has to maintain the property — yet has no say in what is done with it.

Indeed, the FCC rule amounts to *de facto* nationalization of the country's broadcast stations and newspapers, with the owners retaining ownership in name only. The worst part of this is that the rule is not needed; if a particular media mogul was ever to gain real monopoly power over a large city's information sources and became a propagandist, competition would spring up. New desktop publishing software and other resources give potential small newspapers much less overhead than previously possible — evidenced by the explosion of suburban newspapers competing with the city daily.

And that trend, visible for example in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Detroit, is happening without such the motivation to break up monopoly.

The free market works throughout the economy for a very logical reason — it is the only way consumers can make their choices know directly, rather than being championed by bureaucrats who *say* they act for the "common good." Media markets are no exception. Most U.S. cities have little competition in daily newspapers, but that's how consumers seem to want it. Radio, TV, and especially smaller semi-weeklies or weeklies are competing with these daily newspaper monopolies with great success, because they offer their consumers what can't be obtained in the daily. The *real* problems occur, as major cities are also finding out, when local government grants a cable TV a legal monopoly.

That's how competition works. But of course, no one expects Kennedy to understand that. He probably reads the *Boston Globe*, which is not itself known for clear economic thinking. Ω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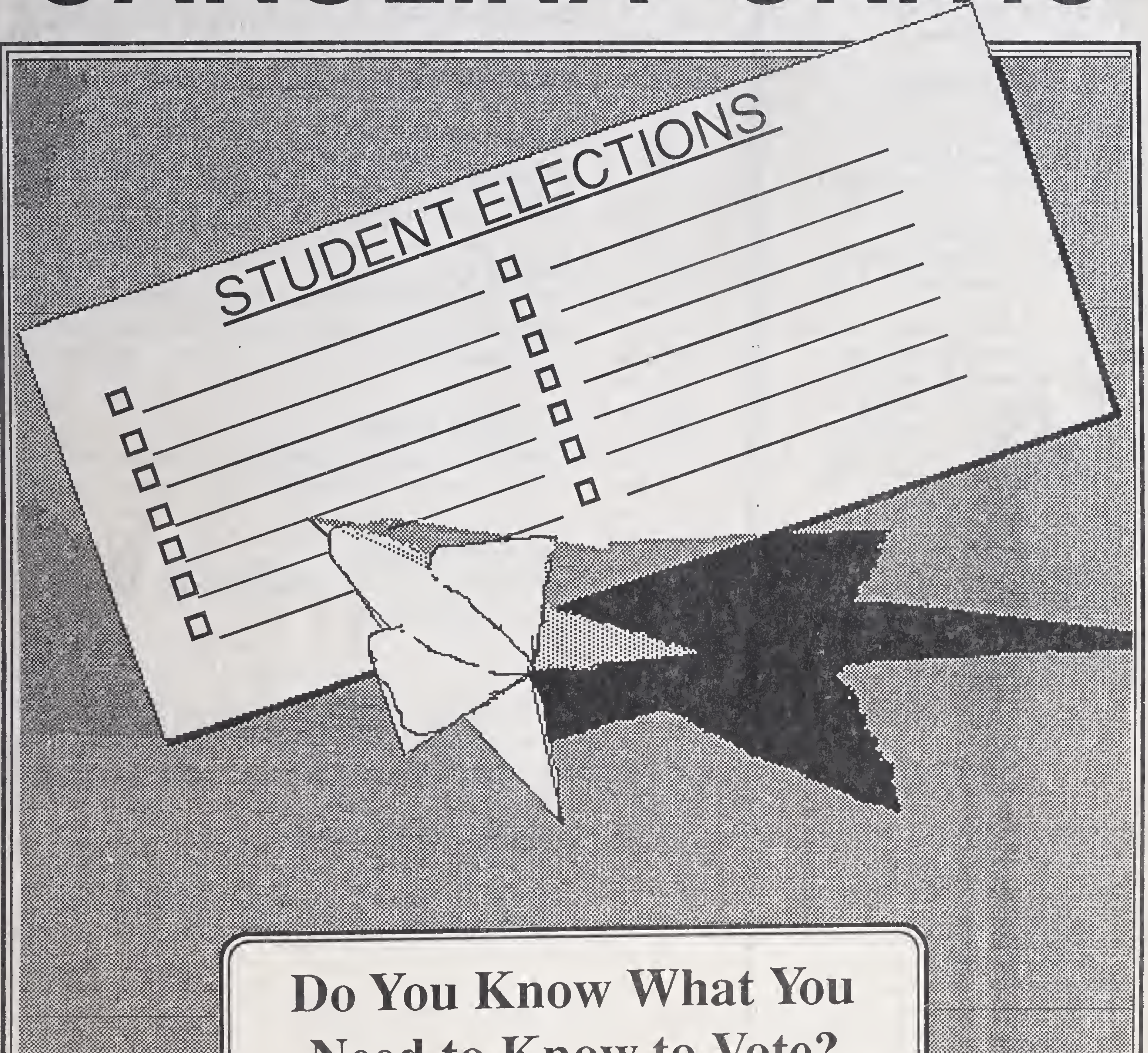
The Critical Eye, Page 6

Vol. 1, No. 5
February 1988

The CAROLINA CRITIC



Do You Know What You Need to Know to Vote?

WILL RDU'S CONTINENTAL CONNECTION PAY OFF?

TAKING A CLOSER LOOK AT THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The
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A Student Journal of Opinion

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In This Issue ...

3 **Up Front**
Our own David Hood plumbs this year's field of SBP candidates, returning their thoughts on sex, drugs, and... alumni.

4 **Correspondence**

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Critic Forum**
Candidates for student body President speak their minds.

15 **In the Zoo**
The role of the DTH editor is examined by columnist David Hood, and this year's candidates air their positions.

16 **Our Altered State**
State affairs columnist Michael Lowrey looks at what's *nouveau* out at RDU.

17 **The World Stage**
Jeff Taylor on the Soviet shadow over Asias Central and Eastern.

18 **Essays**
Michael Lowrey reviews the banned British bestseller *Spycatcher*... Kenny Felder stumps... Valentine's Day hazards befall Daniel Richardson

23 **Dateline: Washington**
The Democratic platform is showing a few loose planks according to Washington correspondent John Hood. He tugs at several in his report.

by David Hood

A CRITICAL LOOK AT UNC'S CAMPAIGN '88

Election season is here again!

Of course, I'm not talking about the Iowa Caucuses or the New Hampshire Primary. Infinitely more important at this point is our own UNC campus-wide elections to be held on February 16. Campaign posters adorn nearly every hallway, office, or classroom, giving students something to look at during one of those 8:00 lectures...

In the midst of all the campaign hoopla, one of the most fundamental questions on students' minds goes largely unanswered. What exactly does the Student Body President do? What kind of duties and responsibilities are the seven SBP candidates vying for the honor of performing?

According to present SBP Brian Bailey, most of the time he spends at the job consists of acting as a "figurehead" at administrative committees and ceremonial functions. Very little of his forty to fifty hours per week is actually spent on programs or initiatives he promised in his February 1987 campaign.

"I got elected on a certain platform, but the Student Body President doesn't really have time to work on his proposals himself," laments Bailey. Instead, he had to appoint other students to fulfill his campaign promises while his time was taken up in representing the student body at various functions.

Bailey believes there are several ways to reform the office of SBP to allow more time for the Chief Executive to spend on new ideas and programs. "The Speaker of the Student Congress could assume some of the ceremonial role, as could a Vice-President." Spreading out the duties of the SBP in terms of representation of the student body would be one way to alleviate the situation.

He also sees problems with the manner in which administrations have passed the torch to their successors after the February election. Since most meaningful programs require a much longer germination period that just one year, it is imperative to carry on some initiatives in more than administration. According to Bailey, a smoother transition between incoming and outgoing Presidents should be a high priority for the future.

If these ideas sound familiar, it is because the same insights Bailey exhibits about campus Chief Executives are often expressed in reference to our national Chief Executives. A smooth transition between Presidents is always an issue in the two months following a November election. And in the wake of Iran-Contra, the amount of "hands-on" management of programs and policies that a President engages in has been increasingly discussed in the public arena.

Advocates of Bailey's suggestion to allow more time for the SBP to get down to the business of running programs should look to many Parliamentary systems for inspiration. West Germany, for example,. has a ceremonial President to represent the nation in State functions, while a Chancellor actually works on programs and policies. This division is also apparent in the case of constitutional monarchies, where a King or Queen acts as Head of State while a Prime Minister manages the business end. Since the United States has never had that kind of division between show and substance, it is not surprising that American universities follow the same model in Student Government.

Further parallels exist between campus "government" and the real thing. President Reagan has been asking for a line-item veto in budget affairs so he can excise out wasteful or unnecessary funding from an otherwise fine budget. Some students have also suggested that the SBP be able to make line-item vetoes of certain provisions of bills. SBP candidate Brien Lewis thinks that would be a bad idea. "That would give too much power to the Executive branch at the expense of the Legislative." Sound like anything said on Capitol Hill?

Perhaps the most glaring parallel between what goes on in Washington and what goes on in the Student Union is taxation. Student Government takes money from the student body and redistributes it to certain other students, much the same as our own Congress. As John Hood argued in the November 1987 issue of *The Carolina Critic*, this power of the Student Congress impugns the intelligence of the student body, by assuming they will not voluntarily support those groups which benefit them. A system which recognizes the integrity of free choice would abolish mandatory student fees and move towards a voluntary means of funding student groups.

This would allow those with moral or religious reservations about organizations like the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Associa-

(Continued on Page 22)

VOTER APATHY AT UNC

How many students actually take this whole thing seriously enough to vote in the February elections? Well, not many, according to Elections Board member Scott Morton. Normal voter turnout for this election is somewhere between twenty and thirty percent; the runoff election last year for Student Body President between Brian Bailey and Jaye Sitton commanded a turnout of twenty-two percent of the student body. It is even worse during the Fall elections to the Student Congress, where the turnout is closer to ten percent.

That's not much of a mandate for Student Government. How can the SBP claim to speak for the student population when he or she only received a fraction of the vote of a fraction of the student body?

This is not, of course, a phenomenon limited only to campus elections. National elections in the United States rarely achieve a turnout over sixty percent; often that figure is much lower. In Western European nations like Great Britain, however, the turnout rate is consistently higher at about eighty or ninety percent. One major explanation for this is that voting is the extent of normal political involvement in countries like the UK; but in the United States, we get involved in the process in a variety of other ways. So perhaps the overall level of political involvement is much closer to being the same in the West.

However, this cannot be said of the UNC campus. Most students choose not to get involved in Student Government is any way at all, voting or otherwise. Perhaps they consider it to be largely a waste of time. At any rate, if you want to avoid being one of those apathetic souls, Morton advises to check the *DTH* for the closest of the twenty voting sites and to go vote!

Hood errs in SDI defense

To the Editors:

I am writing to correct some misstatements in Mr. David Hood's article defending SDI (December 1987). I would like to call the attention of anyone interested in issues related to SDI to a debate on the APS DEW report in the November 1987 issue of *Physics Today* magazine (available in the Math-Physics library). In this debate the APS DEW Study committee co-chairmen respond to criticisms on the report from Dr. Gregory Canavan, an SDI scientist and a leading critic of the APS DEW report. One pertinent question Mr. Hood raised in his article is: what percentage of a missile's warheads would have to be removed to make up for the extra weight of shielding installed to protect that missile from beam weapons? Mr. Hood cites Dr. Canavan's calculation that 60-70% of the warheads would have to be removed. The APS Study committee finds that the penalty is 30-40%, and then shows that this is for more shielding than Dr. Canavan used in his calculation. The DEW committee further notes that missiles may be spun to reduce the time the beam contacts any given part of the missile, and missiles can be built to turn off their rocket motors at lower altitudes, thus using the atmosphere as shielding and requiring less shielding on board. The controversy over the estimated weight penalty of missile shielding is a difficult situation for the general public, since technically informed people disagree on the results of these calculations. However, the general public can see that those who have a stake in SDI's approval come up with a high number for the penalty, and that those who are more neutral come up with a lower one.

There is a far more serious error in Mr. Hood's article. He states that "12 of the 17 members of the board protested the publication of the report." This is absolutely false. The APS DEW report was, and remains, an unanimous report from the study committee. It was unanimously approved by the independent review group, and approved by the APS Governing Council. The only real event Mr. Hood could possible be referring to is a statement adopted by the APS Council immediately after the release of the DEW report. This statement (*Physics Today*, June 1987, p. 45) not only supported the report and reiterated its results, but it went beyond the report since it discussed some political implications of SDI. Fourteen of the seventeen DEW Study committee members wrote a letter (*Physics Today*, October 1987, p. 9) protesting what they felt was the politicization of their otherwise politically neutral report by both the content and timing of the APS Council's statement. It is most ironic that this effort to keep the APS DEW report apolitical has been used by Mr. Hood for political purposes. It is even more ironic that the self-proclaimed bearer of the "true facts" on SDI should get such an important fact wrong.

Simon Goldenberg

The Carolina Critic *failed to properly identify Mr. Goldenberg at the end of his essay included in the December "Forum" debate, "Can an SDI system work?" He is a graduate student in the UNC Department of Physics. We regret the error.*

SDI sports many flaws

To the Editors:

President Reagan surprised even his own military advisers when he proposed in March 1983 that the United States launch an all-out program to research and build ballistic missile defenses. Reagan hoped that such Star Wars weapons would be able to shoot down Soviet nuclear missiles, shielding America safely within a high-tech Astrodome, and thereby rendering nuclear weapons obsolete.

Even those hired by the administration to hawk the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) before Congress now concede — quietly — that no such perfect defense will ever work. The hard-sell the public is getting, however, still promises a return to some mythic pre-nuclear paradise. One recent TV ad shows gleeful child-drawn crayon figures, grinning beside a huge American flag, as they celebrate the rainbow-colored "Peace Shield" above their heads.

The gap between reality and PR (public relations, President Reagan) has widened even further in the fiscal 1988 SDI budget. The funding requests show a major change in focus. Star Wars is now on the fast track, moving quickly toward early deployment of a scaled-down system by the early 1990s. Both opponents and supporters of ballistic missile defense should note this significant shift with concern, and resist it actively. Both groups have nothing to gain from early deployment, and a great deal to lose.

Reagan seeks to leave an active Star Wars system as his legacy. Ironically, speeding up SDI is his way of foreclosing, rather than creating, future options. As attorney general Ed Meese admitted in a speech in January, proponents seek to launch Star Wars early "so it will be in place and not tampered with by future administrations." Reagan politicos know that once construction begins, pork-barrel politics will take over. Neither a future president nor Congress will back away from even ineffective weapons that employ their constituents. Also, beam warriors will argue that cutting an active weapon will "send the wrong signals" to the Soviets, or to our allies, or will harm arms control talks. We've seen it before many times, with the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and the Trident submarine. It's a supply-side defense policy: weapons once built create their own demand. Unless we are careful, Star Wars advocates will win the debate on strategic defense weapons not by proving a need for them, but by making yea/no deployment questions moot.

Further, the type of systems suggested for early deployment all violate the ABM Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. This treaty prohibits both nations from building a nationwide anti-ballistic missile system. congress and the president are currently engaged in a heated battle over whether to interpret the ABM Treaty's restrictions on research narrowly or broadly. Early deployment would moot this question as well, by killing the ABM Treaty outright. Destroying one of the few arms control treaties still in effect would roll dark storm clouds across the somewhat-brightening horizon of superpower relations. A cold war climate will return, and any chance to negotiate solutions to the arms race will be washed away in the hard rain of hostility which will surely follow. Let's at least complete SDI research, and determine if the system will work, before we trudge off irreversibly into such threatening weather.

There is no risk to holding off Star Wars for a few years while we research its feasibility. A comprehensive report by the American Physical Society earlier this year concluded that not enough facts will be discovered even to begin construction of an effective system for another decade. One is reminded of the story of the man who jumped off the Eiffel Tower with a bolt of fabric and some thread instead of a parachute, vowing that he would make one on the way down.

The SDI researchers themselves concede that the phase-one systems could destroy no more than 10 to 20 percent of incoming Soviet nuclear warheads. This would be a far cry from the efficiency level required by a "Peace Shield," or even the modified vision of a defense which could complicate Soviet military planning enough to deter attack. Further, even this minimal success rate will be obliterated if the Soviets shift their warheads to faster-burning booster rockets. Former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's study concludes that it would be five to ten times cheaper for the Soviets to defeat phase-one than it would be for us to build it. What would we gain, except an unstoppable weapons system, and an irreversible offense/defense arms race?

Star Wars fans confuse the question with Reagan's Astrodome — a fantasy that we (and they, when candid) know is irrelevant and impossible. They also cite optimistic studies, projecting positive effects of ballistic missile defense on deterrence and arms control. Such evidence, whether correct or not — and that's a whole other, very sticky ball of wax — is irrelevant to the question of early deployment. Optimistic projections assume a full-scale, high-tech, multilayered beam defense. *No one* claims such a system will be ready in the next few decades, if ever. In fact, early action jeopardizes our chances of researching such systems, and developing them if they are determined to be desirable. The emphasis on early deployment comes at the expense of long-run breakthroughs, as both scientific brainpower and financial resources are funneled off into short-term efforts. The big boost for early Star Wars deployment will hold beam weapons research to a 0.2 percent increase in fiscal 1988. As one SDI scientist puts it, "there will be a big tendency to move ahead by eating your children."

Certainly we can afford to spend a few years in calm reasoning about Star Wars, rather that blindly slam-dance off into an uncharted and highly perilous strategic environment. The Aspen Study Group, composed of such conservative military thinkers as Joseph Nye and General Brent Scowcroft, warned this fall that "the country needs to conduct a balanced and prudent R&D program on ballistic missile defense, both to deter Soviet break-out in the near-term and to understand our deployment options in the longer-term. We also need to achieve stabilizing reductions in strategic offensive weapons. If handled correctly, these two goals can be compatible. In our judgment, an early deployment strategy for SDI would only deny us that possibility without making us any safer." In short, let's take some time with SDI, and forego early deployment. At best it will be a huge waste of resources. At worst it chances nuclear annihilation. And nobody is offering any sort of money-back, or planet-back, guarantee.

Steven D. Dolley
Graduate student
Speech Communications

AIDS threat real

To the Editors:

The article on the spread of AIDS through the heterosexual population ("Hype Outstrips Plague," January 1988) angered me on several points. The premise of this article seems to be that the publicity surrounding the epidemic is out of proportion to the facts, that heterosexuals do not need to be "scared" of the disease because they are at a very low risk. The author supported his premise with facts about the transmission of the disease and figures from reports from the Center for Disease Control.

This attitude reflects what looks like a growing trend because a similar article was recently published in the magazine *Cosmopolitan*, telling women why they didn't really need to be concerned about the disease. It is a dangerous and misinformed attitude, supported by half-truths and conflicting statistics. AIDS is indeed more readily spread by anal intercourse than by vaginal intercourse, but this doesn't mean that women don't get AIDS. According to a report heard on National Public Radio and confirmed by the Gay and Lesbian Health Project, the second leading cause of death for women "of childbearing age" in New York City is AIDS. The article in the last issue of the *Critic* states that "no cases of heterosexual-to-heterosexual transmission in New York City . . . have been reported." One of these reports must be wrong and I don't know which one, but I think the situation is worth a little "worry."

The Surgeon General shares this view. According to a recent article in the Durham Sun (Wednesday, January 27, 1988), he said that although an explosion of heterosexual cases probably would not happen, "there's a difference between an explosion and safety. I think it's a tremendous disservice to people, because it has not exploded, to say you don't have to worry."

The most disturbing implication of the article in the *Critic* was actually not the dismissal of danger to heterosexuals, though; it was the callous indifference to the numbers of deaths in the "homosexual and drug user populations." Grouping and labelling people implies that they are separate from the rest of us, and therefore their plight is only cause for mild, disinterested concern. Should I be scared only if *I* am at risk? I think the figures quoted so far on the number of deaths that have already happened and the number that might happen are very frightening. Research Triangle Institute is the coordinator for "the largest AIDS clinical trials program in the world," for the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. The RTI magazine *Hypotenuse* reported in November 1987 that "scientists estimate that two million people in the U.S., and between five and 10 million people worldwide, have been infected with HIV [the virus that causes AIDS]. Many of these people will not show any symptoms for the first few years, but eventually they may develop AIDS." No matter whether these people are homosexuals, drug users, or plumbers, I find that the prospect of so many deaths is sufficient cause to be scared.

Anne Worth
Environmental Scientist
Research Triangle Institute

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Editorial Department
604 Tinkerbell Road
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THE CRITICAL EYE

Vol. 1, No. 5
February 1988

• The *Washington Times* recently held an in-house forum on the successes and/or failures of the Reagan Revolution. Here are a few outtakes: "The Reagan Revolution nearly died in the spring of 1982... The Bob Doles and the Bob Michaels panicked and reverted to business-as-usual in Washington, which was pork-barrel, non-ideological, non-philosophy, just selfish-oriented get-me-re-elected," said the tame James Watts, former Interior Secretary. "Reagan is remarkable indifferent to the appointments process, but appointments are the substance of your administration," said CATO Institute President Ed Crane. "When you consider that not one square foot of soil on this earth during (Reagan's) presidency, has come under the hammer and sickle — we even got a few feet back in Grenada — it is a most remarkable thing for seven or eight years," said an unusually astute Jerry Falwell. What will be interesting to follow is the course of Reagan's legacy as viewed by less partisan historians — whether he will be resuscitated like Eisenhower or trashed like Lyndon Johnson. One thing's for sure: barring calamity, he won't be chased out of office like Jimmy Carter.

• Got to tell you this one. John Elvin of the Washington Times predicts, after consultation with a psychic, that Willard Scott will be fired from NBC for telling his audience to "have a nice day." Viewers Afflicted with Grumpiness (VAGs), a minority victim-status group, will convince the network that their right to be mired in gloom has been infringed upon by the weatherman's sunny disposition.

• Also from the boob-tube file: With all the attention on Dan Rather for his controversial interview with Vice-President Bush, a recent embarrassing performance by ambush-journalist impresario Sam Donaldson seems to have been overlooked. On a talk show appearance, Donaldson said that as the first Italian-American to be nominated for vice president, Geraldine Ferraro should have *consequently* been investigated for Mafia connections. Yes, double-takes are obligatory.

• Chalk one up for Princess Anne. At the recent London AIDS conference she reminded everyone that AIDS is "a classic own [soccer] goal scored by the human race on itself, a self-inflicted wound." The Princess was referring to the fact that certain high risk behaviors, IV drug use and promiscuous anal intercourse, are largely responsible for the spread of AIDS. Despite this, the Princess was roundly criticized by those who maintain that AIDS is "no one's fault" and that "everyone's at risk." For some reason health officials who are so quick to point out the things we can do to slow down AIDS are loathe to admit that certain unsavory personal practices are responsible for the AIDS problem to begin with. Only the facts of the AIDS situation will rouse people into action. Scare tactics and propaganda will only make individuals cynical and apathetic. So, jolly good show Princess! Now how 'bout finding a real job, Annie?

• From that same London conference comes word that several African states are quite upset with the Soviets' approach to AIDS. African students studying in the U.S.S.R. have been unceremoniously booted from the Soviet Union when they tested positive for the AIDS virus. So much for the alleged compassion of socialized medicine.

• You've got to feel for people from Arizona. Their last governor, Bruce "Humbug" Babbitt, is making an embarrassing and extremely-uninformed bid for the presidency — promising much austerity and specifically a five percent federal consumption tax to "balance the federal budget." Of course, the feds aren't exactly hurting for revenues, which make up 19 percent of the nation's GNP just like they did in 1980. And since a tax on consumption would discourage consumption (they do tend to do that) Babbitt's prescription might well bring on recession. Not surprisingly, he is running dead last in most polls. Besides, the guy's voice sounds like Jimmy Stewart with a hangover. And then there's Arizona's current governor, Evan Mecham, who clearly seems destined for a job on CBS's NFL Today show.

...Donaldson said that as the first Italian-American to be nominated for vice president, Geraldine Ferraro should have been investigated for Mafia connections.

• Well folks, the final blow has been struck: Ethiopia announced recently that it will join Cuba, Nicaragua and North Korea in a boycott of this summer's Olympic Games to be held in Seoul, South Korea. Just goes to show you what a social *faux pas* it is hold a free election.

• In a related development, increased support among conservatives for the idea of cutting all relations with Ortega's Sandinistas and recognizing a Contra government in Nicaragua could open up the possibility of a "Freedom Fighter" Olympic team. A Contra squad would surely do well in the shotput, the hurdles and endurance running. By contrast, a Sandinista team could have some success in (verbal) gymnastics, in a joint entry with Cuba on the parallel bars and with their 600-man volleyball squad.

• Paternalism has reared its empty head in the Palmetto State. University of South Caroline Trustee Mike Fair is calling for an end to co-ed dorms at USC. Fair also says there is "no practical reason" to permit opposite-sex *visitation* (!) of unisex dorms. Okay, suppose we say that college students indeed are not adults and have no right to choose where they live or who they socialize with. Still, it is Fair's proposal that is wholly impractical. There are no unisex apartment complexes, housing developments, or job environments in the real world. Is it not a small function of a university to prepare students for life after graduation? Besides, anyone who craves a cloistered college experience is free to attend a unisex university. Fair's statements must be a product of a positively medieval mindset — whenever men and women are alone behind closed doors no good can come of it. Apparently it is inconceivable to Fair that a girl might go to a guy's room (or vice versa) to discuss the prospects for a field unification theory in Physics, what stocks are undervalued, or the rising tide of Statism in the country. If Fair succeeds the word will go out that USC administrators are more concerned with what's between students' legs than what's between their ears. And we thought Clemson was a backward, reactionary hellhole...

• Meanwhile, Stanford University of California, frequently rated as one of the top schools in the country, has seized upon a dreadful new trend in academia. Professors and administrators there want to remove the requirement that all students have a credit in Western culture or literature — and instead *require* courses in non-Western, or even anti-Western, "culture." The new curriculum would emphasize the diversity of "our global society" through study of "non-European cultures and works by women, minorities and persons of color." Decoded, this means that proponents want to require the study of Marxism, dependency theory and other anti-*capitalist* notions. Indeed, the cultural awareness angle of the new curriculum is a bit weak in reality, since the bulk of the material was written by Germans (Marx, Engels, Freud, Marcuse), Russians (Lenin), French (Satre) and other distinctly European revolutionaries. Make no mistake: these required courses are not merely critical thinking classes — they are a coordinated, biased, politicized attack on the core values of Western democratic capitalism. What's worse, Stanford's reputation as a "trendy" school of higher learning means that such curriculum lesions could crop up elsewhere. Luckily, a few somewhat influential leaders have taken a clear stand against the biased requirement. Allan Bloom, author of *The Closing of the American Mind*, calls it "an attack on reason." American University President Richard Beredzen calls it "ridiculous." Secretary of Education William Bennett said the policy would be "an example of academic intimidation". These voices are so far conspicuous in their scarcity.

• In the past few weeks more than thirty Thai soldiers have been killed in fighting with the communist Pathet Lao along the Thai/Laos border. Good thing the Domino Theory is an outmoded, simplistic view of the world or the Thais would really be in trouble!

• While Sen. Jesse Helms' (R — NC) ongoing tirade against the INF treaty has raised some valid points, notably verification, we're afraid it has failed to address an area that Americans should know about. The Democrats in the Senate, and virtually all of the Democratic presidential candidates, have called for a greater emphasis on conventional armaments and less on nuclear weapons. This is all well and good because once American missiles are removed from Europe, NATO conventional forces must be improved. Everyone agrees that the Soviets have a

Clipboard

Money, it's a hit... Each of the four teams that plays in the Tournament of Champions, a two day college basketball tournament to be played each December starting this year in Charlotte will receive a mere $100,000, almost twice as much as paided by any other regular-season college basketball tournament reports *Sports, Inc.* UNC and N.C. State will alternate as the host team for the event. The teams beside Carolina in the first tournament are Temple, Arizona and Missouri, two of which are currently in the top ten. The second year's tournament will include N.C. State, Pittsburg and two, as yet, unnamed teams.

Giving new meaning to the expression "seeing red": Charlotte leads the nation, and presumably the world, in per capita ketchup consumption.

Well, the impossible has happened, for the first time in 12 years a Porsche did *not* win the 24 Hours of Daytona. The victor was a Jaguar XJR-9 sports car driven by veteran endurance driver John Nielsen, 1987 World Sports Car champion and Indy car driver Raul Boesel and Formula 1 ace Martin Brundle.

While we're at it, hats off to one of North Carolina's own, Amos Johnson, for winning in the competative GTU class at the 24 Hours of Daytona for the forth straight year. No one has ever won the same event four years in a row in IMSA competition.

Less luck was enjoyed by the All-American Racing Team at the day long classic, neither of their two Toyotas figuring in the outcome...

Military Insignifica

Guess the chairman of France's big aircraft manufacturer doesn't like the idea of his country buying a couple dozen American planes as a stop gap measure until his next generation fighter is available: "Buying the F-18 would be a severe blow to the whole French aircraft industry and would wipe out the country's independence in defence acquired at such great cost over the past thirty years" says Serge Dassault, chairman of the company that bears his name, in *Interavia Aerospace Review*, on French plans to use McDonald Douglas F-18 to replace twenty-five year old American-built F-8 Crusaders(!) for France's two aircraft carriers until Dassault's Rafale fighter is ready in the late 1990s.

Hurry, hurry, want a nuclear powered submarine (lease or sale)? Give us a call at the Soviet Embassy, we're dealing: The Soviet Union has transferred one of its nuclear powered submarines (SSN) to the Indians. The submarine, which recently left Vladivostok on its way to its new home, is the first nuclear powered warship every to fly the flag of any nation other than that of its builder. No details are immediately available as to the sub's exact type, be that cruise missile firing or hunter/killer, nor was it clear whether the sub had been sold or merely leased. The transfer of as many as three more SSNs to India has been mentioned in *Jane's Defence Weekly*. Other nations beside the five traditional nuclear powers (the U.S., Soviet Union, France, the People's Republic of China and Great Britain) which are known to be seeking nuclear powered submarines include Brazil and Canada, the latter's ships would be built to either a French or British design. Note that merely because a nation has a nuclear powered sub that does not necessarily mean that nation has nuclear weapons.

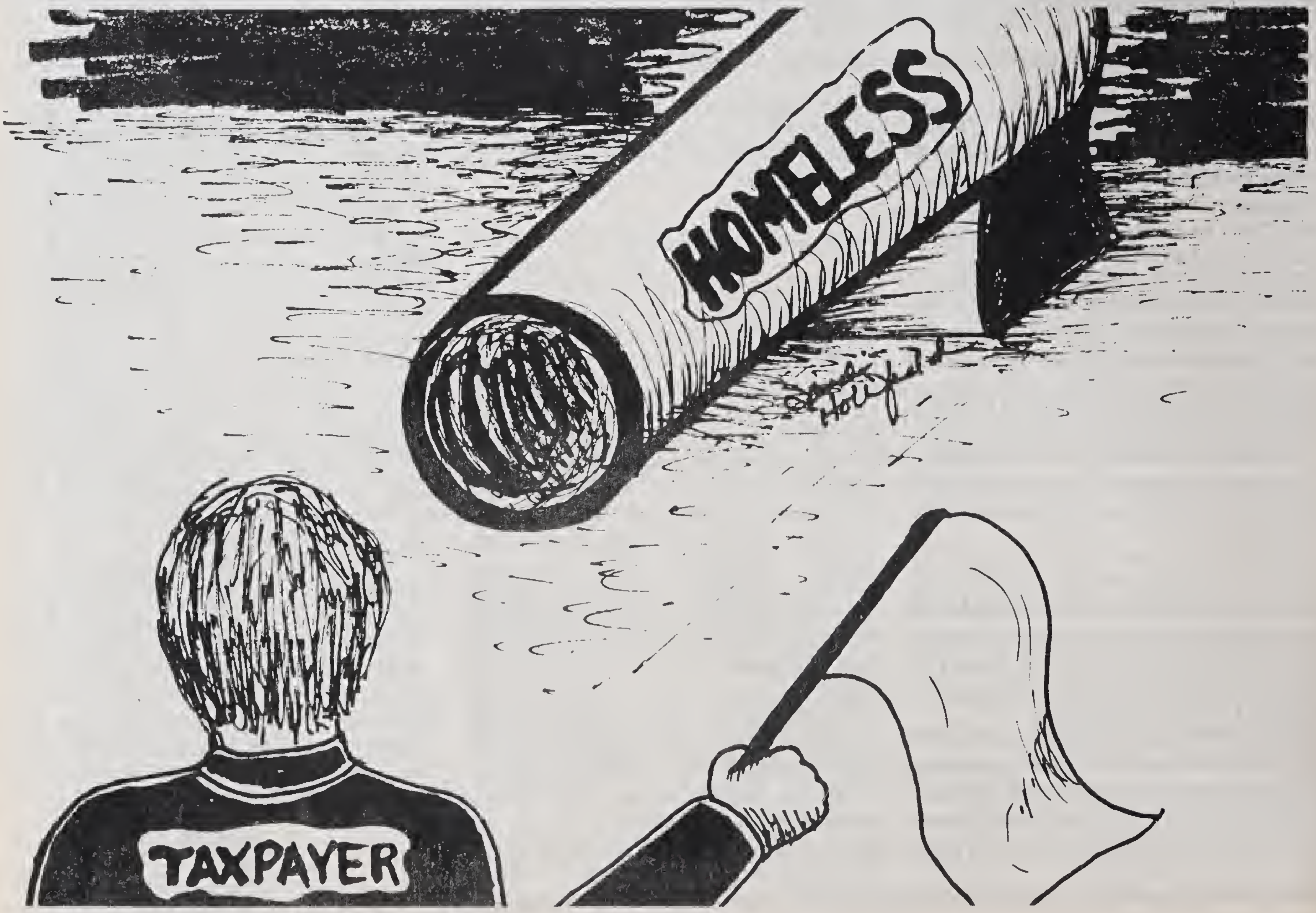
You were forewarned: A major arms acquisition by a rising power, part of the dreaded Cameroon-Nigeria understanding we told you about earlier, *Jane's Defence Weekly* reports that Cameroon is planning to buy 6 French built Mirage F-1 fighter aircraft. Meanwhile, in part of the grand strategy, Nigeria has concluded a deal with Yugoslavia (yes, Yugoslavia) for troop training. Can the fall of the World as we know it be far behind?

— *Michael Lowrey*

substantial conventional advantage. The question is then why is the U.S. giving up one of its best conventional weapons, the conventional cruise missile, as part of the INF agreement? The immediate answer of course is that nuclear tipped cruise missiles can not be distinguished from conventional ones, so to facilitate verification all must be scrapped. This does not explain, however, why the U.S. must give up three weapon systems (Pershing IIs, conventional and nuclear cruise missiles) to get the Soviets to remove one — the SS20s. Nor does it explain the Democrats' enthusiasm for a *nuclear arms* treaty that does great damage to the U.S. conventional arsenal. Cruise missiles are one of the few weapons that have a reasonable chance of penetrating Soviet air defenses. Conventional cruise missiles posed a grave threat to Soviet command and control centers. The Soviets knew this, went to the negotiating table and with the help of Western anti-nuke and agreement-at-any-cost hysteria, removed the threat. This is a clear strategic victory for the Soviets. If the administration's negotiators are not watched closely at the upcoming START get together, the U.S. will have nothing left but pea shooters and pop guns to defend itself with.

- The American press is revelling (which rhymes with "groveling") in the spirit of Soviet glasnost, as we learn more and more about that parallel system. The New York Times recently ran a piece headlined "Soviets Plan to Submit Arms Pact for Consideration by Legislature." The story, written by veteran reporter Phillip Taubman, speaks of the Soviet discussion of the INF treaty: "The Soviet Union plans an extensive public examination of the treaty eliminating (INF) and may amend the pact before it is formally ratified, Soviet officials said today." Right. And expect independent legislator Jesse Helmski to attack Gorby for being "soft on capitalism." Seriously, this appalling fit of drivel follows a long tradition of seeing greener grass on the other side of the Iron Curtain by American reporters, a tradition begun by star Times reporters who either misunderstood or suppressed Stalin's massacre of 10 million peasants from 1929-36. Why presumably intelligent men and women simply parrot whatever Soviet propagandists tell them to is very unclear. "All the News That's Fit to Print" indeed.

- The homeless aren't going to take it anymore. At least, that's what Oprah Winfrey pointed out on a recent show featuring several guests sporting "Arm the Homeless" buttons. It seems that there is a growing problem (has there ever been a *shrinking* problem?) with the "militant homeless" who demand what was once thought of as compassionate charity. We want what's ours, they say, what a rich country like America can certainly spare. And the homeless plan to get it — one way or another. Don't assume that a recent rash of violence among "the homeless" is just a series of aberrations; Chris Sprowall, director of the Union of the Homeless, sanctions the activity, as do other advocates for the cause. Indeed, the demands merely follow logically from the premise that homelessness is a condition forced upon unsuspecting innocents by a greedy society. If the homeless *deserve* and have a *right* to housing, why shouldn't they take it? In a sense, the bums (excuse us we forgot the



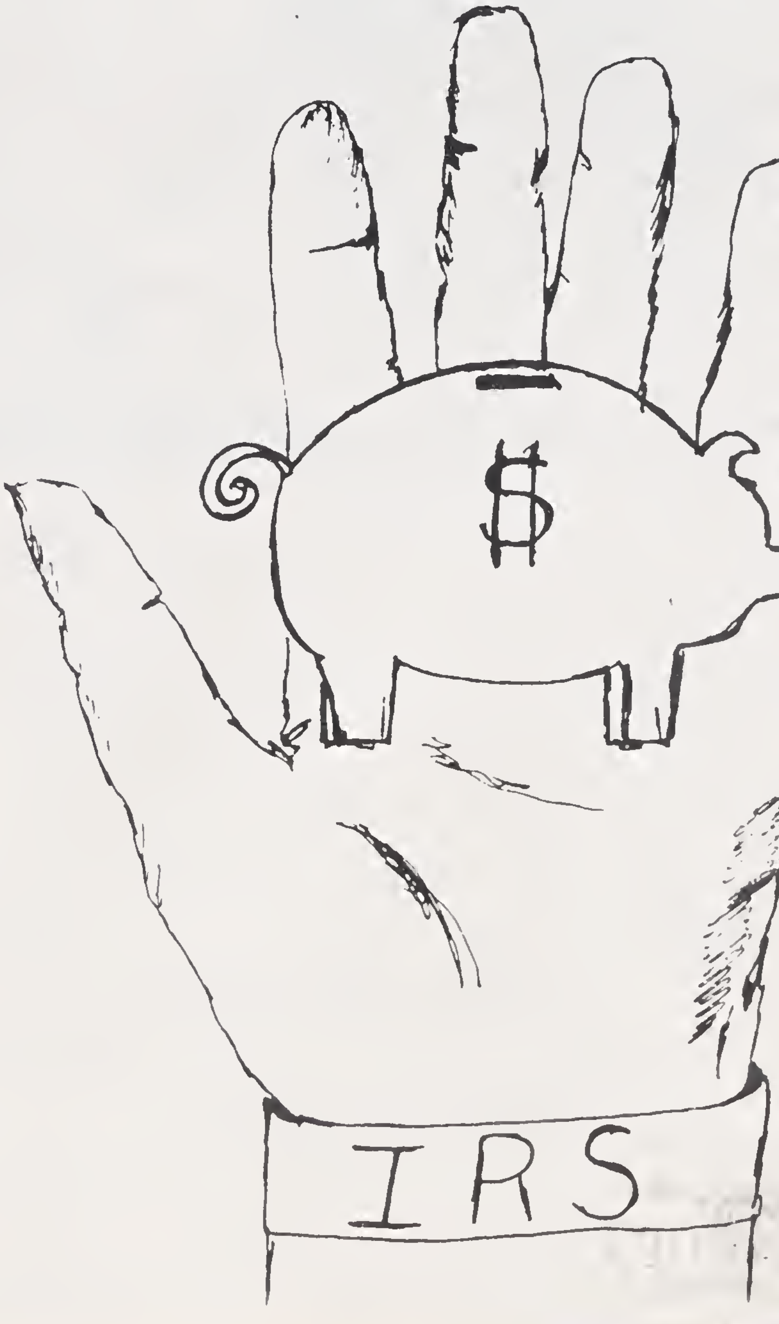
NewSpeak term) the homeless are simply eliminating the middleman — government — and seeking their welfare payments directly from the guilty public. It may offend sensibilities, but militant thievery is more efficient than taxation.

• Did anyone catch National Public Radio's report on the recent hostage situation in Lumberton? NPR reported that hostages were being held "in a lumber town in North Carolina." Then again, no one listens to NPR for the facts anyway.

• The Washington press corps found something new to salivate over last month: a report issued by the pro-Marxist Center for Constitutional Rights that, based on documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, said the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been spying on a number of groups supporting the Sandinistas and Salvadoran rebels against Reagan's Contra policy. Commentators are treating the revelation with unsurprised glee — announcing the return of the "bad" FBI, of Watergate-like evil, of "danger to the 1st Amendment's protection of free speech." What an absolute mess. Let's make things a little more clear: 1) the FBI was investigating groups for possible terrorist actions and violations of the Neutrality Act, not for their ideas; 2) Pat Korten, a well-respected D.C. radio journalist who is now a Justice Department spokesman has made it quite clear that the center's charge is "out and out wrong" and that the FBI did not begin any investigations for political purposes; 3) the center argues that the purpose of the FBI investigations was to silence opposition through intimidation — but if such were the case, the FBI wouldn't have keep the investigation *secret*, thus leading the center to *force* the FBI to give them the "intimidating" files; 4) the chief target of FBI investigation — the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) — was so targeted because it was formed in 1980 as a result of meetings among the Salvadoran Marxist rebels, officials of the Cuban Embassy, the Communist Party USA and the United States Peace Council (a Soviet front organization) and 5) the Center for Constitutional Rights, CISPEs and other pro-Marxist groups led the way in supporting the FBI's investigation of pro-Contra groups for possible Neutrality Act violations. These facts, by the way, were all part of or featured in the documents obtained by the pro-Sandinista center, but were not released to the press as part of the report on FBI activities. Maybe the U.S. shouldn't have a Neutrality Act, but while we do, all groups should be scrutinized equally for violations — regardless of their political beliefs.

• Syndicated columnist Donald Lambro, in his customarily astute way, has identified the latest recurrence of pork-barrel spending, found down in the deep, dark recesses of December's budget resolution. Here are a few examples: a $50,000 contract to study wildflowers in New Mexico; $500,000 to study sunflowers and beets and $10 million to prop up sunflower oil prices, courtesy of North Dakota Senator Quentin Burdick; $2.25 million to study human nutrition at Maryland's Baylor College, which ends up shortening many a taxpayer's grocery list; $175,000 to fight the pecan aphid; $2.5 million to Connecticut and $1 million to Massachusetts in anti-joblessness projects though the states boast two of the lowest unemployment rates in the country; $5 million for the Army Corps of Engineers to build a harbor for small pleasure craft in Cleveland; a $280,000 grant to establish a "civic achievement award program" to be administered by House Speaker Jim Wright; and $60,000 to help develop a better grade of gourmet salad green at a new Belgian Endive Research Center at the University of Massachusetts. It's about time to fry those hams in Congress.

• We are not the first pundits to conclude that the new "kiddie tax," taxing the incomes of minor children, raises serious questions about taxation without representation. After all, minors are forced to pay for something, government, that they do not have a voice in. But if you think about it, this kind of kiddie tax was inevitable. The American tax system has long been operating under a "needs test" formula. If you "need" your money you get to keep it. And if some bureaucrat or congressional flunky doesn't think you "need" your money, i.e. if you have more of it, you don't get to keep all your money. With this kind of reasoning it's easy to say the kids don't "need" their money. They don't pay bills or use it to raise other children. Since they don't need it, it's fair game. And best of all, kids can't vote you out of office. You'd think all this might cause people to question the validity of a progressive income tax, of which the "needs test" is only a manifestation. That's too radical an idea, though. More than likely someone, somewhere will demand that twelve-year-olds be given the vote.



Campaign '88

In a recent swing through South Carolina, **Pat Robertson** said he would not settle for second place in the state's primary. Okay, Pat, how about fourth or fifth?

If anyone ever really doubted what **Sen. Al Gore's** (D — Tenn.) strategy was he's made it as plain as can be. Gore has virtually written off Iowa and New Hampshire (and they him) to concentrate on the South. Gore says he doesn't care who has the most delegates going into Super Tuesday. He plans to "wake up with the most delegates on Super Wednesday." Still, Gore must overcome the nagging suspicion that he is running for Vice President.

When **Jesse Jackson** came to Raleigh to open his N.C. campaign headquarters he issued a not very veiled threat. Miffed that **Sen. Terry Sanford** (D. — N.C.) endorsed Albert Gore for president, Jackson "reminded" Sanford that black voters helped him get his senate seat. If Jesse keeps up this kind of party rending rhetoric, the GOP will stand a good chance of recapturing the Senate in '88.

Leadership, leadership, leadership. All the presidential candidates keep telling us their leadership is the best, most innovative, most experienced, most involved, or most whatever. One would think this is an election for Sherpa guide, not chief executive. Ignore all the resume reciting — what matters most is ideas. With that disclaimer, the one thing that can be said about leadership is that to demonstrate it you must make choices. This means that **Rep. Dick Gephardt** (D — Mo.) can't be anyone's definition of a "leader." Gephardt has only been present for *18%* of the past year's congressional votes. And it's not because of the demands of campaigning. **Bob Dole** managed to be in town for 95% of his votes. You can't "lead" if you're not in the game.

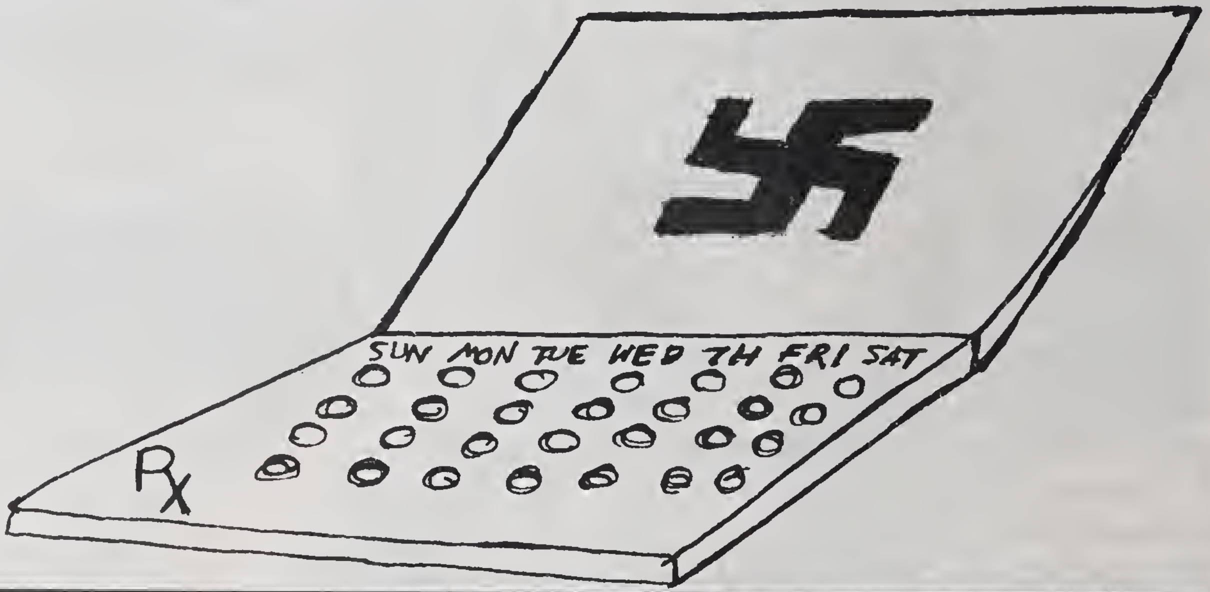
— Jeff Taylor

Rep. Richard Gephardt (D — Mo.) has found that bashing American business and threatening retaliation against foreign business pays handsome dividends in the Farm Belt. He's promising vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws and regulations. Showing little economic acumen, he claims that today's mergers "line the pockets of corporate raiders" (they really force firms to be more efficient) and that U.S. companies need to "stop exporting American jobs and start exporting more American products" (the percentage of the American adult population at work now is the highest in our history, while our exports have really been *increasing* drastically, especially during the last two quarters). Wake up, everyone, and listen — this loser is dangerous.

Jesse Jackson's campaign officials say efforts to collect money for him on Sundays in churches across the nation will be separate from the regular church plate to avoid involving church funds, a move that met approval from the liberal People for the American Way, who had protested the fundraising method.

Former Colorado Sen. **Gary Hart** says his campaign finances are being scrutinized more closely than other candidates' because he is a "reformer" and doesn't "always play by the rules." Don't flatter yourself, Gary. It's because you're a political joke and a household name for tabloid readers.

It was bad enough when **Joe Biden** plagiarized **Neil Kinnock**, now it seems that one presidential candidate is lifting material from supermarket tabloids. We could be wrong, but doesn't Pat Robertson's claim that Planned Parenthood is out to create a "master race" sound like it came off the front page of the *National Enquirer* ? And if it didn't come from there, where the hell did he get it? We'll know for sure if Robertson next tells us that **Elvis** is alive and well and living in Guatemala.


SUN MON TUE WED TH FRI SAT
Rx

- Quick test to determine if you are a flaming leftist: 1) Is Robert Mugabe's single-party state of Zimbabwe, where rival tribes try to exterminate each other and where Mugabe has recently extended the country's *thirteen year* state of emergency, a more moral nation than South Africa? 2) Would you mind if post apartheid South Africa turned out like Zimbabwe? Of course, if you're a complete socialist, you complain that the questions are unfair, simplistic, or don't reflect all the aspects of the situation. But if the U.S. is to have a coherent, defensible policy towards sub-Saharan Africa, questions like these must be answered.

- But if you find that too heady a question for now, set aside death and destruction of human independence, and consider just the economic angle. Under British Imperial stewardship, Zimbabwe was a prosperous area with a good standard of living for everyone, even the bush tribes (who began receiving medical care and other niceties). Since Mugabe, the country has become a basket case, with a negative annual growth rate, heavy foreign debt, and deteriorating food and medical resources. Which is not to say that imperialism should be revered, but rather that the British Empire's free trade practices should — while revolutionary statism should be despised.

- We were amused by the recent march in support of CGLA funding. After all, it's not every day be get to read such original and thought provocative slogans as "Hey, hey, ho, ho, referendum's got to go" on the front page of the *DTH*. Only slightly less fun was "Gay rights are human rights — fund the CGLA". While we agree gays and lesbians should be free to do whatever they wish in the privacy of their bedrooms, the logic of this statement implies that anything that could conceivably promote a "human right" deserves funding. For example, free speech is a human right, so by the marcher's logic the Student Congress should fund *any* student publication simply because it represents and broadens the use and understanding of that right. Where do we line up for our money?

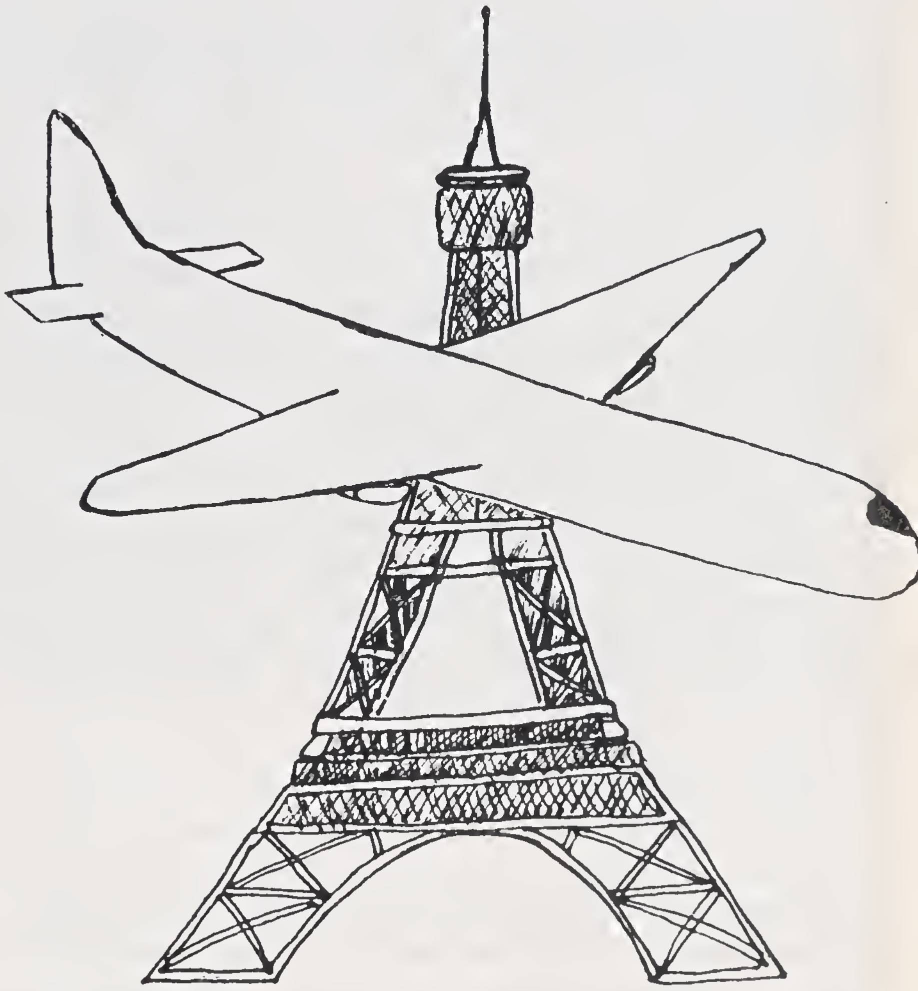
Our only hope is that Chapel Hill's own Joe Herzenberg, late of the Chapel Hill Town Council, does not become a judge. Herzenberg claims "Those who support the (nonbinding) referendum (to defund the CGLA) do not understand our

Constitution and Bill of Rights. They protect us against bullies. That's really what this is all about — white, straight men who feel the need to be bullies." We were not aware that there was a Constitutional Amendment which stated that certain groups have an an absolute right, no questions allowed, to what is in essence money from a tax on students (student fees) simply because of their views and sexual orientation. And we ask once again, if the CGLA is as effective a group as it supports claim, why don't its members and the 10% of the student body which is allegedly gay/lesbian and that the CGLA claims to represent, find the money for it?

NC needs more than Europlanes

Now that the Carolinas have international air service and might well see more of it, talk of increased and foreign investment and growth has been abundant. Yet are these things likely or merely wishful thinking? To be sure a daily flight to London is a nice aid in attracting a British firm to your city. However, there are many other factors involved in making decisions about where a new plant goes than: can I fly there without changing planes? For example, it would seem that few companies from Europe would be found anywhere in the U.S. besides New York, after all for many years a majority of people entering the U.S. came through New York's Kennedy airport.

The key concepts are quality of life and economic desirability of the site. A company will locate in Charlotte or Raleigh if it feels that that city offers the best site. This implies a quality work force willing to work for a reasonable wage, proximity to the markets it intends to serve, reasonable taxes. Few major offices or plants will go where the quality of life is not acceptable. Foreign managers want to keep in touch with their own, national culture and certainly do care about their children. This means such things as varied cultural opportunities and quality education. Also important are the intangibles. International flights are only one part of this picture, a small chunk of the quality of life. The challenge for Charlotte and Raleigh is a bigger one than bickering over who gets which rights to fly to which country: effectively dealing with growth so that these cities and the regions they dominate economically while still have an environment that people would continue to want to live, work and invest in.



The Power of the Press in Your Hands...

The Carolina Critic

New Writers meeting
February 24th
UNC Student Union
7:00, Rm 212

By David Hood

STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT

THE INTERVIEWS

Question 1: What are your thoughts on the new UNC-system drug policy?

Jody Beasley:

While I do applaud the attention given to the drug problem by the Board of Governors, there are certain mandates within the policy that are too strict to be applied on a system-wide basis. These include the mandatory minimum sanctions and the standardized educational programming, both of which could be better administered under individual campus policies. As a member of the UNC Association of Student Governments and co-author of our statement of 1-30-88, I am upset that no student leaders were included in any part of the formulation of the new policy. It is very important that the educational and rehabilitory facets of any drug programs and policies to be emphasized and prioritized.

Brien Lewis:

While I appreciate the concern shown by the Board of Governors about drug use on campus, I am alarmed that they would formulate a policy that includes penalties such as suspension and expulsion. What disturbs me the most is that the BOG seems to be saying that the justice system is not enough in this one instance; this may set a precedent for the University to hand out punishments *in addition* to the criminal system's penalties. The Honor Code exists here to try violations of the Honor Code, and criminal courts exist to try violations of statutes. Drug-related offenses carry penalties in the criminal justice system, and that is where the issue should remain.

Kevin Martin:

The aspect of the new UNC-system drug policy which concerns me most is the lack of student input in the formulation of the policy. As a member of the Association of Student Governments Committee which worked on a counter-proposal, I am still particularly concerned about two aspects of the policy. It is disturbing that there is no autonomy given to the institutions to deal with the circumstances surrounding an individual case. I also feel that the policy is too punitive in nature. A policy which has more of an emphasis on education would be more effective.

David Maynard:

I think the policy is unfair. The UNC System Board of Governors should let each university in the system set up its own policy with the consent of each individual faculty and student population. Regulations as strict as these in the policy should not go into effect without the consent of the local students and administrations.

Keith Poston:

While I do not support drug abuse, I do feel that any drug policy which involves random or mandatory drug testing is unconstitutional and therefore should not be instituted in the UNC system. Drug testing without probable cause is a violation of our civil rights guaranteed to all people. I feel education is the best weapon we have to combat drug abuse in our colleges and universities.

Sandy Rierson:

UNC-Chapel Hill instituted its own drug policy on July 1 which is very similar to that adopted by the Board of Governors, except that disciplinary measures are determined on a case-by-case basis in the former. Both require the school to provide education and rehabilitation programs, which I believe should be at the *center* of any program dealing with drug abuse. I think the BOG policy is basically a good idea: setting standard penalties for students *convicted* of drug violations — but that each school should be allowed the option of allowing some flexibility for unusual cases.

Bill Yelverton:

The system-wide drug policy adopted by the Board of Governors last month is inflexible it its approach to the specific needs of the sixteen campuses under its jurisdiction. By setting strict minimum penalty standards for the abuses in question, the BOG have taken necessary levels of autonomy away from the individual institutions that are needed to adequately address the problem at hand. Drug use is a serious problem on all our campuses; the BOG should have faith that the separate institutions are dealing with the problem with the appropriate means, which may need to be specialized in a way that a blanket policy cannot accommodate.

Question 2: What is the proper balance between emphasis on academics and athletics at UNC, and how can the Student Body President help to set that balance?

Jody Beasley:

Every student at UNC is a student first, and an athlete, student leader, or club member second. Academics must at all times remain the priority, but education is much more than just a classroom experience. Extracurricular involvement in athletics builds character, interpersonal skills, and confidence that can be applied to many things learned in the classroom. As a member of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes for the past two years, I have seen and heard many of the difficulties in living the life of a student athlete. The SBP must attempt to reinforce and further develop the academic opportunities that are present for the special needs of athletes.

Brien Lewis:

Athletics are an important and enjoyable part of the college experience, but the proper balance between academic and athletic concerns has recently been either unsteady or invisible. The individual student-athlete's problems or concerns must be handled by his or her coaches and professors. Where the imbalance occurs is in the pocketbook. At a time when federal student aid faces a bleak future and the vast majority of programs at Carolina are underfunded, it is offensive to see millions and millions pumped into the Smith Center, and hundreds of thousands of dollars go to Dick Crum just to make him quit! If the Educational Foundation had lived up to its name, they could have provided *20* full scholarships. The SBP has little power in setting this proper balance beyond the general influence of his office, but it is all the students have.

Kevin Martin:

Although I see athletics as playing a vital role at our university, the importance of academics demands our emphasis. The Student Body President can help set the proper balance by voicing the student concerns about both issues, while also making it clear that it is the academic issues which demand priority.

David Maynard:

I think that in the past the University has maintained a good balance between the emphasis on academics and athletics. Recently, however, the administration's methods of handling the Crum affair were flawed. Often the alumni are only concerned with the athletic aspect of our university, and not the academics. I love sports, but we are here to get an education. As to whether the SBP has any control over setting this balance, I believe that realistically he doesn't. Unfortunately, money talks; and if the SBP had tried to get involved in the Crum affair I don't think it would have helped.

Keith Poston:

When we try to strike a balance between academics and athletics, we face some very tough decisions. While we all realize the importance of a good athletic program to raise monies for the school through TV royalties and ticket sales, not to mention the image and reputation of the school, we must remember that we are first and foremost an educational institution. When the two come together, education must win out. However, I do not feel this in the case of the dismissal of Dick Crum. The faculty is overstepping its jurisdiction by investigating the Ram's Club. I am sure the professors would not appreciate the coaches setting up a council to monitor classroom performance; especially when it brings unnecessary negative press coverage to our school.

Sandy Rierson:

The main purpose of this University is to educate students — not to produce basketball players or obtain research grants. I would like to see student government focus on academic issues like opening up more spaces for perspective requirements and improving the undergraduate curriculum. A student should be a member of the Educational Policy Board, the new faculty committee set up to study the relationship between academics and athletics; there should also be a student liaison with the Rams Club to express student concerns and improve communication with that alumni organization. The Academics Committee of Student Government should take a survey to demonstrate the imbalance between the number of courses required and the number actually offered.

Bill Yelverton:

The balance between academics and athletics on our campus is out of alignment. We give an inordinate amount of attention to athletic concerns while coasting along on an academic reputation, glossing over some very real academic concerns. I propose that some of the profits made from athletics be funnelled back into academics. These funds could provide for more professors and courses. We run the risk now of selling out our athletes' integrity to win a bowl game. This was exhibited by the power of the Rams Club to influence personnel matters in the Crum fiasco. Our faculty are justified in calling for an investigation, and as students we should join them in this demand. I do. The actions taken elucidate an underlying set ideals which this University cannot be proud of.

Question 3: Should the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association receive mandatory student fees?

Jody Beasley:

As Finance Committee Chairman I presided over the funding debates, and as Student Body Treasurer I have managed their budget at times and seen many aspects of their operations. There are two key elements to this situation. First, student government has the responsibility to protect the rights of the minority, in this case the CGLA. Second, the students function as shareholders of the Student Activities Fee, and must have a say in how their money is spent. These two sides can be diametrically opposed; but I propose to fund the CGLA with a concept called "subsistence funding." Add up their telephone, office supplies, etc. that is necessary to run an office, plus money for very legitimate AIDS education, and it would be about one-third of their present budget. The CGLA could depend on some money every year, while the student body could rest in the fact that they are supporting the promotion of "gayness."

Brien Lewis:

Although this issue is not really under the SBP's immediate jurisdiction, many people have asked my position. First, one must understand the SBP is an ex-officio, non-voting member of the Student Congress. The only voice the SBP would have would be a signature or veto of the entire budget. I would not veto a CGLA-inclusive budget because I am *opposed* to defunding the CGLA. "Defunding" a group would imply that they were misusing their funds or not acting with the mandate given to them with those funds. The CGLA has done what it said it would do with funding received from Congress. It is time to study how student fees are being spent over-all; until then, singling out one specific group would be unfair and set a dangerous precedent. I understand the controversy on this point, but it is the responsibility of any government to protect the rights of the minority.

Kevin Martin:

In deciding whether to fund any student organization, Student Congress needs to look at what they do, not who they are. The CGLA provides education and an awareness of important issues to the whole campus. They provide support and counseling to any student who comes to them for assistance. They are also concerned about the development of other student groups. Therefore, I feel they should be treated like other student groups and be funded for the services they provide to this campus.

David Maynard:

The CGLA should certainly receive funding, but not constitutional funding. The only groups which should receive mandatory funding are the organizations that are representative of *all* students — *The Daily Tar Heel*, Student Legal Services, WXYC. We should not give mandatory funds to other groups, because one year a group may be irresponsible. As a member of Student Congress, I did not vote to fund the Black Student Movement last spring because, at the time, their leadership did not turn their financial requests on time. Being Summer Finance Committee Chairman, I was the one who decided that their new leaders were responsible, and that the group then deserved to be funded.

Keith Poston:

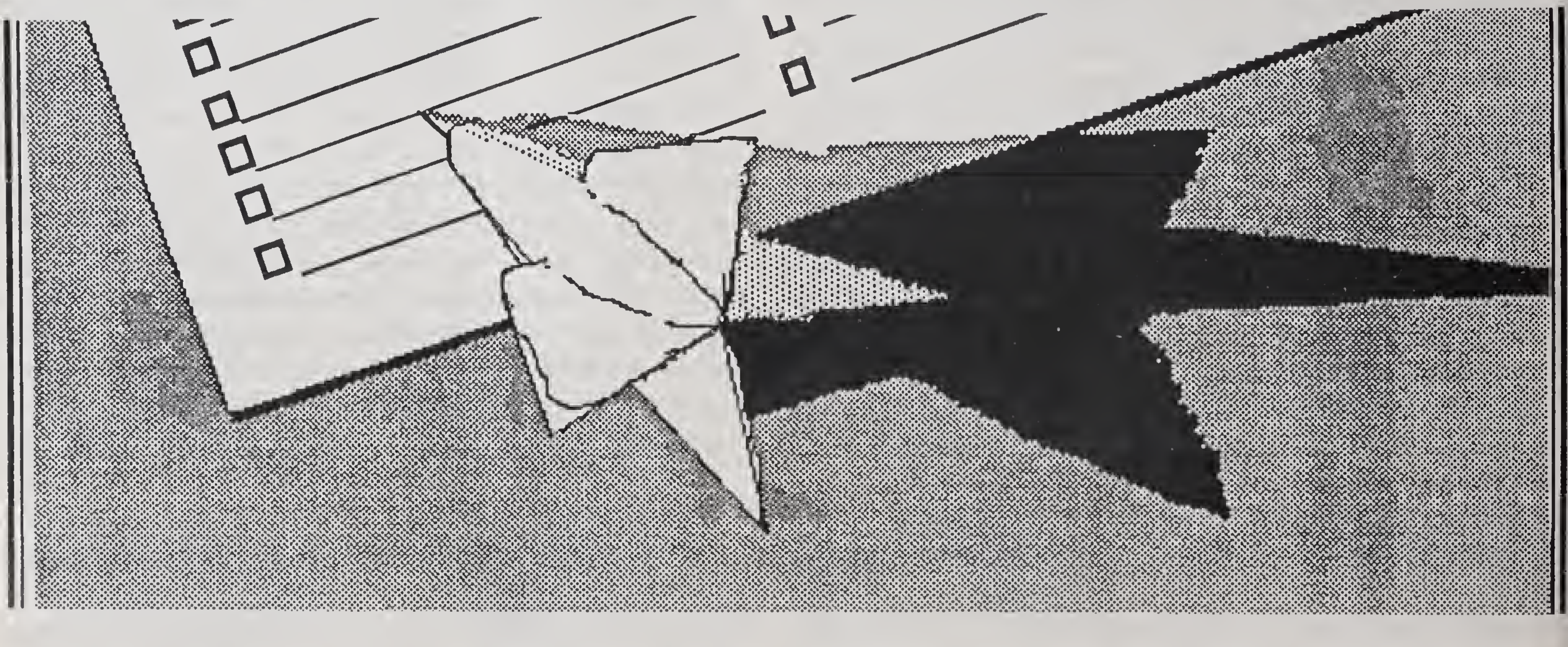
I believe the issue of CGLA funding shows the clearest difference between myself and all the other candidates for Student Body President. I am the *only* candidate who has promised to veto any budget that gives one cent to the CGLA. I believe the CGLA is a political group for the most part, which lobbies for gay rights and works every year to elect homosexual and pro-gay rights students to the Congress so as to perpetuate their own existence. The organization also serves to promote homosexuality as an acceptable, alternative lifestyle which is directly contradictory to the moral conventions of many students who are forced to fund the CGLA through mandatory student fees. The CGLA has every right to exist, but I do not feel they are justified in taking student fees to run their organization.

Sandy Rierson:

Yes, I believe the CGLA should receive a portion of their budget from student fees. CGLA acts as a minority support group and also provides services for the *entire* campus, such as AIDS education. Their student fees funding does not apply for social functions. The purposes of the group are valid, and I do not care what the individual members do in their private lives.

Bill Yelverton:

It is the responsibility of the Student Body President to protect the rights of students at UNC-Chapel Hill. All students. The CGLA provides necessary services to students on our campus. To defund them based on the sexual/affectional preferences of its constituency flies in the face of our Constitution and the protection it affords the minority from actions of the majority. The CGLA provides a necessary support system for its membership, just as the BSM does for its membership. Both groups also provide other services to the campus at large. As such an organization, the CGLA should receive funding commensurate with its services; to do otherwise would place the rights guaranteed to all of us in jeopardy.



In the Zoo By David Hood

THE RACE FOR *DAILY TAR HEEL* EDITOR

The race for the Student Body President is not the only one of importance on February 16. The Editor-in-Chief of *The Daily Tar Heel* also wields considerable power in the daily affairs of the student body.

This election day there will be three candidates vying for the post of *DTH* Tsar. But should the head of a newspaper be an electable position? After all, how can the journalistic qualifications of a candidate be assessed by students with no training in this field? On the face of it, there would seem to be good reasons to make this position analogous to some Federal judges and let it be an appointment of some kind.

DTH Editor candidate Donna Leinwand agrees. She argues that since students are essentially shareholders in the D*TH*, they could transfer their voting proxies to a board that would be more qualified to select an editor. "Otherwise", she remarked," am I supposed to just take a bunch of my clippings around to show students?"

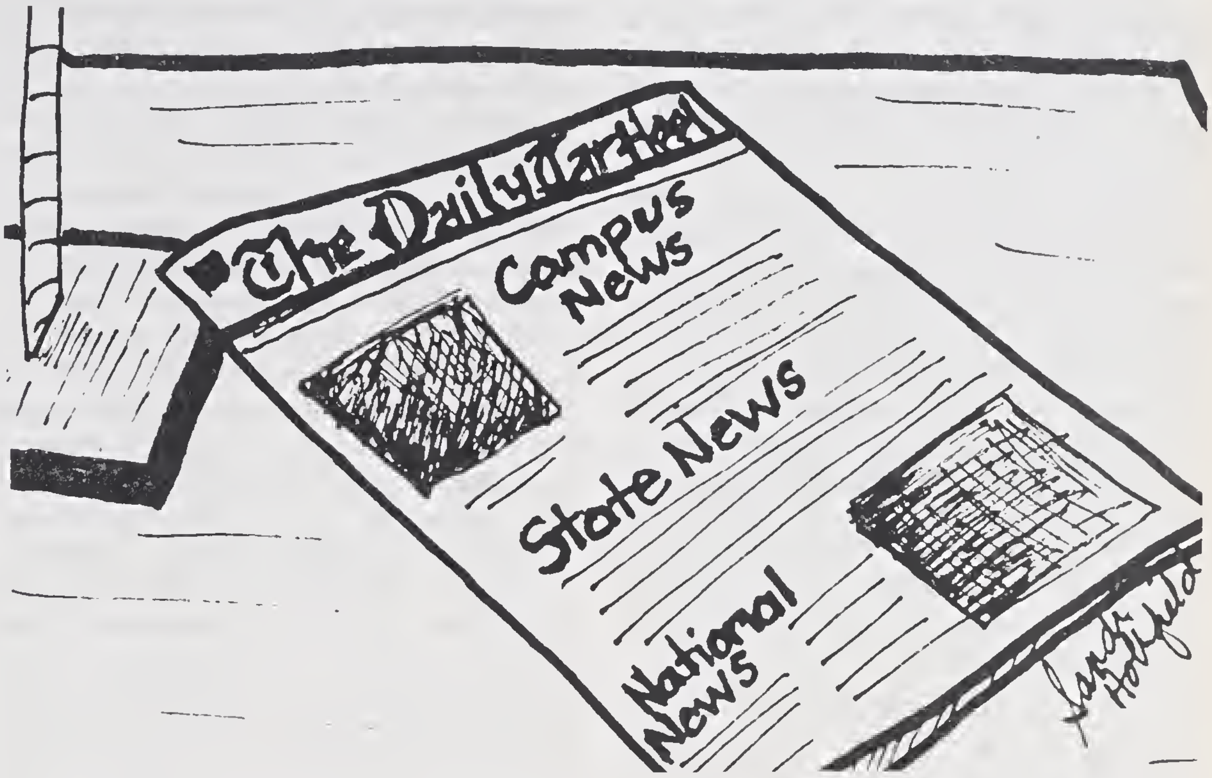
Making the position an electable one opens up the possibility of getting someone in there with popular support, but no real experience or qualifications. Leinwand argues that this kind of the thing has actually happened in the past to some extent, and remember that Jill Gerber ran unopposed last year. Thankfully, she turned out to be quite competent, but it could have been otherwise.

The following forum asks two questions of each of the three candidates, to give the Cri*tic* readership some basis for making an educated choice on February 16. First, some background information on each of the aspirants:

Donna Leinwand has written for the D*TH* since her freshman year, as a University writer, State & National writer, and Editor of State & National coverage. She also has written for the *UNC Journalist*, and has been nominated for the Hearst Award in feature writing. She has worked at T*he Virginian-Pilot* and *The Norfolk Ledger-Star*, and will work for *The Baltimore Sun* this summer.

Jean Lutes has served the *DTH* in the capacities of University Editor, Assistant Managing Editor, and Assistant University Editor. She also joined the staff in her freshman year, and has spent more time in the *DTH* than any other candidate.

Kathy Peters has also been with the *DTH* since her freshman year. She has served as Omnibus Editor, Features Editor, writer for both, and an editorial writer. She also has experience with the paste-up of the back page as an editorial writer.



Question 1: How much coverage of national events should be provided by the *DTH*, and how much of it should be on the front page?

Donna Leinwand:

The Daily Tar Heel should provide a whole page of international and national news. Students should not be forced to buy *The News and Observer* or *The Durham Morning Herald* to find out what is going on in the world. Providing full world coverage should be part of any comprehensive college newspaper.

Whether to place national or international news on the front page depends on the magnitude of that day's university or local news. Usually, no more than one nonlocal occurrence should run on the front page.

Jean Lutes:

Instead of the "News in Brief" box on page two, *The Daily Tar Heel* should fill one inside page with Associated Press wire copy, printing three or four full articles about world and national events that staff members could not possibly cover. Since we are a newspaper produced by and for students, I don't think wire copy belongs on the front page, except in special circumstances. However, good stories written by students about relevant national issues can and should appear regularly on the front page

Kathy Peters:

I'd like to keep the volume of national coverage at about the level it is. What I'd work on is the quality of reporting on national issues. We need to reach for a student angle on all such national stories. I firmly believe the *DTH* is a campus newspaper and should not overextend itself so that it doesn't perform well its primary function — reporting the issues on campus, (which may also be national issues.)

Question 2: If elected *DTH* editor, how would you change the editorial board policy, if at all?

Donna Leinwand:

Since board opinions force eight people to find a common stand on an issue, the result is a wishy-washy editorial. It has been amended, softened, and bent until what it really says is a definite "maybe." Board opinions should only appear when the board members can express a unanimous opinion *strongly*. At all other times, signed opinions would be best. Only two pros and two cons on each subject should appear in the Tar Heel Forum and more diverse letters should be selected. Editorial cartoons should continue to be a regular feature.

Jean Lutes:

I think running "board opinion" editorials every day tends to trivialize their significance. I would rather print board opinions on a case-by-case basis, depending on the subjects of our editorials each week. Other changes I propose for the editorial page include researching editorials more thoroughly, establishing more regular columns, bringing back "The Week in Quotes", and printing a regular "State of the Campus" column to be written by the Student Body President.

Kathy Peters:

I'm somewhat flexible on this issue, and would talk with prospective editorial writers before setting a definite policy. However,

(Continued on Page 22)

Our Altered State *By Michael Lowrey*

FOREIGN FLIGHTS FILL CAROLINA SKYS

With warmer weather and summer vacation only a few months away, the time is rapidly approaching for all those students, faculty and others intent on seeing the sights of the world to start planning their trips and booking their flights. Yet with this fun travel time ahead, travel options might be emerging to make these trips abroad a simpler thing. For example, instead of having to fly out of the original airport hell, New York's Kennedy airport or the world's second busiest airport, Atlanta's Hartsfield, could one hope to get to the Eifel Tower in Paris or Munich's famous Beer Halls without changing planes from a city in beautiful (and nearby) North Carolina? The chances are looking increasingly good, with two major airlines, Piedmont and American, maintaining strong presences in the state and talking openly of their desire to fly to internal destinations from North Carolina.

There exist only two cities in this state that international flights could possible serve, Charlotte and Raleigh. In both cases it is not so much that either city or region is so large by itself to make flights between them and, say, London or Paris profitable but rather that they are major hubs in the air transportation system. Piedmont in Charlotte (245 jet departures a day plus commuter flights) and American in Raleigh (100 jet flights a day plus commuters) serve as the connecting point feeding passengers from various "spoke" cities (on a given airline) to other "spoke" cities. This could allow Charlotte and Raleigh to be regional bases for international flights, feeding on traffic from the respective cities plus that brought in from across the Southeast and Mid-Atlantic regions, from Alabama to Maryland and Florida to West Virginia to fill up planes. Obviously, only the airline hubbing in a given city would be likely to see the benefits.

So where can be hope see flights to in the near future? Canada would seem a likely target, fitting in well in the North-South strategy, connecting the Northeast to Florida and major Southern cities and vice versa, of both of the North Carolina hubs. Unfortunately, obtaining the necessary approval from the Canadians is only slightly more likely than it snowing in July in Fayetteville. No nonstops exist between Atlanta and *any* Canadian city, need more be said?

More promising is likely to be the Caribbean. Already American Airlines flies between Raleigh and San Juan, Puerto Rico while Piedmont links Charlotte and Nassau in the Bahamas. The next likely step for Piedmont, one widely rumored about, would be flights between Charlotte and Freeport, the Bahama's other tourist center. Also likely in the not too distant future are flights between Charlotte and San Juan, with either American or Piedmont being a possibility to offer the flight. More flights out of Raleigh to the Caribbean are also possible, though American's hub in San Juan may preclude such a strategy.

The area which attracts the most attention in terms of likely foreign destinations is Europe, both because of the region's economic strength (nonstops could be seen as a way to attract foreign investment) and an appeal as a tourist location. Both Piedmont in Charlotte and American in Raleigh have firm intentions of expanding or starting service to Europe from North Carolina. Currently, the only city in Europe flown to from North Carolina is London which is served by Piedmont to/from Charlotte on a Boeing 767 wide body jet daily. Inspired by this success, a new international arrivals and departures area is going up at Charlotte's Douglas International Airport (currently, one clears customs in a temporary facility in what use to be a maintenance room under one of the concourses) featuring no less than *four* gates. Completion is set before the end of the year.

Yet, where are the flights going to come from for these gates? Currently, only one flight a day passes through customs in Charlotte (passengers on flights *from* the Bahamas, certain other Caribbean nations and several Canadian cities to the clear U.S. customs before they get on the plane). Obviously, the hope is for large scale growth. Indeed, published stories suggest that Piedmont will soon announce a second city to be served in Europe from the Carolina's largest city. Candidates mentioned by *The Charlotte Observer* include Munich, Frankfurt, Paris, Milan or Rome. Paris is unlikely as American has announced it wishes to fly between Raleigh and the French capital, the other cities offer less competition. Frankfurt is perhaps the most likely choice, the traditional airport for flights to West Germany. That a large and influential German population exists in Charlotte certainly has not been lost on Piedmont's management. A second likely option would be Milan, Italy's major industrial center and a city not served from any city in the U.S. south of New York. Additional service is probable of the next several years.

Several constraints exist on Piedmont's possible growth as an international carrier, not the least of which is the carrier's recent acquisition by USAir, an airline without routes to Europe or even any wide body planes, and little apparent desire to buy any. However, the management of USAir has announced it intends to stick by international flights from Charlotte. A second constraint on Piedmont's expansion is a lack of wide body jets. An additional flight or two to Europe would fully utilize Piedmont's full fleet of widebody jets, with no additional aircraft in the pipeline. Though aircraft could probably be acquired within a year or two, careful thought will be required by Piedmont's new management.

After losing the fight last year to get a London route, American and Raleigh have not taken long to rebound: daily nonstop service between RDU and Paris is to start in late May, pending government approval which is expected. The question is, what will be American's next move? London is impossible as all of the fixed number of cities from which planes may fly nonstop to/from London allowed under the current treaty between the two nations have been assigned and are in use. Re-negotiation is currently not a major concern for the U.S. or Great Britain.

However, lack of flights to London has traditionally not slowed American's expan-

(Continued on Page 22)

The World Stage

By Jeff Taylor

OF CAMBODIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND FINLANDIZATION

For years now the Reagan Administration has told Americans what an important step it had made by including regional conflicts in discussions with the Soviets. The Reagan Doctrine boasted that Democratic resistance forces would be aided and helped to overthrow despotic regimes. Why then does the administration appear to be unaware of the emerging Kremlin cabal to bring "peace" to three regional conflicts? The Soviets and their proxies, the Cubans and Vietnamese, have put forth plans to end the wars in Angola, Afghanistan, and Cambodia that the State Department seems to regard as acceptable starting points. These plans, even if they are adhered to strictly by the Socialist camp, would still deny very basic rights to long suffering Angolans, Afghans, and Cambodians. And just as important, if the proposals that now serve as the basis for negotiation find their way into final treaties the U.S. will have suffered a massive strategic setback.

As in any negotiation with the Soviets and their henchmen the first question must be: how easy is it for them to cheat and what happens if they do? Right now, as a condition for the removal of their forces from their respective battlefields, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Vietnam all insist on the end of U.S. assistance to the Democratic resistance forces. In the case of Cambodia, the Soviets have made the same "offer" to the Chinese, who are aiding Cambodia resistance groups. Clearly there is a chance that the Soviets, et al could renege on such an agreement and take the opportunity to annihilate forever the resistance forces. The U.S. could respond by what — starting World War III? But even the Soviets seem unlikely to pull a stunt like that — it would ensure that the Soviet people would have to live with a permanent war economy.

Another indication that the Soviets and Co. have little intention of such bold faced violations is that they have built the opportunity to wipe out the resistance into their settlement proposals. The Soviets have mentioned their withdrawal lasting twelve months after the end of U.S. aid to the rebels. The State Department seems to be very confident it can talk the Soviets down to a mere nine months. In nine months 120,000 Soviet soldiers can do a lot of damage. It seemed like the U.S. gave itself about nine days to get out of Vietnam, but we won't mention that.

Vietnam, by the way, has always said any withdrawal of its forces from Cambodia would be gradual and dependent on the end of Chinese aid to the Khmer Rouge.

There has been no mention of how long it would take to get the 35,000 Cuban troops out of Angola. You can bet it'll take a while, though, for no other reason than Castro doesn't have any place to put them. And for some reason Chester Crocker (Asst. Sec. of State) has allowed the thorny issue of independence for Namibia (occupied since 1921 under a League of Nations mandate by South Africa) to become linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops. All the while the pro-Western UNITA troops are kept dangling as Crocker and the Angolan Marxists decide their fate.

This brings back another huge drawback in the peace talks as they are now constituted. The resistance forces have very little say in what's going to happen to them. The negotiations involve the U.S. and U.S.S.R., or the U.S. and the puppet government the Soviets back. The resistance movements are never elevated to full participants in the process.

Why UNITA's Jonas Savimbi has been left out of talks on the fate of his country is a complete mystery. Here's a man who has been fighting for his country's freedom, first against the Portugese and then the Marxist MPLA for fifteen years. Might he have something to add to the discussion?

In Afghanistan it's unfortunately the resistance's own fault they are not represented in discussions. The Afghan groups are so fragmented as to be almost unrepresentable. Witness the evident sale of U.S. Stinger missiles to the Iranians by some elements of the Afghan resistance. Some factions are pro-Western, others are characterized by Islamic fundamentalism. Until the resistance can unite behind a set of leaders they can not hope to have much input.

The situation in Cambodia gives us the odd picture of two less than independent negotiators meeting to come up with a plan their benefactors will accept. Deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouis is billed as a rebel leader, but it's not clear who he speaks for. The fragmented Khmer resistance seems to have different aims, they are held together only by their hatred of the Vietnamese. The remnants of Pol Pot's brutal Khmer Rouge have accepted Sihanouk only because the Chinese have told them to.

On the Soviet/Vietnamese side we find Prime Minister Hun Sen who was installed by the Vietnamese. Because of this Cambodia runs the risk of becoming a table scrap that the Vietnamese and Chinese fight over. In any case, it's clear that the Cambodian people have little say in what's going to happen to them.

And giving back the people of these countries the right to decide what happens to them is supposedly what these little wars are all about. However, the U.S. negotiating position certainly does not reflect this. In all three conflicts, there have been repeated references to these countries eventually becoming neutral and nonaligned. Finland has actually been mentioned as a possible model for Afghanistan. The relationship the U.S.S.R. has enjoyed with Finland since WWII has only benefited the Soviets. They are afforded with a rich buffer zone with whom they have special trade relationships. The U.S.S.R. bears none of the cost and burden of maintaining a colony. So the administration's idea of a good deal is to offer up three more sacrificial lambs to the Soviet Empire?

Angolans, Afghans, and Cambodians would also be condemned to a foreign policy they did not choose. How could that possibly be consistent with anyone's idea of Democratic values? Of course, the State Department has never been big on values, it goes in for pragmatism and expediency. Things aren't so different with Ron in the White House, after all.

Maybe the Reagan administration is not aware what it is giving up if the Soviets Finlandize these nations. After years of brutalization at the hands of the Soviets these countries would not have foreign policies that held the Soviets in high regard. Their neutrality would only benefit the U.S.S.R. The U.S. would lose potential allies if the Soviets succeed in their demand of non-alignment for their former victims. In addition, if we view the world as a chessboard (and we must for Moscow most assuredly does) non-aligned nations appear as voids, not as squares. There would be no opportunity for the U.S. to engage these countries on many mutually beneficial levels. The number of partners the U.S. can have in three crucial areas will be severely limited. Angola would lie surrounded by despotic, single-party regimes. Afghanistan would be helpless, caught between the U.S.S.R. and the lunatic state of Iran. It would only be a matter of time before some new tragedy strikes these states.

So if we end up with treaties that include what the Soviets want everyone but the Soviets lose. The people of these countries would be denied the right to have their own foreign policy and their respite from tyranny is likely to be brief. The U.S. succeeds only in handcuffing itself and limiting its responses to turmoil in three global hotspots.

Perhaps the administration has been too preoccupied with events in Nicaragua to notice what's been going on elsewhere. Even if this is the case, U.S. policy makers must realize that the terms the Soviets are establishing for peace in Angola, Afghanistan, and Cambodia are far from acceptable. The end of aid to the resistance forces and the withdrawal of the invading armies must be as near to simultaneous as possible. And the citizens of these troubled nations must be permitted full self-determination, not walled off and denied participation in the world community. Unfortunately, given the past U.S. record of negotiations with the Soviets, there is little reason for optimism.

ESSAYS

Book Review

THE DECLINE OF AN EMPIRE

By Michael Lowrey

On the face of it, it would seem a strange title to be the best selling hard bound non-fiction book in the U.S. last year, the autobiography of a British intelligence agent. Yet such was the case with *Spycatcher*, the story of Peter Wright's days as a senior officer in the British Secret Service or MI5. A highly candid and open tale of an agency not dissimilar in purpose from the FBI, though with a greater responsibility in dealing with foreign espionage in Great Britain, *Spycatcher* gives a rare, revealing view into the inner workings of an intelligence agency. Indeed, from some people's perspective a little to revealing perhaps; the Thatcher government has invoked the Official Secrets Act and has taken other steps in an unsuccessful attempt to the keep the book from being published.

Peter Wright's truth is stranger than fiction tale of the inner workings of British intelligence starts in the early 1950s when he was a scientist at the Admiralty doing work on the side for MI5 and continues until 1976 and his retirement as an assistant director of MI5. In his early years in counterintelligence, Wright found himself in an agency trying to make the shift from great wartime success to the new challenges of the Cold War. On the whole it was a painful and lengthy process, involving the need to adopt new approaches, including a greater reliance on communication intercepts, at the expense of the methods of World War II, such as trying to turn every suspected spy into a double agent. It also was a period of some of the great spies in and defections from the various British intelligence agencies.

It was especially in the area of traitors and double agents, that Wright has much to say. Working for many years in the analysis of defector (or alleged defector, as it is often difficult to tell plants from the real thing) reports and Soviet intelligence intercepts, Wright's job was to track down the circle of people recruited by the Soviets at Cambridge and Oxford in the 1930s and their associates. In many ways a unique age, these spies, men like Kim Philby, Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean and Sir Anthony Blunt, spied not for money but because of ideology and were advanced by the British government to very senior posts. By the mid 1960s it became clear to Wright that there still existed a spy at the very highest levels of the British Secret Service, specifically, its head Sir Roger Hollis! Though unable to make a perfectly set in stone case (a virtual impossibility in the world of espionage), allegations persist to this day of Sir Roger Hollis' double loyalty.

By the early 1970s the change in the priorities of MI5 was becoming clear, with greater emphasis being placed on technical surveillance (bugging, mail opening etc.) of domestic elements which might be less than loyal to some "traditional" view of the United Kingdom. Among those intensely watched were such notable groups as the Worker's Revolutionary Party, the Socialist Worker's Party and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Indeed, there existed a widespread view in MI5 that the then Labour party candidate for Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, was unacceptable. A conspiracy involving roughly half of MI5's senior officers planned to leak embarrassing material about Wilson and alleged Communist sympathies in the Labour party to the press in an attempt to get rid of any chance that Wilson would be elected Prime Minister. It was a plot that was not with at least sympathy in certain CIA circles but ultimately failed, partially because of Wright's decision not to supply the needed files.

When one thinks of an autobiography, the terms readable, relevant or interesting rarely come to mind. Yet such is the case with *Spycatcher*. The view into the challenges and pitfalls of intelligence work is truly insightful. Wright's truthful tale of MI5 serves also as an excellent metaphor of the decline of the British Empire from the success of the days before and of World War II, to the becoming of the junior partner in a two-way Cold War coalition, to an age where chasing Soviet intelligence agents became secondary to working against a local insurgency movement (the IRA) and watching the "loony left". At the same time, *Spycatcher* is a disturbing book. The sheer ineptitude, refusal to work together and small time bickering of the various British intelligence services (MI5, MI6 and the GCHQ) is appalling. MI5's Oxford and Cambridge and club atmosphere is of equal concern, especially when it, as the agency required to screen government employees for their security clearances, for many years did not or barely screened its own officers and staff. Should it come as any surprise that such a regime had the likes of Burgess, Maclain and Blunt or that the head of the Polish section in the late 1960s was making regular trips to Poland to visit his relatives?

As disturbing as such events are, of equally great concern has been the attempt by the British Government to keep *Spycatcher* from being published. The book has been classified as falling under the Official Secrets Act (unfortunately, often better described as the Official Embarrassment Suppression Act), meaning that it cannot be published in Britain. Newspapers in the United Kingdom are not even allowed to carry excerpts. *Spycatcher* was first published in Australia, only after winning a court case brought by the Thatcher Government to suppress publication. Does the current regime fear the truth, some of it thirty or more years old?

If the British government thought it could keep the information contained in *Spycatcher* quite, is has been proven wrong. And that has proven a great victory for the reading public. For all those interested in what espionage is really about and the abuses that can occur or want an insider's view of recent British history and useful insights into the CIA, *Spycatcher* comes highly recommended.

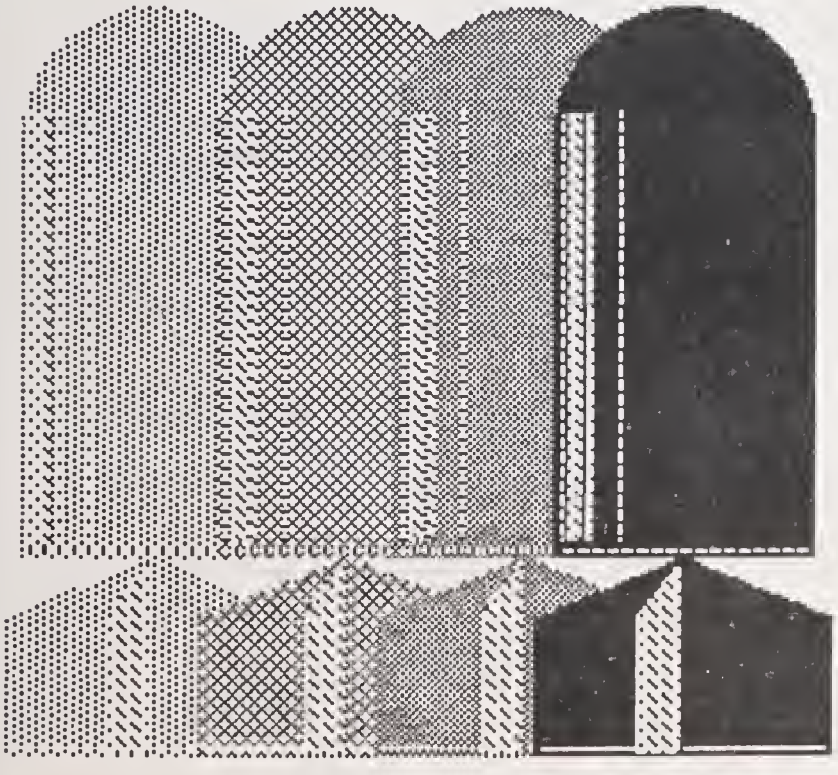
THE CASE FOR NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

By Doug Petho

On the eve of the Senate's ratification of perhaps one of the most ambitious proposals limiting medium range nuclear missiles, one justifiably ponders the impact such a move will have on U.S.-Soviet relations as well as the overall stability of International politics. It is sage to say that our relations with the Soviets have enjoyed considerable improvement in the past decade and hopefully, via an increase in communications incorporated in the treaty, they will continue. But what are we really giving up in return for a billion dollars worth of high-tech trash? The answer most frequently applied is the security of Western Europe, whose security is seen to hang in the balance. But I would suggest that there exists a greater danger in this spirit of disarmament affecting not only the people of the Rhine but the people of all lands.

It is my position that U.S. nuclear arms proliferation must be seen as a good whose deterrent power is threatened by arms reduction treaties. Historically, this has been the case. It is a historical fact that since 1945 no nuclear weapons have been exploded in anger, and the policy of nuclear deterrence has been entirely successful. And despite the lack of their actual use, they are nevertheless cited as the principle factor in a realized reduction in the overall amount of conventional conflict. In addition, increasing nuclear diversity effectively reduces the level of local tensions by decreasing the ability of nuclear powers to coerce their rivals. The overall effect then, is the spread of a "zone of peace" through a system of multiple deterrences.

Junking medium range missiles as a policy fails in this important respect. If countries cannot rely on the U.S. nuclear support then there is a great incentive to develop them on their own. There is an increasingly widespread familiarity with the technologies used to produce nuclear materials, allowing more countries to develope the capacity to create weapons grade plutonium. Combine both cheaper and simpler methods of production with a view of a declining U.S. nuclear support and the scenario is clear: an increase in the number of countries with nuclear missiles. It is estimated that by 2000, countries able to assemble nuclear weapons on even short notice may be between 50 and 75. Cancelling our support through measures like the one before Congress now may indeed create the void in which international instability breeds.



FELDER FOR STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT

By Kenny Felder

This is not actually an official Critic endorsement, as the title might suggest. Rather, it is a personal plug for a candidate whom you won't see on the student election ballots: namely, me, Kenny Felder. I am staging, perhaps, the first write-in campaign ever held at UNC by a senior who will not be a student next semester. However, that extra year has given me a lot more time to study elections and learn which techniques work, and how to effectively campaign and get votes, and how to fight *for* the students against everybody else, and all the other Essential Stuff For Any Politician. By this point, I'm sure you're asking yourself: why should I write in Felder on my ballot? Well, I've prepared this little diatribe exactly for the purpose of answering that question. Here are five of the most important reasons to elect me, Kenny Felder, as Student Body President.

1) *Leadership* Leadership, as I see it, is the main issue in this election. The question you have to ask yourself is, do you want a leader who will really lead, shouldering the awesome responsibilities of office and carrying UNC to a brighter tomorrow; or do you just want a candidate who will sit around Suite C all day with his cronies? I pledge, right here and now and on paper, to be just such a candidate.

2) *Communication* I think it's very important for the student government representatives to be in touch with the students; after all, that's what they're here for! (The representatives, that is, not the students.) Being in touch with the students requires representation, and representation requires communication, and communication requires talking to everyone involved with the UNC experience. If elected, believe you me, that's just what I'll do.

3) *Camaraderie* I'm not a politician at heart; I'm just a plain, simple UNC student like yourself, as commonplace as Jesse Jackson and as American as Pete DuPont. How better to know the needs of the typical UNC student than to be one myself? I believe I am the only candidate qualified to say that, if elected, I will keep the students' best interests in mind by the very simple trick of being one of them myself. Of course, I won't actually be a student next year, but I am now, and that's the point.

4) *Straight Talk* I've already promised you communication, but I'll give you more than that; I'll give you Straight Talk. I'll listen to what you have to say, and I'll tell you what's on my mind right back. None of the confusing double-talk you're used to from most SBP candidates; I have already created seven specific plans for talking straight to UNC students, and if I am

elected, just you wait and see.

5) *Experience* You know, John F. Kennedy once said "There is no experience that can adequately prepare a man for the job of being President of the United States." Or something like that. Yet it was from the US President only two after Kennedy that we heard "I want to make one thing perfectly clear" and "They won't have Richard Nixon to kick around any more!" That means Nixon outnumbers Kennedy by two to one in QITA (Quotes Included in This Article). To the trained listener, this suggests a clear choice.

There you have it. Five reasons why the Felder For SBP Write-In Campaign must succeed, if this campus is to proceed forward into the twenty-first century. Think about it. Worry about it. And then, act on it.

BEWARE THE IDES OF FEBRUARY

By Daniel Richardson

"Jesus Christ, it's February!" I thought to myself this morning, as I looked at my calender. I found it hard to believe January had already passed; it seemed just mere moments ago I was at a party celebrating the New Year.

After the initial shock, I grew accustomed to the idea that it was indeed February. February has always been a special time for me. First of all, my life began during this month almost 24 years ago, and Valentine's Day is celebrated three days after my birthday.

Traditionally, Valentine's Day has been good to me. I've spent a fair number of them in the company of a special young lady. But, the purpose of this article isn't to provide you with a sickly sentimental account of my experiences of February 14th. Instead, I'm taking this opportunity to subject the female population to some good-natured ridicule.

Specifically, I'm going to fire a broadside into the absolutely inept way some women turn down the advances of a man they don't want to date. I would be willing to wager that almost every man in this nation has been rejected at least once in his life. It's a known risk, and it comes with the territory of being a man in our society. However, the way some women farcically handle it would make you think being rejected is equivalent to being eternally condemned to the deepest, darkest pit of hell with a lustful dinosaur.

As evidence, I offer you the following rebuffs that women have used to dissuade men from asking them out again:

1) "I really would like to see the movie with you, but I'm working three jobs, I'm taking 21 hours this semester, and I'm the captain of the college bowl team."

2) "I just can't go out with you because you look just like my brother, who was killed in Vietnam."

3) "The mall on Friday night? Well, er… ah… I'd love to, but I have to give my diabetic roommate her insulin shot."

4) "I'm sorry I stood you up last night, but I was on the way to meet you when I was struck by a speeding Lincoln Town Car. I was taken to the hospital, and it's a miracle I pulled through without a scratch."

5) "After I was attacked by the axe toting assailant, I make it a point never to be alone with a man."

6) "Sure I'll go out with you. But let's get a few things straight. First, you will take me to the most expensive restaurant in town, then you will buy me half a kilo of cocaine, you will sign over the title to your Mercedes Benz 450SL roadster, and — most importantly — NO KISSING!"

7) "Go out? Yeah, that'd be nice. But, my father makes all my boyfriends join our church before I can go out with them. What denomination am I? Well, we're a fundamentalist church that tosses rattlesnakes around during the service…"

I could go on with this infamous list, but I think I've made my point. Many of the excuses you're giving us are little more than crocodile crap and there's little reason for it. I know that there are guys who find it difficult to take no for an answer. But these people are easy to spot, most will be found brandishing a fake British accent, talking about the time they were on Mars and single-handedly fought a titanic battle to save all of civilization from the nefarious Andromedan invaders, or signing up for a swimming course simply in hopes of seeing wispy tendrils of pubic hair curling out from the female students' swimsuits.

However, these guys are few in number and will eventually grow up or be ostracized from the rest of society. In most cases telling the truth is the best course of action. Let us know it you're involved with someone, tell us if you just aren't attracted to us in that way, and don't act all uptight when you say it. We can handle it, we won't collapse emotionally, and we just might be content to be your friend. Otherwise, there's Valentine's Day 1989, and I'll have an entire year to collect another treasure trove of atrocities from the never-ending war between the sexes.

But for now, call a truce in the conflict and celebrate

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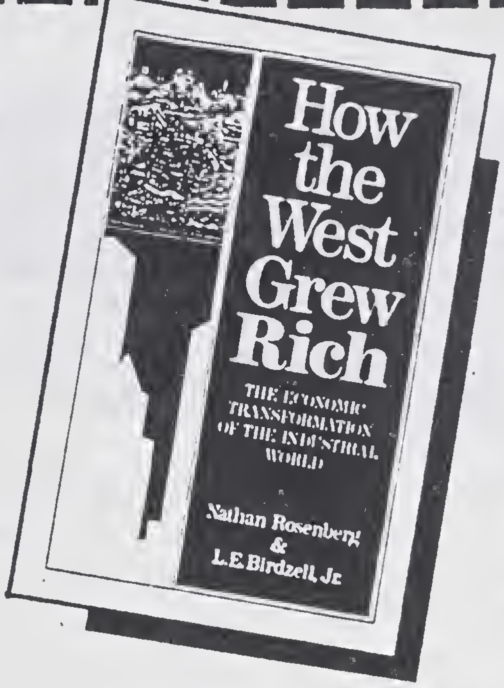
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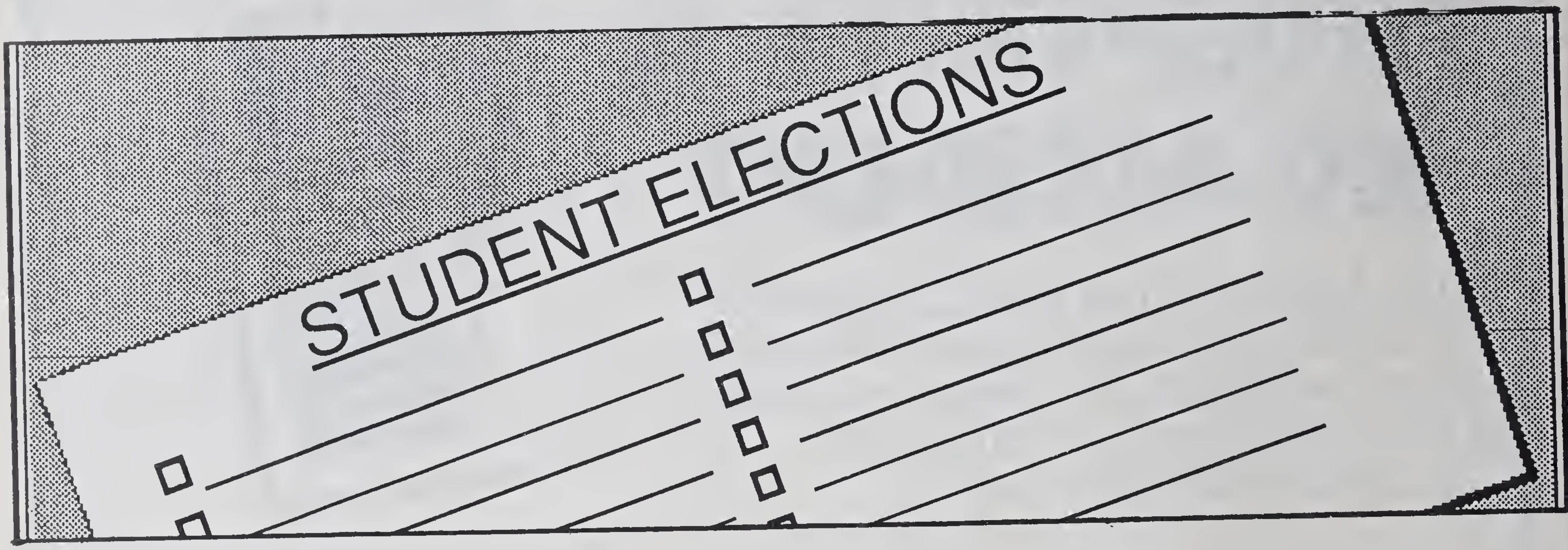

FOREIGN FLIGHTS

(Continued from Page 16)

sion of flights to Europe. With the start-up of flights between Raleigh and Paris, American will fly nonstop to Europe from four U.S. cities (the others being Dallas, Chicago and New York) while only serving London from one-Dallas. Possible target markets are to be found in Switzerland, Spain, Italy and or West Germany. The number of flights depends largely on the success of American's new hub in Raleigh, the details of the various agreements between nations governing international landing rights and what Piedmont does out in Charlotte. The two airlines have little incentive to compete with each other by flying to the same city in Europe, especially over the short term.

The joker in the deck is what foreign airlines might do. A lot depends on the degree of growth of the Charlotte and Raleigh areas, how fast they become of truly international importance. Foreign flights to Raleigh are unlikely, the customs area is in the American terminal and the market is a smaller one than Charlotte's, which currently is and will continue to be a much more important air transport hub. A British carrier is allowed to serve Charlotte from London, however this is unlikely until the merger of Great Britain's two biggest airlines, British Airways and British Caledonia, has worked itself out or unless a smaller airline decides to fight Piedmont for traffic, which is unlikely. Lufthansa, the German national airline, is known to be considering flights to Charlotte; it should be remembered though that Lufthansa is noted for not being terribly aggressive when it comes to expansion. The French and Italian carriers are both unlikely to appear in the state for the same reason (they don't even serve Atlanta!). Much more likely would be smaller airlines, using Charlotte as a cheaper to fly to, more convenient Sunbelt destination and other flights from Europe, both of which are possible.

As airlines are very much affected by the general level of prosperity and growth, a great deal depends on what the economy does. If the (world) economy turns sour, air travel is one of the first targets in people's attempts to live on a tighter budget. Businesses are historically noted for cutting back on how much their executives and sales representatives travel when times get though. As for the other major part of the airline's clientele, tourists and people going on vacations or to visit relatives, that once-in-a-life-time trip to Europe costing in the thousands of dollars is a likely target to be scrapped for a less exotic location like a weekend at the beach for the sixth year in a row in a belt-tightening campaign. If a deep recession occurs, the development of flights to foreign lands from this state could well be delayed until the economy turns up. Indeed, this state could consider itself lucky if it held on to the number of flights, both domestic and to abroad, that it now has.

SBP OVERVIEW

(Continued from Page 3)

tion to withhold their money, while those sympathetic to their cause would freely contribute. But no real discussion of the legitimate powers of Student Government has entered into campus debate in recent years.

This is not to say, however, that meaningful debate over the issues cannot occur in a campus context. The following forum allows the seven Student Body President Candidates to answer a series of three questions. This will allow the student body some insight into the beliefs and platforms of the candidates. First, some brief background on each candidate is in order:

Jody Beasley is currently serving as Student Body Treasurer. He is also involved on the Presidential Cabinet of Executive Branch, UNC Association of Student Governments, and *DTH* Board of Directors. In the past, he has served in Student Congress as Finance Committee Chairman.

Brien Lewis has been a Student Congress representative, serving on the Student Affairs Committee and the Speaker's Committee on Compensation. He has also been involved in the South Campus Outreach Program and the Carolina Student Fund.

Kevin Martin is running as the perennial insider, based on his experience this past year in Brian Bailey's administration. He served as an Executive Assistant.

David Maynard is currently a member of Student Congress, having Chaired the Summer Finance Committee and served on the Media Board and WXYC Board. He led the defunding of the Student Consumer Actions Union.

Keith Poston is running as the perennial outsider, claiming that lack of experience with Suite C operations is actually a good thing, since he owes favors to no one. He has been active in political issues on campus, such as Divestment from South Africa and CGLA funding.

Sandy Rierson was an Executive Assistant for former SBP Brian Hassel, and has worked with the NC Student Legislature and Carolina Union. She currently serves as president of UNC Young Democrats, and on the Steering Committee of Carolina Contact.

Bill Yelverton was also an Executive Assistant for Brian Hassel, working on UNITAS and Voter Registration Drives. He has also served as co-president of the Campus Y.

DTH INTERVIEWS

(Continued from Page 15)

having worked on the editorial page last year, I do have a personal preference. I like writers to get credit and express individuality, but I think bylines should be reserved for columnists. I would like to return to unsigned editorials. They're more professional, and most importantly, they show the *DTH* as a unified whole that has carefully researched its opinions and tried to weigh all sides of an issue.

By John Hood

Campaign Analysis

WHY NOT A DEMOCRAT? WELL...

Why should the American people choose a Democrat for president in '88?

The Seven Dwarves will certainly answer with their now-standard litany of "issues": the U.S. trade and budget deficits, Reagan's tax cut that "helped the rich at the expense of the poor," and the "failed Contra policy" in Central America. After raising a record amount of money pre-Iowa, and participating in a record number of debates and forums, the Democratic contenders have had ample resources and opportunity of make their message known. But every poll and every political analyst's best guess reveal the failure of the Democratic message, picking Bush or even Dole as a winner in '88 by a 2 to 1 margin over any of the Dwarves.

> *No matter how hard Jesse Jackson tries to convince you that U.S. manufacturers are "shipping jobs overseas," don't you believe it...*

Perhaps the Democrats' message has failed to persuade the American people because of its shaky foundation in facts and figures. Such a victory of truth over hype would be a refreshing, reassuring example of democracy at work.

Take, for instance, the trade deficit issue. Various candidates have seized upon the existence of a trade deficit as an excuse for their pet schemes to bring the economy under government "management." Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri has become famous for his amendment to the trade bill that would mandate U.S. tariffs against countries who consistently use "unfair trading practices" to maintain a trade surplus with the States. Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts among others justifies his intention to increase federal control and planning of the economy (disguised as programs innocuously labelled "investment" and "revitalization") as the only response to the U.S. competitiveness problem.

In fact, the "competitiveness" picture is looking pretty bright. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, economic output by American companies has soared under Reagan's watch to the highest levels since World War II. Manufacturing productivity grew 4.5 percent a year between 1981 and 1986, though it had grown only 0.9 percent a year under Jimmy Carter, from 1977-81. By comparison, Japan's rate of growth fell when Reagan took over from Carter — from an amazing 6.2 percent between 1977 and 1981 to a fairly amazing 5.7 percent between 1981 and 1986. Japan did indeed outproduce and outsell the U.S. during the Reagan years, but American companies still performed better than they ever have barring wartime production.

And the future is even more optimistic. One chief executive recently told Louis Rukeyser on Wall Street Week that "this country has never been better postured from an industrial side to flourish" and that "we now have an industrial country that can compete both here and abroad."

You see, if the Democrats (and the sorry economists who advise them) understood the relationship of trade deficits and economic recovery, then they would know that the Reagan recovery itself created the large imbalance through increased discretionary income for U.S. workers and improved areas for foreign investments in new and refurbished industries. Since unit labor costs rose only 0.2 percent a year between 1981 and 1986 (instead of 1977-81's 8.8 percent a year figure) American industry has developed a highly productive, efficient, and high-quality industrial base.

If the need for federal intervention to improve competitiveness seems nonexistent, reflect upon another common Democratic campaign theme: the need to create jobs. Never mind the fact that unemployment is unquestionably at its lowest level in decades, or that the "McJobs" theory — that jobs created during the Reagan years have been mostly low-paying service positions — has been disproven by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and other conclusive reports. No matter how hard Jesse Jackson tries to convince you that U.S. manufacturers are "shipping jobs overseas," don't you believe it: manufacturing jobs are on the increase, and even U.S. automakers employ more American citizens now than they did a year ago.

As to former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt's courageous call for tax increases to solve the budget deficit problem, the numbers once again don't add up. Quite simply, it is not the revenue side of the budget that needs fixing, it is the spending side. It is true that tax rates were cut, but revenues as a percentage of GNP will be the same 19.4 percent it was in 1980. A combination of various tax increases and the effect of supply-side policies kept revenues high — it was the skyrocketing spending binges by Congress that blew the budget doors wide open. And the percentage of total federal revenues paid by upper-income Americans had increased under the Reagan tax revolution.

On the foreign policy side, many analysts previously hostile to the Contra policy concede that the Sandinistas would probably have not had anything to do with the Central American peace process if pressure had not come from the resistance. The Iran-Contra affair, which many thought would doom the Republicans in 1988, seems to have fizzled out. And Reagan's most important policy — negotiation of the INF treaty — is supported by the Democrats.

To be sure, the Democratic contenders are talking about some other topics like child care and long-term health care, but such issues are peripheral for the presidential contest, if past experience is any indication. Barring a major economic of foreign policy calamity in 1988 — and assuming the facts continue to triumph over silly rhetoric — the Seven Dwarves have no chance of winning the presidency.

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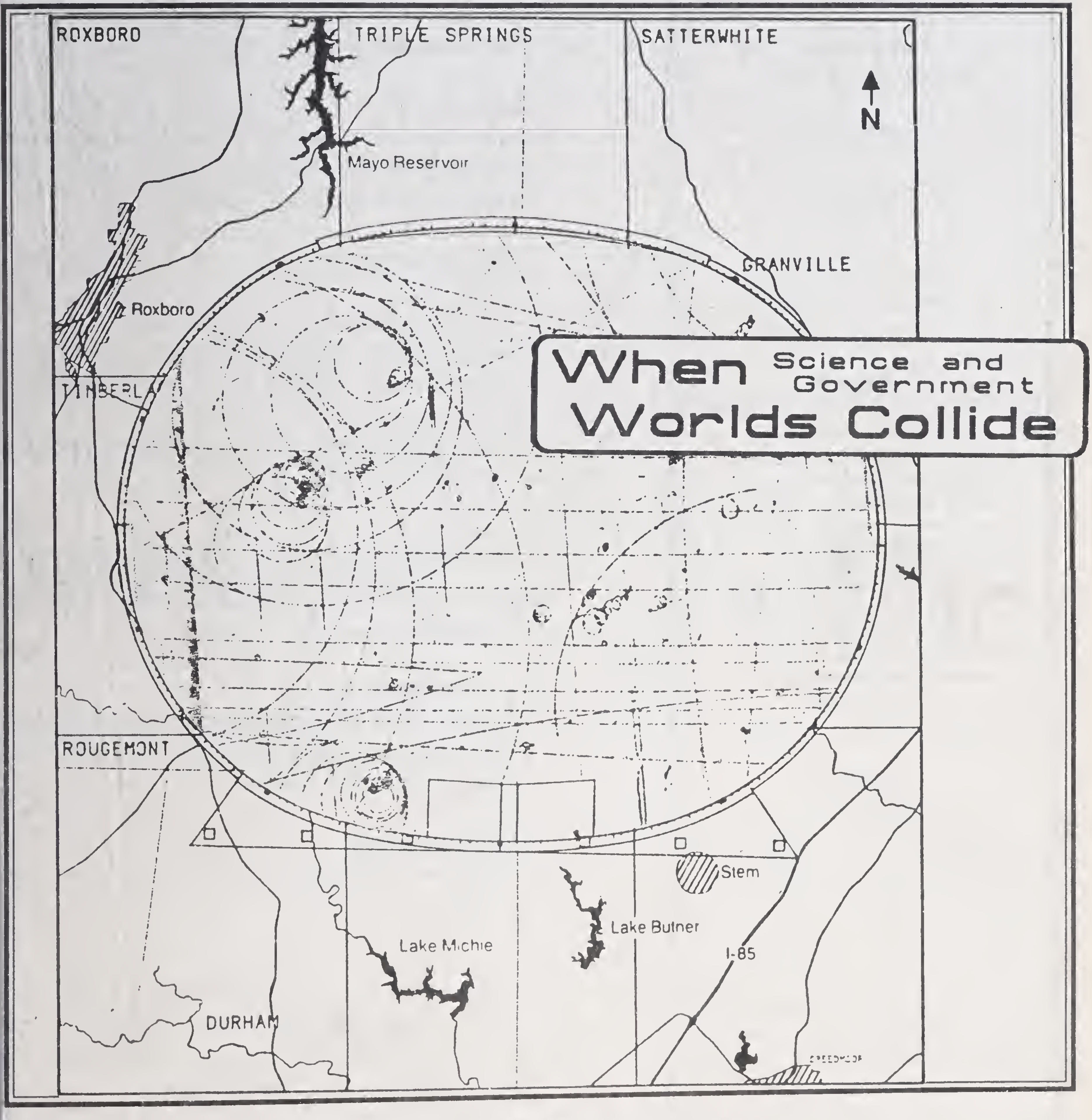
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The Carolina Critic *is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its realationship to politics and society. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social group, or sex, but it is not above playing favorites. Subscriptions are still $10 a year. Correspondences and submissions should be sent to:*

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604 Tinkerbell Road
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

In This Issue..

3 **Critic Forum**
Is nuclear power an industrial nightmare or a sensible alternative? Guest writers John Jaynes and Don Whitti lock horns over the issue of energy from the atom.

4 **Correspondence**

5 **Up Front**
Daniel Richardson asserts that the Nicaraguan Contra are waging an unwinnable war, and that the US ought rethink its Central American policy.

6 **The Critical Eye**

COVER STORY: SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT

11 **The Superconducting Super Collider** Local politic state prestige, and national policy are all unravelled b Larry Iversen and Kenny Felder.

13 **Genetic Research** Henry Higgs explains the differen between men and women.

14 **In the Zoo**
CGLA funding encroaches on students' individual liberty, explains David Hood as he reflects on the rece referendum.

15 **Our Altered State**
The debate over a North Carolina lottery is heating up state elections approach. Michael Lowrey outlines the strengths of a budget balanced by chance.

16 **The World Stage**
Jeff Taylor examines the current state of Sino-Americ relations.

17 **Essays**
Jeff Evans imagines a "rebel-free" UNC... Recent student agitation has Rusty Williams bothered... The Walrus returns with his inimatable commentary... Ro Foster examines black class structure.

23 **Dateline: Washington**
Correspondent John Hood extols the virtues of privatization.

Viable or Vile...

IS NUCLEAR POWER PREFERABLE?

Aye — John Jaynes

Nuclear power is one of those issues, like abortion or divestment, which too often is discussed by throwing slogans back and forth, neither side bothering to listen. This makes for a good argument, but it hardly seems to be a good way to make sound decisions. Listening to what is written and said about nuclear power by the partisans, it often seems that we face a choice between freezing in the dark and glowing in the dark.

But wait a minute! Isn't this the "pro-nuclear" essay? Of course. But it is possible to be for or against something without being a fanatic, and it is not necessary to threaten people with freezing in the dark to make the case for nuclear power.

Nuclear power plants are nuclear. They make radioactive substances. They release a little radioactivity into the environment in normal operation and can have accidents which release much greater amounts of radiation. For some people, this is enough to condemn nuclear power as being "too dangerous." But what does that mean? Crossing the street, especially in Chapel Hill, is dangerous. The question "is it too dangerous?" should really be stated "is it so dangerous that it isn't worth doing?" or, if we've already decided to do it, "what's the least dangerous way to do it?"

People are sometimes not very sensible about risks. Some people have seen too many airplane crashes on TV and refuse to fly, preferring to drive a car instead. This is their business — but they are *more* likely to die in an accident by doing so, since airlines are safer. If we want to make policy decisions to reduce risk to the public, we must avoid this kind of careless thinking. Though I do not often quote the Bible, this one says it all: "You blind guides! You strain out a gnat but swallow a camel."

The risks of radiation exposure are fairly well known, more so than, for example, air pollution. Except for very large amounts of radiation in a short period of time, causing radiation sickness, the main danger from radiation is an increased risk of cancer over the following 20-30 years. The generally accepted way of relating the two says that only the total amount of radiation matters. A commonly used unit of radiation exposure is the "millirem."

A person will receive, on average, about 160-170 millirems a year from all sources, but this varies greatly. Medical X-rays account for almost half of the total, about 70 millirems a year. Most of the rest comes from natural sources — cosmic rays from space, radioactivity in the ground, buildings, food, water and even our bodies, averaging around 85 millirems a year. Some areas have much more radioactive rock and soil than others do. The cosmic-radiation level, about 30 millirems per year at sea level, goes up sharply with altitude. A person living in Denver will receive about 50 millirems a year more than one living in the Mississippi Valley, and a round trip from New York to California by jet will add 40 or so millirems. (Frequent fliers take note.) Even a color TV set can give you a few millirems a year in X-rays from the picture tube.

And nuclear power? A power plant in normal operation will add 1 or 2 millirems a year or so. That's for a person living at the fence of the power plant, not miles away. For everyone within 50 miles of the plant, the average is about 0.001 millirem per year per person. For the entire country, the operation

(Continued on page 20)

When Science and Government Worlds Collide

Nay — Don Whittier

Because I was asked to write the Con side in a Pro/Con argumentative essay about nuclear power, I was reminded that people are still asking the wrong questions which fail to address the root of problems in debating such issues as nuclear power. Instead of asking if there is a need for more energy or how we can best solve our energy needs, it is already presumed that there is a great void in energy reserves that must be filled. It seems that some editors are more interested in reading about screaming anti-nuke environmentalists that are battling the demagogues of modern "progressive" society than hearing what the nation's energy needs are. Although I'm not an expert on these issues, I feel that it is my duty to exppress my honest and biased opinion on a topic such as nuclear power where the "technical experts" are deciding for us what is right and wrong when they should just be presenting the facts.

First off, it's an important fact to note that there aren't any more screaming bleeding-heart liberals fighting the development of new proposed nuclear power plants. The fact is, there has not been a need to fight such developments because utility companies since the late seventies have chosen not to build nuclear facilities because they are too costly to build and operate.

Don't get me wrong. People are still fighting the opening of plants presently being built, and even more importantly, they are challenging the Department of Energy's decision-making process on where to put high level nuclear waste. We're all going to have to be concerned about the placement of high level nuclear waste for quite a bit of time. In the thousands of years it will take for most of the radioactive waste to decay to a stable form, we are going to have to store the waste to protect our environment from what could be irreparable damage. We're having enough problems trying to figure out what to do with the waste between now and 1998, when 20 of the 27 southern nuclear power plants' on-site holding pools for spent fuel containing high level waste become full.

MRS (monitored retrievable storage) was once the answer for the short term problem while the DOE was to decide on a deep geological disposal site. The three proposed sites that were at the top of the DOE list were Hanford, Washington, Yucca Mountain, Nevada, and Deaf Smith County, Texas. It isn't funny that in Texas the shaft of the storage site would drop through the Ogallalla Aquifer, which supplies drinking and irrigation water to seven midwestern states, in Hanford, Washington the same site has stored military wastes and leaking tritium already pollutes the Columbia River, and in Nevada, the water table has been predicted to rise significantly within the life term required for such high level waste disposal). Each of these locations had been at the top of the list for the Department of Energy!

I have already lost track of the arguments against nuclear power. Too many times I have heard the question, "Well, if not nuclear, then what?...Coal?" Fossil fuels have an unclean record as long as the oil-damaged coast lines of Texas and Louisiana. The thousands of people who have died over the years in the coal mining industry historically demonstrate that fossil fuels have an unclean record compared to nuclear, but only in the per-

(Continued on page 21)

Correspondence

In defense of Dole

To the editors:

Ronald Reagan has proven to be the effective leader that the nation has sorely needed since the 1950's. He has established a solid cornerstone upon which the Republican Party can build for years to come. The next stone is to be placed in November. The question now posed is whether or not Republicans will seize the moment and secure their party as the hope for the future, or nominate the conservative answer to Walter Mondale.

For too long we have elected presidents who ran against the establishment. The types of decisions and changes that need to be made today are crucial to our future. What are we going to do about a projected $2.5 trillion debt? How can we deal with an ever-expanding tax system which threatens to make indentured servants out of American workers? The only way to derive effective solutions to our nation's problems is to *compromise.*

I feel the *Critic*'s analysis of the 1988 presidential field (The Race for Classical Liberal, January 1988) was incompatible with the current needs of our country. The only candidate who offers solutions for these problems is also the only candidate with a proven track record of leadership and integrity. He is the only candidate, on either side, to prove that he can sit down with our nation's leaders and hammer out effective compromises. The only proven candidate is Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole.

In his 26 year career in Congress Bob Dole has voted over 10,000 times. He doesn't claim to have been correct every time he has voted. But he has voted in the manner that he has promised his constituents. All 10,000 times. He has voted in what he thought to be this country's best interests. It would seem that Senator Dole has at least one quality that is a vanishing virtue among elected officials: honesty.

Bob Dole has a record. He has proven that he is willing to stand up and fight for what he believes. He has no secrets as to his stands on any of the issues. Bod Dole remembers what he has said; he remembers the positions he has taken. Bob Dole is not afraid for you to know what advice he has given President Reagan.

While other candidates have ducked hard questions or have been busy media-bashing and name-calling, Bob Dole has answered the difficult questions. He realizes that there are no easy answers in politics. He knows the only way to solve difficult problems is by hard work and compromise.

In 1982, Social Security was bordering on insolvency and was being written off as lost by many. Congressional committees could not agree on anything. Legislative negotiations had broken down. Bob Dole called Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and convinced him to bring Democratic leaders back to the table and give the committee process one more trip. Two weeks later a bill was passed by Congress which has effectively reestablished Social Security. An institution which was 6 years ago on the brink of bankruptcy is now $70 million in the black. Bob Dole made the difference.

Bob Dole has made a difference in hundreds of cases. He has fought to help American farmers; and thanks to Dole-backed legislation farm bankruptcy rates have declined. He fought vigorously in 1985 to extend the Voter Rights Act, ensuring an equal voice for all who wish to exercise their right of enfranchisement. While his competition has sat idly by for eight years, Bob Dole has made a difference.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons to back Robert Dole is that he has proven he can be elected. His strong early showings in the Midwest among Republicans shows his strong support within the party. But in the United States, Republicans are a minority. If the Republican nominee is going to win in November, he must be able to get crossover votes from Democrats and Independents. Bob Dole has shown he has this potential. Polls of Democrats and independents show that %65 of those questioned would vote for Dole. He has been elected to Congress and served over 26 years. The fact is that the offices George Bush has held, he has been appointed to. After eight years of dormancy as Vice-President, George Bush is still an unproven commodity.

The hope for a strong conservative voice in the White House and the continuation of an era, established by Ronald Reagan, of strong leadership rest squarely upon the shoulders of Bob Dole. Dole brings the virtues of integrity and hard work with him. By his very nature and drive, Robert Dole cannot help but succeed in whatever endeavor he sets his mind to. As a people, we owe it to ourselves to elect the best possible candidate for President. As a nation, we owe it to our future to elect Bob Dole President in November.

David Mynatt
Sophomore
Political Science

SEND YOUR LETTERS TO:

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Protestors suck

To the editors:

Why is it that in about a week of stories in all the Triangle newspapers about the local terrorist-guerrillas (anti-CIA), there hasn't been a word said about the fact that of those cruds were put on something like probation by a court back in January. The Man told them to stay out of trouble for a year and nothing would appear on their records.

So according to what I read in the papers all of those cruds — McKinley, Entwistle and Templeton — participated in the crimes of assault, damage to property, and violating the speed limits, and probably other things, too. Why don't you guys, as official journalists, ask Orange County District Judge Stanley Peele or the sherrif or whoever why their probation isn't being revoked. Does some individual (not the State) have to press charges? Ask the manager of the motel if anybody suggested that he not press charges. Ask the CIA guy to press charges, so there will be something on McKinley's record, because do you know that he'll get a Ph.D. degree soon and will be out there at some university making Marxist cruds out of young students. If he has a criminal record, maybe he'll at least be confined to teaching at Slippery Rock State and not some top flight school. The other 2 are young enough so maybe they can still be salvaged.

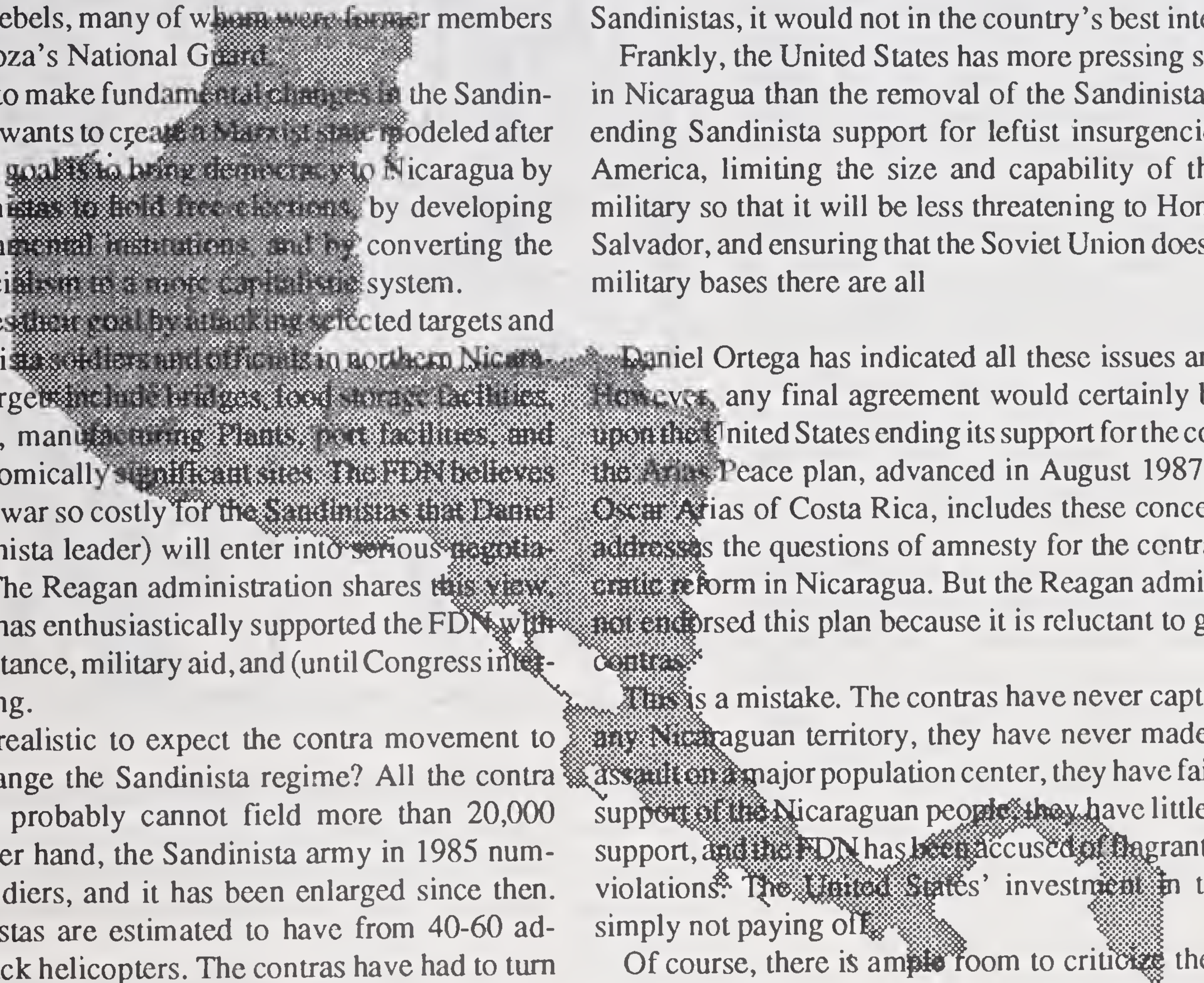
As official journalists, you can also monitor the University to see if they actually do something against those cruds for violating the honor code.

You can also ask those cruds who the hell are those 6 million people they claim the CIA has killed. They never want to give any examples even, much less a complete list. Probably President Kennedy is at the top of the list, because "everybody knows" the CIA killed him — right?

Jay Wilkins
Carrboro

Up Front *by Daniel Richardson*

PICKING OUR FRIENDS IN CENTRAL AMERICA



The contras are a collection of armed resistance groups, which oppose the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. The largest of these groups is the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, or FDN (the organization's Spanish abbreviation), operating in northern Nicaragua from bases in Honduras. It numbers between 8,000 and 13,000 rebels, many of whom were former members of Anastasio Somoza's National Guard.

The FDN seeks to make fundamental changes in the Sandinista regime, which wants to create a Marxist state modeled after Cuba. Their stated goal is to bring democracy to Nicaragua by forcing the Sandinistas to hold free elections, by developing democratic governmental institutions, and by converting the economy from socialism to a more capitalistic system.

The FDN pursues their goal by attacking selected targets and ambushing Sandinista soldiers and officials in northern Nicaragua. The FDN's targets include bridges, food storage facilities, coffee plantations, manufacturing Plants, port facilities, and various other economically significant sites. The FDN believes they can make the war so costly for the Sandinistas that Daniel Ortega (the Sandinista leader) will enter into serious negotiations with them. The Reagan administration shares this view, and since 1981, it has enthusiastically supported the FDN with humanitarian assistance, military aid, and (until Congress intervened) CIA training.

However, is it realistic to expect the contra movement to fundamentally change the Sandinista regime? All the contra groups combined probably cannot field more than 20,000 rebels. On the other hand, the Sandinista army in 1985 numbered 119,000 soldiers, and it has been enlarged since then. Also, the Sandinistas are estimated to have from 40-60 advanced Soviet attack helicopters. The contras have had to turn to the international arms black market and purchase some older, Soviet-designed surface-to-air missiles in an effort to counter the helicopters.

Obviously, the contras cannot win militarily. Can they then exert enough pressure on the Sandinista regime to force it to grant the concessions they seek? Again, the answer is no. First of all, while the contra attacks have contributed to the deterioration of the Sandinista economy, this factor was not nearly as important as the United States' decision to halt trade and Mexico's and Venezuela's decision to weaken their economic ties with Nicaragua. Secondly in 1985 the Reagan administration estimated that Soviet bloc countries during that year. Certainly, this helped to offset the damage done by the contras.

What else then can the Reagan administration do to help the FDN achieve its goal? It could escalate the conflict further by attempting to arm the FDN with more sophisticated weapons. However, Congress would be unlikely to approve such a proposal, and even if it did, the Soviets could retaliate by giving the Sandinistas weapons with an even higher degree of sophistication.

The Reagan administration also could use the American military to invade Nicaragua, destroy the Sandinista regime, and install the FDN as the new government. However, such a war could not be justified politically without some tremendous provocation from the Sandinistas. In addition, it would have an adverse effect on Soviet-American relations, open the United States up to international condemnation, and the FDN government would not receive popular support from the Nicaraguan people. Therefore, while the United States could crush the Sandinistas, it would not in the country's best interest to do so.

Frankly, the United States has more pressing security needs in Nicaragua than the removal of the Sandinistas. Issues like ending Sandinista support for leftist insurgencies in Central America, limiting the size and capability of the Sandinista military so that it will be less threatening to Honduras and El Salvador, and ensuring that the Soviet Union does not establish military bases there are all

Daniel Ortega has indicated all these issues are negotiable. However, any final agreement would certainly be contingent upon the United States ending its support for the contras. In fact, the Arias Peace plan, advanced in August 1987 by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica, includes these concerns and even addresses the questions of amnesty for the contras and democratic reform in Nicaragua. But the Reagan administration has not endorsed this plan because it is reluctant to give up on the contras.

This is a mistake. The contras have never captured and held any Nicaraguan territory, they have never made a successful assault on a major population center, they have failed to win the support of the Nicaraguan people; they have little international support, and the FDN has been accused of flagrant human rights violations. The United States' investment in the contras is simply not paying off.

Of course, there is ample room to criticize the Sandinistas. Their regime is repressive, it was responsible for many grievous human rights abuses when it ordered the Miskito Indians resettled in different parts of Nicaragua, and—as Jorge Salazar discovered—it is not above murdering its political opponents. However, on the positive side, the Sandinistas have reduced Nicaragua's illiteracy from 50% to 12%, they reformed the nation's criminal code, and they have improved the quality of health care.

But most importantly, the Sandinistas have a firm grip on power that the contras cannot dislodge. The contras are waging a war they cannot win, and it is pointless for the United States to continue backing them. Direct U.S. military intervention is also not a viable option. To put it bluntly, as long as the Sandinistas respect the essential security interests of the U.S., Nicaragua is not worth the blood of a single American soldier.

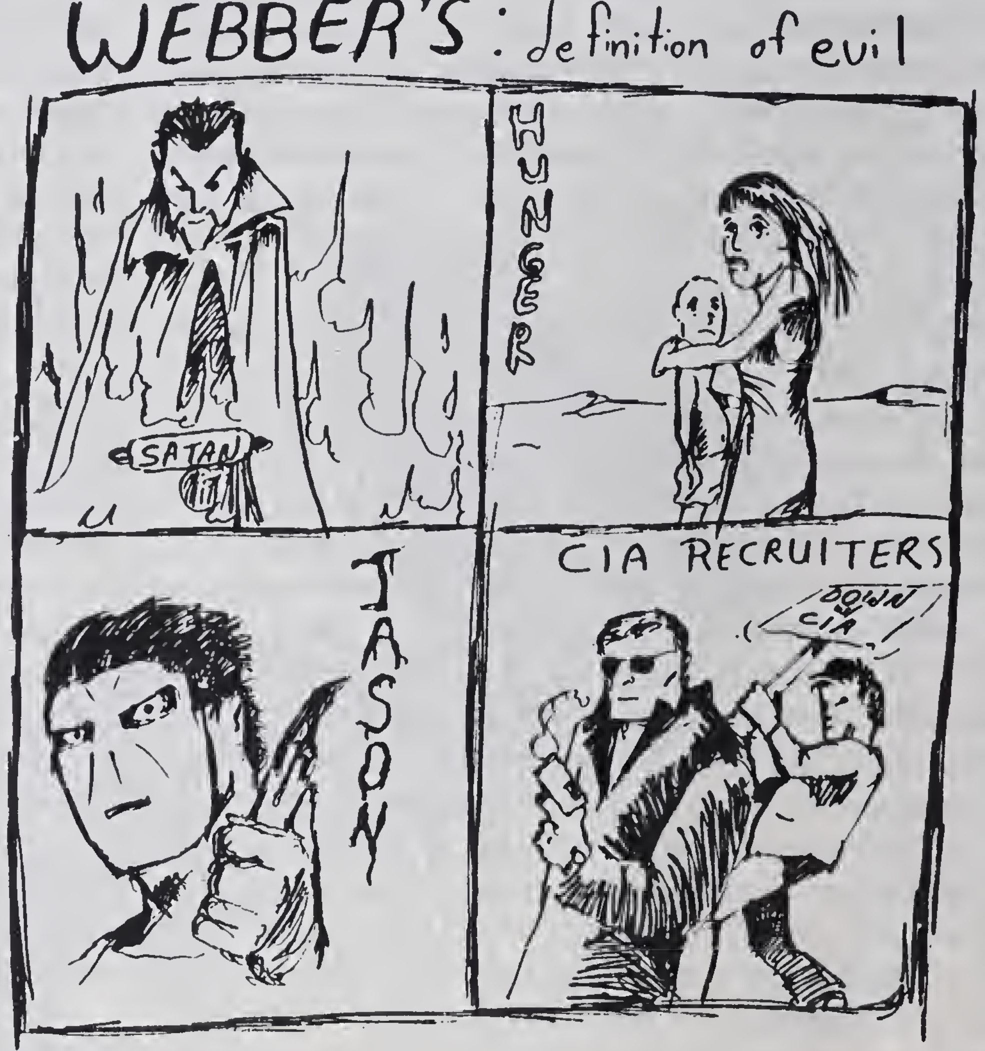
Therefore, negotiation is the only alternative. The United States government should recognize this and call for face-to-face discussions with the Sandinista regime on the Arias peace plan. In this way American security interests can best be protected, the contras will be guaranteed amnesty, and there is a real possibility political and economic reforms can be implemented. Overall, this seems to be the best solution for the troublesome problem of Sandinista Nicaragua. Ω

THE CRITICAL EYE

Vol. 1, No. 6
March 1988

• As we told you last month, Arizona is a weird place. Now comes the news that shock-rock star Alice Cooper has declared himself a write-in candidate in the recall election of flamboyant Gov. Evan Mecham. Representing the "Wild Party," Cooper claims he bought his first car years ago from Mecham. We wholeheartedly support Cooper's candidacy, if only for the simple elegance of his campaign slogan: "Alice Cooper — a troubled man for troubled times."

• Not to be outdone, rocker Frank Zappa has pledged to register fans at concerts during his American tour. He has already encouraged 400 new registered voters in Boston and about 380 in Hartford, Connecticut. Meanwhile, somewhere on the campaign trail, Tipper Gore pinches herself in a doomed attempt to wake up from what must seem a recurring nightmare.



• Gee, if Bob Jordan can do as good a job with the state as with his home county and town, he's sure to get our vote. His home county, Montgomery, is among the state's poorest; and if Jordan Lumber Co. continues, will be one of the most unattractive. His idea of a successful company is to pay his workers pitiful wages, raze vast areas of forest to the ground, leave unsightly wastelands in their places, and ruin roads (and automobile paint jobs) with thick overlays of red clay mud. Jordan Lumber Company makes no effort to clean up the slippery mess its logging trucks deposit on the roads when they exit the wasteland/logging site. But the company is a successful one, for it seems to have made Bob millions and helped set him up as sort of a local kingpin. Case in point: Burger Shack, a local fast food restaurant, goes up for sale and WHAMMO, sold to the Jordan family... a sizable tract of land is looked at with interest as the future site of a large amusement park, then the company is mysteriously outbid by the Jordan gang (the land remains undeveloped.) A drive through Mt. Gilead (Jordan's home town) and a glance at the empty, run-down buildings would convince anyone of Bob's ability as a community leader and proponent of economic strength. And then, there was this county-wide referendum recently which would have provided funds to consolidate the county's two small high schools into one modern, central one, offering greater educational opportunities to all Montgomery county youth. This referendum was defeated, and we were just wondering, Bob, where you stood on this issue...

• Speaking of asinine politics, did you know that when you get a ticket in North Carolina, a major part of your hiked-up insurance premium goes to a bureau called the NC Reinsurance Facility? The purpose of this institution is to provide auto insurance to people that no private insurance salesman in their right mind would sell a policy. In other words, to help put a person behind the wheel of a car with whom nobody playing with a full deck would be willing to share the road. Chalk another one up to the NC state legislature, presided over by You-Know-Who...

• Amy Carter has "endorsed" Jesse Jackson for president. She says he's the only candidate who has shown any concern for "women's issues." The Reverend says he's glad Amy decided to choose "the human race over the nuclear race." They kinda deserve each other, don't they?

• Every now and then federal bureaucracies make their existence somewhat worthwhile. This time it is Bill Bennett's Education Department, a frequent entry for disbandment on many a wish list. Bennett's report on the deficiencies of American secondary schools — and a proposed curriculum for a fictional "James Madison High School" to cope with those deficiencies — is full of interesting ideas about how to strengthen curriculum and promote the understanding of Western culture and values. One requirement is particularly delicious: a year of study of American Democracy and its impact on the US and the world. Bennett proposes teaching students the intellectual roots of the American Revolution and Declaration of Independence, American's role in world history post 1914, the containment and rollback or totalitarianism from 1939-1988, and various other topics — highlighted with readings as diverse as the Federalist Papers, Revel, and Martin Luther King Jr's "Letter From Birmingham Jail." Such a requirement for graduation is, f course, a pipe dream. But Bennett's suggestions come at a ime when solid curricular decisions are rare, and real educaional reform illusory. In that context, the James Madison High eport provides many grasping hands and minds at least a lender straw to clutch.

The students trudged around... chanting: "One, two, three, four. Racism has got to go."

The European ocket Ariane will aunch 43 satellites in he next three years. The commercial ocket program curently claims about 50 ercent of the world market for satellite launches. By comparion, the US space program — and its absurd fixation with nanned shuttle missions — has taken itself totally out of the unning for a meaningful share of space commerce. This just oes to show you the difference in result between a program ased solidly on sound, commercial profit-making and a proram based on a foolish, nationalistic "space race" mentality.

March 13 will mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi *Anschluss* r annexation of Austria. While not mentioned much today, nany Austrians welcomed Hitler, as Kurt Waldheim evidently lid. Austria has yet to come to grips with and confront its Nazi ast as West Germany has. The first step in a national reexamiation of history would be Waldheim's resignation. Don't hold our breath.

Some blatantly erroneous ideas become accepted by default, ecause no one knows, or is willing to counter them with, the truth. No where is this more common than in the area of "North/South" relations. The prevalence of such notions as "dependency-theory" and "cultural imperialism" are propped up in academic circles far more by inertia than factual basis. The Third World philosophers who concocted these ideas have about as much in common with the common folks as Chapel Hill does with Hillsborough. A Gallup poll conducted in four Central American countries (guess who doesn't allow opinion polling) reveals quite a lot about the standard mythology. "How does the government of Nicaragua treat its people?" Unjustly, say 95% of Costa Ricans, 71% of Hondurans, 62% of Salvadorans, and 67% of Guatemalans surveyed. "Do you approve of American military aid to the Contras?" Yes, say 70% of Costa Ricans, 81% of Hondurans, 69% of Salvadorans, and 68% of Guatamalans. And perhaps the most telling — and to dependency theorists, the most incomprehensible — finding of all: that the Central Americans are *too* dependent on the benevolence of the US military. "Can the US be relied upon to help you defend your country in case of future military attack?" Yes, say 91% of Costa Ricans, 88% of Hondurans, 84% of Salvadorans, and 88% of Guatemalans.

- All along the Soviet Union has been willing to deal on Afghanistan. But silly us. Silly, idealistic us. We should have guessed that the Soviets want to redirect their resources towards domestic concerns. That, in an age of Gorbachev, Soviet tanks belong on Soviet soil. That, tired of driving Afghan refugees into Pakistan, they'd rather be driving some of their own Armenians into Turkey...

- The battle continues. About 100 Hampshire College students/

Clipboard

Attention, all females 5-feet-6 inches tall r shorter: you have been officially declared o be "diminutive." That's right, Robert 'Arruda described freshman track sensation haron Couch, 5-foot-6, 135 pounds, as "dininutive" in a profile of her in *The Daily arheel*. Our only question, if 5-feet 6 inches s diminutive for females, where does average eight start for women? 6 feet two inches? If hat's the case, where can we find some average height" females to recruit for the arheels women's volleyball and basketball eams?

Military Insignifica

Last month we told you how the Canadins are trying to establish a fleet of nuclear owered submarines to give them the ability , among other things, patrol under the ice of e Arctic Ocean. Either the French or British ould provide designs and support for the rogram. Well now *Jane's Defence Weekly* eports some highly interesting news out of Vashington: seems the Pentagon doesn't like e idea of the Canadians having nuclear owered subs. If the Canadians insist, the entagon would prefer that Canada choose the French design, which is supposed to be less quiet in operation and, hence, easier for U.S. forces to find. Needless to say, this would also make it easier for the Soviets to find the Canadian submarines. With a mentality like that, why bother with NATO and other alliances at all!

We've heard a lot about the resignation of Secretary of the Navy Charles Webb over plans by Secretary of Defense Carlucci to mothball 16 frigates, but would someone please explain this to us, we really just don't understand: The sixteen frigates to be put in reserve are of the *Garcia* and closely related *Brooke* classes, which were completed in between 1964 and 1968 and are, to a degree, outdated. Not mentioned in the cuts were the frigates *Bronstein*, *McCloy* and *Glover* which are older (in service dates: 1963-1965), equally if not more outdated and less capable in any case and contain a great amount of one of a kind or otherwise rare equipment. Might it be that the Department of Defense doesn't even know what it owns?

The info is in on that nuclear powered submarine the Soviets leased to India: it's a *Charlie I* class cruise missile boat designed for attacks on surface shipping. No word is available on whether the sub will be used for patrols with the associated SS-N-3 missile or just as a training boat.

Why does this seem in character for the nation which has been a major arms supplier to just about everyone, including South Africa and Libya, in the past: *Jane's Defence Weekly* reports that the French are shuffling their minesweeping forces in the Persian Gulf so that they can demonstrate the ability of their ships to Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and others.

Weren't these popular at the beginning of World War II: the Danish Army, owing to a shortage of trucks and without money to take care of the problem is equipping some of its troops with bicycles.

Then again, for these people bicycles might be an improvement: the U. S. Army's light infantry divisions, of which there are four on active duty, have only enough indigenous transport capacity to move two of their nine combat battalions at a time, one by helicopter and one by jeep. At least if given bicycles, they could move faster than by walking.

— Michael Lowrey

hoodlums took over a dormitory last month, demanding more library materials dealing with Third World nations, various special race favors, and immunity from prosecutions for their "free speech." The students trudged around the small Amherst, Massachusetts campus chanting: "One, two, three, four. Racism has got to go." Calm down, Dale. Maybe they are just blank verse enthusiasts, resisting the patriarchical, bourgeois, cultural imperialism we know as rhyme.

• George Bush's people called Robertson's people a "bunch of cockroaches." Robertson's people took it as a compliment because "cockroaches multiply and never go away." Good God, someone call the Orkin Army!

• Could it be that Europe has given us a sneak preview of a Dole presidency? At a recent meeting of the European Economic Community, members decided to continue large farm subsidies. Now, two thirds of the EEC budget goes to farm price supports. The figure would have been still higher if Maggie Thatcher had nor fought hard against agricultural subsidies. These kind of price supports together with stiff tariffs on foreign agricultural products, force Europeans to pay high prices for food. EEC members readily admit that the powerful farm lobbies make it politically impossible to scale back, let alone end agricultural pay-offs. Throughout his political career Dole has demonstrated an unwillingness to admit that farm subsidies are destructive to American agriculture. American farms have become dependent on government hand-outs. All the while the general public pays more for food than they would otherwise have to. European politics may have a long history of the landed gentry getting preferential treatment. America doesn't have to.

• From the too little, too late file comes news that Nicaragua's Sandanista government has decided to issue a new currency. Faced with a 1500% inflation rate, Sr. Ortega opted to scrap the old Cordoba and replace it with, get this, — the new Cordoba. The new, improved Cordoba will be worth (don't you just *love* fiat money?) 1000 old ones. The exchange rate is to be *set* at ten to the dollar. The previous rate was set at 25,000 to the dollar. And on the black (i.e. free) market it took 50,000 old Cordobas to get $1. As you can see, the numbers just don't work out even if Ortega can convince Nicaraguans that the new paper is worth 1000 times the old paper. Ortega actually said the *old* system was too "paternalistic" and that inflation would not be solved overnight. Of course not, Danny boy, not while your government continues to spend huge sums of money — old or new — on Soviet bloc weaponry and training the largest army in Central America.

• On the heels of this confession that Sandanista economic policy might be a little heavy handed what does Ortega do? Announce that if merchants do not charge the lower prices the FSLN wants to see, they could go to jail. To back up the threat, police raided a Managua market and jailed two offenders. Ortega also promised that the Sandanistas will confiscate the goods and property of merchants who choose to shut down rather than sell their products at artificially low prices. If that was not enough Ortega warned that the "counterrevolutionary speculators" could "provoke an insurrection that can destroy them." The opposition newspaper *La Prensa* was also told "to be careful." Is there any chance that any of this will make the slightest difference to David Price and the 220 other House members who voted down Contra aid? Nah, we didn't think so either.

• Meanwhile, a full-fledged border war rages in Southeast Asia. Both the Thais and the Pathet Lao claim to have shot down numerous intruding aircraft and some report that casualties number in the thousands. But, because it's primary season, the American news media remain transfixed by the three ring circus that the process has become. At any other time the border skirmishes would be front page news. We could just say that this is an example of the major media in this country making or selecting the news instead of reporting it. Or we could try a more reflective, and damning, explanation of the media vacuum that has surrounded the Thai/Laos war. Perhaps it's a result of a racist belief held by members of the media that it is not news, or it does not matter, if Asians kill other Asians. We already have evidence of the same people's unwillingness to report instances of blacks killing other blacks — Kenyan/Ugandan tussles, tribal wars throughout Africa, "necklacing" in South Africa. It would seem that for large segments of the American news "profession," the significance of your death depends upon the color of your skin.

Coursewatch

As pre-registration time approaches, students should try to look beyond requirements and perspectives, and begin taking advantage of the incredible diversity of educational experiences Carolina provides. Too often students have become "tracked" too quickly, developing either a liberal arts or professional program of study before all the bases have been covered.

The design of much of the University's curricula is one culprit in the specialization dilemma. Beginning courses in Chemistry or mathematics are frequently over the heads of non-majors or students lacking in extensive grounding in the subjects at high school. This can discourage risk-taking and experimentation in many a student — and unfortunately so. Each University department should (and many do) offer basic courses to give non-majors an overview of the discipline. Some departments, such as classics, philosophy, and speech communications, offer students unique opportunities to study just for the sheer joy of learning. Instead of being intimidated by grade point averages and academic competition, students should delve wholeheartedly into the academic smorgasbord.

If you are uncertain as to what sociology is or its worth as a "social science," take Sociology 10 or 11. If you are mystified by feminist criticism, take a women's studies course on gender and economics. If gaining practical skills is an attractive prospect, take public speaking or creative writing or even accounting. Don't waste electives on additional classes in your major; believe academic advisors when they suggest you take only the bare minimum of your major courses. Developing a discriminating love of ancient philosophy, English literature, or astrophysics would be a far more rewarding and permanent legacy of your Carolina education than a credential. Ω

—John Hood

• We here at the *Critic* have always strongly believed in truth in advertising. So when two *Critic* staffers saw a bum — *excuse* us, a homeless person, panhandling (is that still acceptable?) and holding a sign proclaiming "I'm homeless and hungry," they believed him. But then when the eagle-eyed and ever-alert *Critic* recon team noticed an apple perched not five feet away from the hobo (sorry!) they knew something was amiss. There on a wall, on a public sidewalk, sat an apparently intact and fully edible piece of fruit not two steps from the "hungry" man. Only one conclusion was possible — the poor soul was in such bad shape he couldn't move! And then, in a scene right out of *Miracle on 34th Street*, a careless pedestrian bumped the apple and caused it to fall and roll toward our "hungry" protagonist. The apple tumbled straight at the man as if guided by an invisible hand. The red fruit stopped two feet behind the fellow and he gazed down at it. Then, to the amazement of your erstwhile reporters, he looked up and went back to asking passers-by for spare change. He made no effort to pick up the food and soon the passing crowds had kicked it into the street. We wish we had a happy ending for you — something about how the *Critic* faithful effected a citizen's arrest and delivered the guilty party up to David Horowitz to explain his mislabelled sign. Instead, all we have is this little anecdote that shows that even in the land of plenty, if you work hard and keep at it, you can appear to be without.

• Who says Americans have all the answers? The Columbian Attorney General Alfredo Gutierrez says it might be a good idea to legalize cocaine in Columbia thus denying narco dollars to the heinous Medellin Cartel. He compares the current situation to America's Prohibition days. Meanwhile, Sen. Joan Kerry (D-Mass., figures ...) has decided it's time to send the U.S. army in to fight Columbian drug lords on the ground. Kerry says "Southern command forces" could be used on a "case-by-case basis" against the cartel's private armies. Could we arrange some kind of swap, a foreign exchange perhaps? Kerry for Gutierrez? Hell, we'd be willing to throw in the rest of the Mass. Congressional delegation to boot.

• Well the Salvadoran rebels, you know, the FMLN, the guys CISPES is *so* fond of, have announced that they have targeted American advisors in El Salvador for assassination. Roberto Roca, a rebel commendante, says the 55 Americans are "an integral part of the counterinsurgency effort." Damn right they are! Despite the fact they can not go into the field with their troops, the US Central American training team has whipped the Salvo army into a professional and effective fighting force. If they had not, the FMLN would not be trying to take them out.

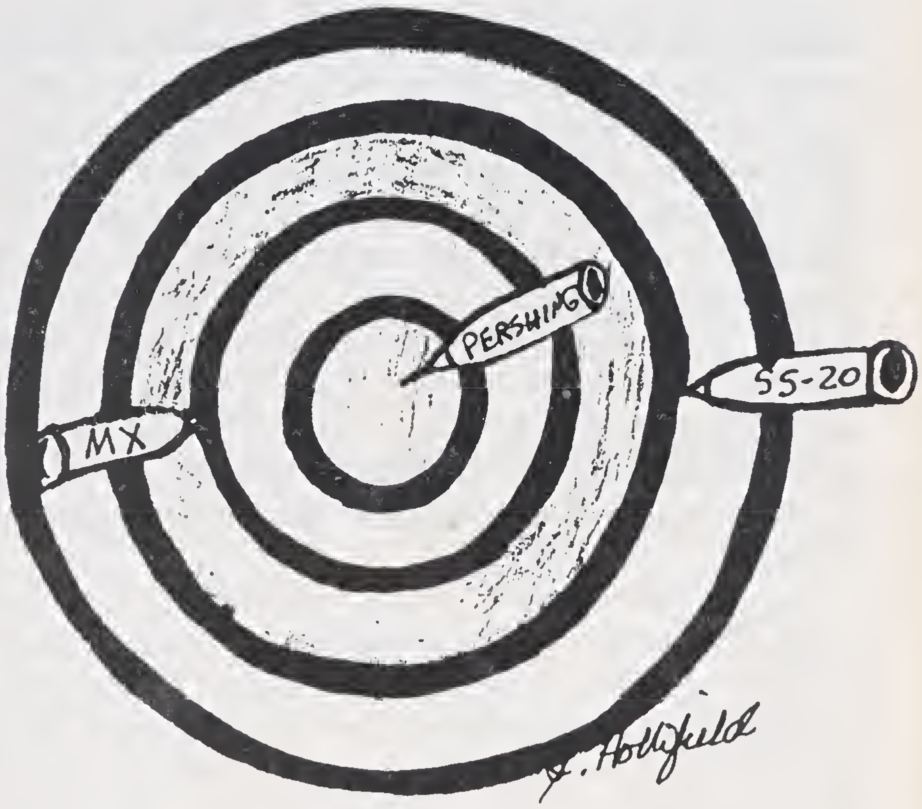
• And you thought politics made for strange bedfellows. Now UNC has joined in a program with State and Duke to produce "bubble gum cards" featuring b-ball players from each institution. It's all for a good cause, though, the cards will also feature anti-drug messages and will be distributed to local school kids. Best of all, since the messages are intended for kids, the state players will be able to read them too.

• A couple of weeks ago, in a speech before his son's high school classmates in McLean, Virginia, NC native and Secretary of Transportation James Burnley made it clear that the administration plans to continue deregulation of the transportation industries. Burnley also confessed that he would love to find a way to privatize the FAA's traffic control arm. The Secretary reminded the students that while they might be more interested in MTV and dating, transportation costs make up one fourth of everything they buy. Recalling his own high school days in High Point, Burnley said, "We used to listen to Otis Redding, we thought the Beatles were wimps." Well, we're quite fond of both, Jim. But we're sure that with a charismatic go-getter like Burnley at the helm, DOT will not be left sitting on the dock of the bay.

• We don't know why Jimmy Swaggart's so upset with himself. He says he didn't have sex with the hooker, he just had her pose for him. *If* that's true, he's not guilty of one of the really "big" sins — adultery. He's just guilty of coveting his neighbor's ass.

• By the way, this chick's got it all backwards. You pose for the pictures *after* you become famous. Ω

Nuclear strategy in transition



The intermediate range missile force (INF) treaty will be ratified, whether defense analysts like it or not. This is a political reality facing the United States as it develops a strategy to cope with the rapid technological and tactical changes to come in nuclear warfare.

Unfortunately the Reagan administration — not to mention its new friends in the Democratic Congress — don't seem to have a clue about the growing challenge to nuclear stability with the Soviet Union. They are acting like the INF treaty, itself a dubious benefit at best, somehow represents peace in our time.

The problem is this: like it or not, both superpowers are

Campaign '88

GENTLE READERS, I beg forgiveness for altering the format of Campaign '88. But just this one time I felt it necessary to examine just one topic with some depth.

That topic is **Pat Robertson's** run for the Presidency. While it's still unclear what kind of impact Robertson is going to have at the Republican Convention, and thus on the election, what he has done and said so far merit a closer look.

First, let me say that since we're talking about Robertson, this column could be renamed *Crusade '88*. Robertson's efforts have had more in common with a religious crusade than the normal political chicanery. Despite the fact that Robertson inexplicably bristles at being called a "former TV evangelist" (as if he were ashamed of something), his campaign has exposed through its tactics a very zealous, evangelical view of the world.

Of course, Robertson has made many speeches saying it ain't so, but look at what his campaign has done. From the beginning they were hostile to the Republican Party establishment, perhaps with good reason. But they've made it seem, to paraphrase **Elwood Blues**, that they were on a mission from God. They took the Michigan delegate selection process to court, and lost repeatedly. The Robertson bunch did not trust the party to keep correct Iowa tallies; they kept their own. Robertson cried foul at the way South Carolina set up its polling places. And, incredibly, Robertson claimed the adventures of **Jimmy Swaggart** were made public by **Bush** forces out to discredit him. But if he is no longer, if indeed he admits to ever being one, a TV evangelist, why does that matter?

There have also been strange anti-Catholic overtones to his campaign. Robertson opposes centralized authority not because it is inefficient, it seems, but because it's too much like the papacy. His wife, **Dede**, was quoted in *The Asheville Citizen-Times* reassuring an audience about her husband's belief in separation of church/state by saying "my husband isn't running for Pope of the United States." With the Republican Party on the verge of drawing millions of Hispanic voters to it, this man does not need to have a hand in writing the party platform.

Robertson has claimed that he has drawn many previously apathetic and disillusioned people into the Republican Party. To be sure, his support does not come from traditional voters. That's why it is so hard to poll and find out Robertson's strength. Some of these people have never participated in the political process before. The question is: will they ever again?

You see, I don't think all these people are Republican voters, they're Robertson voters. They seem to be out to get him elected and thus fulfill their holy mission. Maybe that explains why they have been so xenophobic and paranoid, not to mention ruthless. The story the Robertson people circulated in New Hampshire about **Kemp's** daughter having had an abortion was an utter disgrace.

The man that is to continue the Reagan Revolution, if it can yet be continued, should aim to broaden the party, not narrow it. Robertson's beliefs, and the way he presents them, simply scare away more people than they attract. There is room in the party for Robertson-esque evangelicals. But the GOP shouldn't be, can't be, reshaped to mirror their views alone. After all, the goal, one assumes, is a repeat of the '84 election, not the '64 election. Ω

—Jeff Taylor

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moving towards reliance on mobile, currently untargetable missiles as the linchpin of their retaliatory forces. The Soviet Union is deploying the rail-mobile SS-24 and the road-mobile SS-25 missiles. The United States will rely increasingly on its Trident II submarine-launched weapons, as the other two legs of the Triad become more worthless — the strategic bombers because of a massive and sophisticated Soviet air defense network, and the ICBMs because of vulnerability to accurate Soviet SS-18s. Notice that the common denominator making these two legs less effective is strategic defense — the Soviets having it against our bombers and we not having it to protect our ICBMs.

Because both sides are moving towards central strategic systems that are (for now) less vulnerable to a first strike, the escalation of a limited conventional or nuclear conflict to all-out exchange becomes less likely. The U.S., for example, would feel less able to respond with its strategic systems to a Soviet thrust in Europe that NATO theater nuclear weapons have failed to stop, because Soviet targets would be less difficult to discern and strike. Not only does this weaken the American nuclear umbrella that is supposed to cover Europe, but it also puts a premium on Soviet cheating under INF by spiriting away SS-20s for the European theater — use of which would be increasingly less likely to provoke a massive U.S. response. Even without cheating, the Soviets could simply use its strategic missiles in a more limited role to either bolster a conventional attack on NATO or retaliate against NATO use of theater weapons like sea and air launched cruise missiles.

In such a limited exchange in Europe, the Soviets would have the advantage even without hidden SS-20s, because of its proximity. Soviet missiles could be used against NATO airfields, depots, and supply lines — the same class of targets that our Pershing IIs were designed to attack on the Soviet side.

Meanwhile on the conventional side, new burdens will be placed on NATO to field such a strong defense that the Soviets would be deterred from attacking it with any mix of forces. The challenge is enormous, and it is not at all clear that the Western European democracies are up to it. Naturally many U.S. and NATO leaders want to accomplish the goal through a negotiated reduction of conventional forces, asymmetrically affecting the huge advantage the Warsaw Pact enjoys in troops and equipment. But there are many problems with that option, not the least of which being the Soviets' apparent new demand that the negotiations be linked to a *de facto* denuclearization of Europe. Further reductions in NATO nuclear forces would be catastrophic.

An even more important problem with the conventional force reductions would again be proximity. If the Soviets withdraw troops from the front, they could be brought back by land quickly. The U.S., however, would have to ship withdrawn troops back over a potentially dangerous ocean. The Soviets could cheat fairly easily on an equipment reduction agreement, hiding tanks and artillery in the closed, secretive societies over which they have hegemony. The NATO democracies have no such capability.

As daunting as these new challenges are to President Reagan, the leaders of the NATO countries, and their successors in the 1990s, they are not insurmountable. And the keys to developing a new strategy, according to many defense analysts, are strategic and tactical defenses. Strategic defense not only offers the potential to move away from the immoral Mutual

(Continued on page 22)

RING OF FIRE

When Science and Government Worlds Collide

Several states are vying with North Carolina to host perhaps the largest science project ever — the Superconducting Super Collider. However, some question the wisdom of the SSC.

by Kenny Felder and Larry Iversen

There isn't a whole lot of course material common to the Physics and Poli Sci curricula here at UNC. However, once they emerge into the Real World (knock wood), students in both disciplines may find their destinies mingling in surprising ways. One such capstone is the Superconducting Super Collider (SSC), a scientific project of sufficient scope and expense to be exciting interest in politicians and political activists across the country. A recent issue of *Science News* quoted the mayor of Waxahachie, Texas as pledging "We have to find the Higgs boson!" Closer to home, Todd Oppenheimer's *Independent* article on the SSC discussed an erupting local movement to keep the SSC out of North Carolina, and sparked more political and scientific debate in the letter pages of *The Independent*. *The Critic* now proposes to give readers a solid basis for understanding the complex national and local debate surrounding the SSC, by describing first the scientific goals of the massive project and then the political context in which science finds herself.

Prior to the twentieth century, science viewed the fundamental particles of matter as microscopic marbles and other such easily understood objects, whose behavior matched that of the objects of our everyday experience. The modern physics revolution of the first three decades of this century changed all that, as physicists discovered more and more things that could only be explained by assuming that something very odd was going on in the subatomic world — something very, very, *very* different from everyday experience.

One of those revolutionary ideas is the driving principle behind the SSC. Most children hear it before they learn algebra: "E=mc2." Einstein formulated this equation to express his discovery that matter ("m") and energy ("E") are in fact one and the same thing, and can be interconverted under the proper conditions.

The purpose of the SSC — and the entire family of instruments known as colliders, particle accelerators, and cyclotrons — is to create these conditions. To do this, they take electrically charged particles (electrons, protons, anti-protons, atomic nuclei and the like) and use electric and magnetic fields to accelerate these particles to enormous speeds — speeds approaching the speed of light, which Einstein assures us is the absolute speed limit of anything in this universe.

When these particles collide, the energy of their motion becomes available for the creation of entirely new particles. These particles fly off into detectors which read the masses and velocities of whatever they "catch"; from this information, scientists can deduce much about the nature of the high-energy particles they have created. This in turn makes it possible to confirm or reject theories about the fundamental laws that make our universe work.

The first particle accelerator was built in 1932. Since that time, physicists have been continually building larger and more powerful machines, in order to observe ever more massive subatomic particles. The information generated by these great projects is invaluable: one scientist at Fermilab in Illinois estimates that one year's data on one Fermilab project could produce twenty Ph.D.'s. The SSC would be a great advance in this progression: it would create 100 million proton collisions per second, with energies up to 40 TeV (as compared with a maximum possible energy of 12 TeV attainable at the CERN laboratory in Switzerland).

Such unprecedented energy will be of enormous benefit to theoretical research. For example, current theories attempting to explain and unify the forces of nature predict the existence of a massive particle called a "Higgs boson," undetectable at ordinary energies. At the energies generated in the SSC, the Higgs boson would be forced to show itself — or not. Either way, our understanding of the universe would be advanced. Of course, the Higgs boson is only one entity that may be proven or disproven by observation of high-energy collisions in the SSC: historically, higher energies are always followed by hosts of unexpected discoveries.

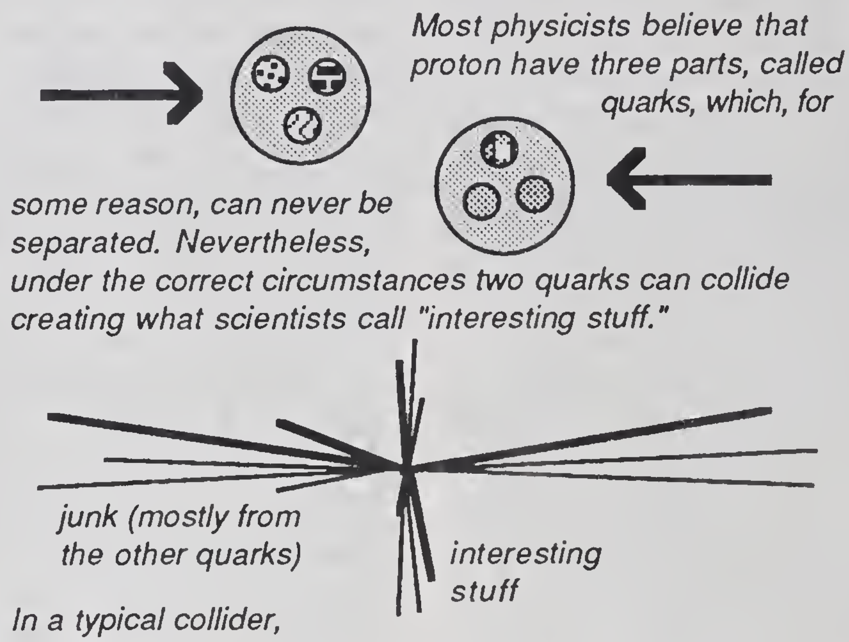
However, the equipment required to generate such velocities is neither cheap nor small. The U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) has earmarked over $4 billion for the SSC project, which includes four "boosting" rings, a 10,000-magnet main ring, and a campus of fifteen or more office and laboratory buildings. One specialist estimates that one particle detector array could weigh 60,000 tons — more than the Eiffel Tower. Furthermore, in order to contain the high-velocity particles, the main ring will have a 53 mile circumference and cover several thousand acres of land. The *Critic* cautions its readers: don't try this at home!

That last comment is not quite as frivolous as it looks: North Carolina is at present one of seven states being considered as possible SSC locations, and the question of site selection is far more political than scientific. Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, Tennessee, and Texas are all vying with North Carolina for the commercial advantages and prestige implicit in hosting one of the world's largest scientific complexes. The North Carolina state legislature has already allocated a $1.5 million budget for convincing the DOE to locate the project in North Carolina. The SSC would directly create 4500 construction jobs and 3000 permanent positions for North Carolina citizens, as well as indirectly contributing to the local businesses and economy. The prestige brought to our state by what the Office of the Governor's Science Advisor calls "the world's most important scientific facility" would be immeasurable.

Should North Carolina be chosen for the SSC, Triangle universities have promised to add sixty new faculty positions and the North Carolina legislature has promised a $300 million highway bill. But even without these changes, the state is in many ways ideal for the SSC. According to the DOE's Site Evaluation Committee, which reduced the original 35 site proposals (in 25 different states) to the remaining seven, North Carolina boasts the following main advantages. 1) The proximity of the Research Triangle Park and three major research universities would provide an invaluable human resource for the project. 2) The suggested location for the ten-foot diameter ring is 175 feet below the Earth in a geologically sound region, so that much tunneling could be done without breaking the surface above.

The DOE report also speaks favorably of the international access provided by the Raleigh-Durham airport, noting plans for non-stop European flights by American Airlines. Although North Carolina is considered below average among the eight finalists for access and transportation, the airport and the proposed highway expansion minimize this disadvantage of the state. The North Carolina Site Proposal also cites the area's nuclear power facilities and the ship-building center in Virginia as evidence that the local labor force is competent to handle complex, high-tech tasks. Hydroelectric power would be supplied easily from just north of the site by two existing plants operated by Duke Power and CP&L. (The latter has guaranteed a rate of 4¢ per kilowatt-hour for the SSC.) Regional weather patterns are mild and conducive to year-round construction.

"Right, so what's really goin' on here?"
A NUCLEAR ACCELERATOR PRIMER



Most physicists believe that proton have three parts, called quarks, which, for some reason, can never be separated. Nevertheless, under the correct circumstances two quarks can collide creating what scientists call "interesting stuff."

In a typical collider, tens of thousands of these collisions occur every second.

No state can claim a perfect proposal, of course, and there are a few problems with the North Carolina SSC construction site. The DOE has suggested that a major shear zone near the proposed site would present a danger to the scientific accuracy of the SSC in North Carolina. However, Mark Messura, Policy Analyst and Assistant to the Executive Director of the North Carolina Board of Science and Technology, assures the *Critic* that reports of the danger have been greatly exaggerated. The DOE also expressed reservations about the North Carolina site's "localized areas of potential instabilities, and probable modest water inflow in some areas."

The primary objection to North Carolina as a host site, however, comes from within the state itself, from landowners and residents near the proposed site. According to state estimates cited in *The Independent*, 105 people at most would be required to move if North Carolina were to host the SSC. This problem is actually not bad compared to other states: the proposed Texas site would have to move over two hundred residences and businesses, a California anti-SSC petition received 20,000 signatures, and irate New York SSC opponents spat at the Lt. Governor and rocked his car. The North Carolinians who would be forced by the SSC to sell their land to the government, however, find such comparisons little consolation.

"I don't know too many people who are compensated fairly when their land gets taken away, without the help of an attorney," said one resident who would have to be moved. His comment appeared in a recent article in *The Independent*, alongside a promise from Governor Martin that the state will pay "top dollar" for all the land the SSC requires. Messura clarifies this assurance by explaining that the government will pay "fair market value," a much less ambiguous term, plus relocation costs. However, this has not quelled the understandable groundswell of objection from citizens who don't *want* to sell their land for fair market value and move elsewhere. (Triangle political observers will recall the minor furor raised over the RDU expansion a few years ago.)

The other source of local objection has been the possibility of radioactivity or hazardous waste. *The Independent* quotes Rev. Dr. Tommy Jordan: "[They] don't know what's going to happen when these things collide." Dr. Jordan is worried about local health problems. He is also worried about his 100-year-old church and 150-grave cemetery, which may have to be moved to make way for the SSC. Mark Messura is worried about this kind of conflict of interest: "the important thing in my opinion is to separate the emotion" from the science. While concerns about relocation are undoubtedly valid, arguments about the dangers of the SSC to local citizens do not hold up under the facts. A DOE memo, dated August 3, 1987, states, "The amount of low-level radioactive waste is approximately equal to that from a major university with a medical facility." In addition, the conventional waste and hazardous waste which the SSC will generate is comparable to that produced by a small industrial facility. ("Hazardous" in this context refers to chemically dangerous but non-radioactive materials.) Earl MacCormac, the Governor's science advisor, says the level of radiation from the SSC is less than that from our natural exposure from the sun, soil, and water.

In addition to local dispute, there has been objection from the scientific community to the $1 billion a year planned for the SSC. David Kleppner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology said that "The SSC must not be built at the expense of the rest of science." Many scientists feel that dividing the money among a host of smaller projects would be more productive in the long run. Freeman Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, on the other hand, feels that the SSC is simply the wrong big idea. "I [am] a supporter of particle physics and an opponent of the SSC," he writes in an editorial in the February issue of *Physics Today*. "I am afraid that it may be a trap, tying our physicists to an old technology and barring the way to newer and more powerful alternatives." Dyson points to recent advances in laser technology that could replace the superconducting magnets that give the SSC its name. In Dyson's system, electrons, instead of protons, would be accelerated along a straight track. Such a track four kilometers long (approximately 2.5 miles) could conceivably generate collisions with the same energy that the 53-mile-circumference SSC is expected to produce. Dyson argues that "Our aim should be... to respond quickly to the various opportunities that new discoveries will create... [because of its inability to do this,] the SSC may become as great a setback for particle physics as the space shuttle has been for space science."

Such objections may or may not prove to be valid, but they are certainly being drowned out at present by the general excitement that the SSC is generating in both the scientific and political communities. Scientists eager to experiment at hitherto impossible energies argue that the SSC is the only currently feasible collider technology capable of such energies. The January 2, 1988 *Science News* described the Reagan administration "touting the SSC as a kind of icon of American competitiveness." The DOE originally expected to choose a site in July; the current plan is to have a site tentatively chosen by November and officially approved by January. The only question remaining is congressional approval. Ω

BOYS WILL BE BOYS... BUT JUST WHEN?

by Henry Higgs

To a greater or lesser extent, most everybody has pondered over the differences between man and woman. For most, it starts with those prepubescent brother-sister baths and the wonder of new discovery; evolving to a higher state later in life when there's an intense desire to undertake more thorough research into the matter. To reproductive biologists the question, although not quite as stimulating, is much more involved. In humans, the gonads are said to be "bipotential" (able to develop into male or female) until about the sixth week of fetal development. There must be signals that cause certain "switches" to "turn off" or "shut off" in order to give direction to the developing fetus. Recently published work by Dr. David Page and colleagues has opened new doors in the study of sex determination.

Page, who works at the Whitehead Institute in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has succeeded in identifying a small region on the human Y chromosome known as Testes Determining Factor (TDF) — a region which is supposed to be the genesis of male development. Although the name has been around for a few years, the actual location of this factor on the Y chromosome hasn't. Chromosomes are very long structures which are made up of genes. Genes, in turn, contain specific sequences of DNA, which determine a particular protein product for that gene. After being made in accordance with its gene's code, a protein goes on to carry out its special function inside or outside the cell. Page has ended speculation as to the whereabouts of the TDF gene by mapping it to the short arm of the U chromosome. He has also succeeded in clonng the portion of the Y chromosome in which he believes the TDF gene is encoded.

To understand the significance of this discovery, one must first have at least a general knowledge of the process of human sex differentiation. Human cells contain 46 chromosomes. Two of these, the X and Y chromosomes, are involved in determining the individual's sex. For quite some time (1959), the Y chromosome has been known to have an important role in causing male differentiation. Barring any unusual events, an XX fetus will become a female, while the XY fetus will be a male. In light of this fact, Dr. Page has nicknamed his laboratory "The XY Corral."

Two of these "unusual events" proved to be extremely helpful to Page. About 1 in 20,000 individuals who have the outward appearance of normal men actually have two X chromosomes. This oddity usually is exposed only when the XX male attempts to reproduce, as most are sterile. There also exist XY females who are essentially mirror images of the XX male in that they have a Y chromosome but are female. Both types are called "sex-reversed individuals." Page and his colleagues, along with Jean Weissenbach of the Pasteur Institute and Albert de la Chapelle from the University of Helsinki, surmised that a small piece of the Y chromosome (including the TDF gene) must be included in the XX male's genetic material, and, conversely, be missing from the XY female.

Using a technique called deletion mapping, Page found these similar stretches of DNA which were missing from an XY female but included in the XX male. Two outstanding cases were an XX male who had only 0.5% of the Y chromosome, and an XY female who contained all but 0.2% of Y. Page calls the sex determining region in this area interval 1A2, and after analyzing about 90 male and female sex-reversed patients, says there is an "absolute correlation" between an individual having interval 1A2 and being male.

The 230 kilobase stretch of DNA that has been cloned from interval 1A2 contains a region which appears to be protein coding, presumably for TDF. Computer analysis of the protein product from this region which contains structures known as DNA binding "fingers." These fingers are similar to those found in other proteins known to be involved in the regulation of protein-encoding genes. Thus, a possible pathway for sex determination has been found, with the TDF protein causing increased or decreased production of other proteins leading to development of the male.

Page has found genes similar to his TDF in other species of mammal such as cow, horse, goat, monkey, dog, gorilla, and rabbit. It also has been found in some species of birds, which is very interesting because they have essentially an opposite scheme for sex determination, the ZZ/ZW system where ZZ is male and ZW is female. All this information shows that the gene is amazingly conserved between different species, so must be quite important to all.

One interesting but puzzling note is that there seems to be a homologous gene to TDF on the human X chromosome. This fact throws a monkey wrench into the XX/XY system and confuses the "switch on/off" analogy because females also contain a version of TDF. Page has already mustered a number of explanations, including a theory that both genes are needed to produce a male, or that the X gene is inactivated in females.

These questions are still unanswered. But the research of Dr. Page and associates has made one thing clear: sex on paper can indeed be very exciting. Ω

Henry N. Higgs is a graduate student in molecular biology at the Laboratories for Reproductive Biology at UNC, and eventually hopes to clone himself.

By Michael Lowrey

IS OUR LEGISLATURE PREPARED TO FAVOR CHANCE?

Like the sparrows returning to Capristrano, it seems every time an election campaign begins or the general assembly convenes, the issue of whether the State of North Carolina should have a lottery is sure to come up. This year has proven to be no exception as democratic candidate for lieutenant governor Harold Hardison has made his support of a state lottery a central aspect of his campaign. As an issue pitting a possible source of state revenue in a time when the state is looking for ways of increasing its revenue base against the religious and moral beliefs of a large number of North Carolinians, the desirability of a state lottery is likely to remain a highly controversial issue for a long time to come.

At issue is not the ability of a lottery to raise revenue for the state; this has been well demonstrated in other states and nations. Hardison estimates that some $100 - $220 million could be raised for, under his proposal, schools a year. Rather the issues generating all the smoke and fire about a lottery involve whether a lottery amounts to gambling which some people find contrary to their religion and, hence, immoral and if a lottery would merely encourage those least able to afford to play in a lottery to do so and, potentially, waste their money and ruin their families as a result.

The question of whether a lottery equals gambling is largely a matter of definition. It is generally agreed that games such as poker or blackjack, when played for money, are forms of gambling. They are also games of skill, in which one assesses one's own assets and makes judgements about the relative assets of one's opponents. Such games are also usually illegal in this country (and certainly in this state) when one is playing for money. On the other hand, raffles and bingo are considered not to be gambling and are legal, within certain limits, in this state and elsewhere. Raffles and bingo amount to pure games of chance, in which participants are hoping that their entry is drawn or certain numbers come up sooner rather than later.

A lottery is nothing more than a game of chance, based on hitting the right number or number combinations just like bingo or a drawing. Winners are those people who predicted which numbers would be *randomly* selected or through sheer good fortune bought the ticket with the winning number on it. As in bingo or a raffle, absolutely no skill is involved. Clearly, if a lottery is gambling and should be banned as such, one cannot be consistent in allowing bingo or raffles as they are merely slightly modified forms of lotteries. Should one find bingos allowable if the money goes to charity or an otherwise worthy cause, again one cannot argue with any consistence that the state should not be allowed to hold a lottery since the state would presumable put the money to good use, for say, improvements in education.

The issue of lotteries enticing the poor to spend their money on lottery tickets rather than other, more useful or necessary purposes, is largely a non-issue. We cannot forget that entering a lottery is a voluntary act. No one is forced to buy a lottery ticket. There are those who would argue that lotteries are encouraging people to use their money unwisely and, hence, the state shouldn't have a lottery. Unfortunately, in an age when one is exposed to multitudes of advertisements trying daily to get people to spend their money on virtual everything imaginable, should the state decide to protect people from themselves it would have to do much more than not have a lottery.

If all those people who raised it truly cared about the regressivity of state revenue generation methods, taxes and otherwise, and the poor, why does this state still have a sales tax on an item every poor person must consume daily: food? Can any tax be more unfair to the poor than a tax on the basic necessity of life? Judging by the unbelievable huge ground swell that exists in this state to eliminate the sales tax on food, the answer is apparently yes.

This is not to say lotteries are sound investments. They cleary are not. One has vastly better chances of making money in Las Vegas or Atlantic City. Yet, if the choice is between a tax increase or a state lottery, a lottery is a far better choice. After all, lotteries are voluntary and some people do come out ahead. And they are a lot of fun. Ω

"To have data bouncing off a satellite isn't exactly news.
"But when it's headlines and stories and color photos going to printing plants in 33 cities, that *is* news; it's USA Today.
"The satellite is Contel's."
CONTEL.
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In the Zoo

By David Hood

CGLA FUNDING: A REFERENDUMRETROSPECTIVE

Well, the issue is finally settled. Or is it?

A referendum to defund the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association (CGLA) was passed by the student body in the February 16 elections. The final count: 58% for defunding, 42% against.

Although the resolution was a strictly non-binding one, the results are nevertheless an important contribution to the CGLA funding debate. No longer can the leftist voices on campus claim that opposition to the compulsory funding of a particular student group is a minority position. Even though the turnout for the vote was no more than 25% of the student population, the CGLA loss still indicates that a majority of students who *care to vote* decided to support the resolution.

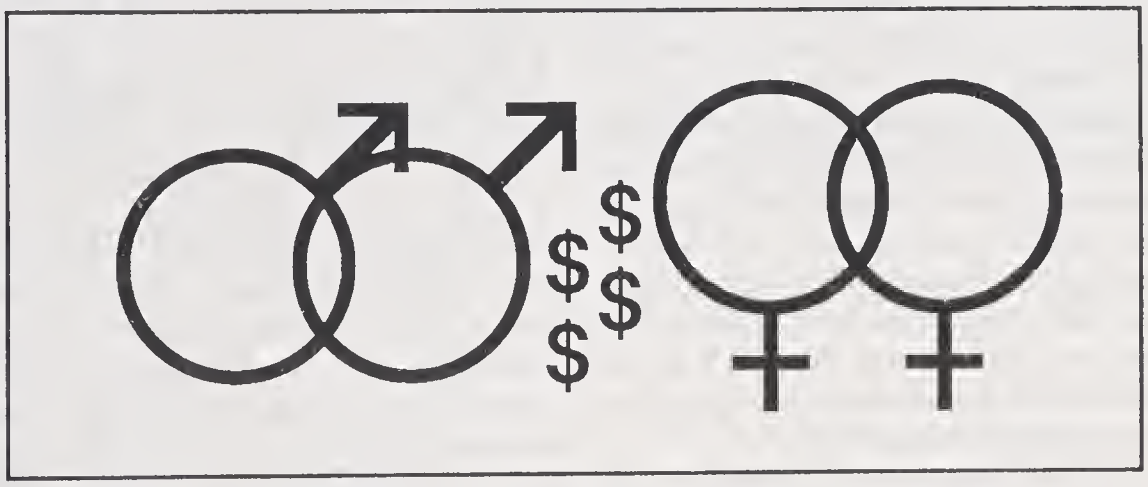
What happens now? Well it is entirely possible that our supposed democratic representatives will simply ignore our opinion. After all, we normal students are not as "socially conscious" of the plight of homosexual men and women as are our more "enlightened" (read: leftist) student leaders. Well-meaning electees will stomp on the notion of accountability for student fees in order to protect what is usually referred to as the "rights of the minority."

Perhaps these people have studied a different Bill of Rights than the rest of us have. Protecting the minority translates into stopping anti-gay *violence*, not extorting money for a blatantly political cause by holding your college diploma for ransom. No matter what you may think of the position held by homophobes, they certainly have a right to their opinion in a society which is purported to be based on the integrity of free thought. By taking the position that people do not have a right to believe what they wish, these CGLA advocates have overstepped the legitimate bounds of protecting their rights to be free from physical abuse.

The reaction of the CGLA to the referendum is interesting as well. Claiming the 42% approval rate as a victory, they argue that they were not expecting to win the referendum, just avoid a major defeat. (Sounds like presidential candidates in Iowa, doesn't it?) This may *not* be the cop-out that it seems. At the ame time, one cannot just write off the fact hat a majority of those students that voted in he last election were highly critical of mandaory funding of their organization.

These people do have a point, however. There is no objective manner in which one can rgue that the CGLA should be singled out for efunding, just because a significant amount of people despise this group specifically. The real issue here is mandatory funding for *any* student organization. The powers-that-be should respect the integrity of their student population, and "defund" everything. If students think that WXYC should receive their money, then they could voluntarily send in a check. On the other hand, if they would rather buy a Jolt cola on Franklin Street with that same money, then the doctrine of free choice would allow them to do so.

In other words, the CGLA funding debate serves primarily as a test issue, and not the end of the push for greater individual autonomy. The next resolution on the ballot should actually call for the dismantling of student fees altogether, from funding the CGLA to the *Daily Tar Heel*. As John Hood argued in the November 1988 *Critic*, student organizations could solicit funding themselves, if they really had any significant student constituency.



Now one issue brought up by CGLA funding advocates is the nature of the defunding movement itself. They should be thankful. On the Dartmouth campus, a group of conservatives got together and formed the Bestiality Society, a group which attempted to parody the gay organization when it argued that they had a right to student money just because they had a different sexual preference. One may question their tactics, but it did force the campus to look critically at the philosophical underpinnings of the arguments. The resolution attempted to do the same, on a slightly more sedate level. There is certainly nothing wrong with questioning the CGLA's position; unless, of course, we simply accept the prevailing wisdom that people have a right to funding just because they are different.

I know, that's not exactly right. There is also the position, held by recently elected Student Body President Kevin Martin, that the CGLA should be funded due to the indispensable services that it provides to the student body. Let's look at this more closely. One of these services is AIDS education. Now this is primarily a health issue, according to most observers. Why doesn't our perspicacious Student Health Service take on this responsibility, if indeed it is something that the student body should be forced to pay for, even if they do not want it? It would certainly de-politicize the issue to take this health education responsibility away from a group based on sexual preference.

Secondly, the CGLA argues that they should receive student funding because they provide a support group for alienated homosexuals. This is a somewhat more legitimate operation, assuming that one believes that the government should take on this responsibility. Other support groups exist in our society that do not receive money from extortion; they solicit funding from private sources (philanthropists, foundations, etc.). This would require more work on the part of the CGLA staff, but there is an important philosophical issue here as to the legitimate powers of government to tax and spend.

Overall, this issue just goes to show that something is wrong with the budget process on some level. There is something wrong with an electoral process that has 5 out of 7 SBP candidates endorsing a position which nearly 60% of the student body opposes; with the 2 others being chastised for being out of sync with reality!

It is high time to totally revamp the manner in which we think of student funding as an institution. If we truly believe in the sanctity of individual choice, which is supposedly a basis for American civilization, then we must end the repressive suppression of alternative views by forcing their inherents to financially support their opposition. Which is a lot like taxing *The Catalyst* to pay for *The Carolina Critic*.

Hey, wait a minute. I think I'm on to something here... Ω

By Jeff Taylor

THE CHINA CARD: ACE OR JOKER?

Throughout the Sixties there was talk in foreign policy circles of taking advantage of the schism that had developed between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The idea was to wean the PRC away from the Soviets and make them an ally. This was known as playing the "China Card."

As we all know Kissinger and Nixon decided to play the card in 1972. And in 1979 Jimmy Carter upped the ante by recognizing the PRC as the only China. Since then relations between the PRC and the US have been on a steady upswing. The US is on the verge of restructuring its political and military strategy on the assumption that the PRC is, in the words of the State Department, "a friendly, and non-aligned nation." It seems, then, it's time to closely examine the hand we've dealt ourselves and decide how much of US national security we want to gamble on the PRC.

Make no mistake, the previous policy toward the PRC was a disaster. Foreign policy, any policy for that matter, must conform to reality. You do not conform to reality by pretending that one billion people do not exist...

The real art to foreign policy and diplomacy is to discover where common interests are present. The US and the PRC no doubt share many common interests. Both want to check Soviet naval activities in the Pacific and both want Vietnam out of Cambodia. But these are short-term concurrences. Both nations have wildly different ultimate goals, and that fact must be remembered.

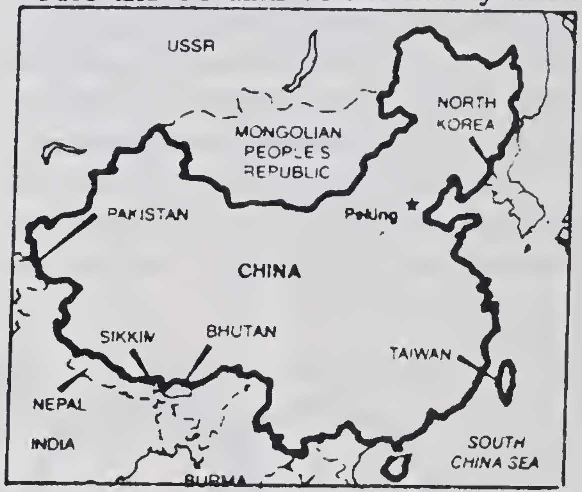
China has always put its interests first, as well it should, when formulating its foreign policy. She aids the Mujahadeen in Afghanistan not because it is a just cause, but because it is easy for them to do so. It keeps up the pressure on their old enemies, scores points with the political Right in the US, and most importantly, placates their own huge Muslim population. Beijing should not be condemned for looking out for number one; rather its motivations must be clearly understood.

The PRC is also motivated by the need to acquire Western technology. Deng and his followers understood that a thousand Great Leaps Forward could not accomplish what one deal with IBM or GE could. And it is very much in US interests to cultivate the Chinese market. If we do not the West Europeans or Japanese surely will surely take our place. The only real concern is that the highest of the high-tech military applications be kept out of Chinese hands.

In order to purchase Western gadgetry, Beijing needs to have hard currency. To obtain the hard currency the Chinese have entered the profitable and dependable arms market in force. By some accounts, the PRC is the largest weapon supplier to the Gulf War, cynically selling arms to both sides.

Iran's much celebrated Silkworm missiles are just part of what they receive. The Mullahs' minions also receive small arms and artillery from the PRC. And the missile that almost hit a US ship several weeks ago was of Chinese design. That missile, an air-launched version of the Silkworm called the C601, is sold to the Iraqis for use against Gulf shipping... It is clear why the Chinese do not favor an arms embargo to the warring states.

PRC and US aims do not exactly mesh when it comes to North Korea, either. The PRC is the closest thing the North Koreans have to an ally. The Chinese don't seem too upset by the North Koreans blowing civilian airliners out of the sky. But US-Chinese rapprochement has brought some to question the need for US troops in South Korea. Paul Kennedy, whose book *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers* contends that the US cannot possibly honor all her global commitments, has suggested that a withdrawal from the Korean Peninsula might now be possible. This position assumes that China will always remain"friendly" to the US, and that North Korea is a rational, predictable state. Both assumptions are highly dubious.



There is also much disagreement between the US and the PRC on the issue of Taiwan. Beijing was very upset when Congress recently passed a resolution in support of Taiwan's independence. China seems continually perplexed by the amount of support Taiwan enjoys in this country. The PRC assumed that when Taiwan lost its recognition it would be ignored as Mainland China was before. But just last year Chapel Hill hosted the Taiwanese representative in the US, who is an ambassador in all but name. Meanwhile, the new government in Taipei has called on the PRC to renounce violence as a way to achieve reunification.

The biggest sore spot in Sino-American relations in recent months, though, has been the brutal suppression of anti-Chinese demonstrations in Tibet. Fourteen people were killed and scores injured in clashes that were reminiscent of Mao's Red Guards and their first invasion of the country.

To this provocation the US did react, however mildly. Two low level Chinese diplomats were expelled in November. The Chinese reaction was then quite restrained.

But when Congress members met with the exiled Dalai Lama, the PRC issued a statement that made it very clear that there are big differences in the way the US and China view the world. A top foreign affairs official, Huan Ziang, a few weeks age accused the US for "believing they have the monopoly on truth without considering changing world situations and the interests of other countries." What that means, other than the Chinese have a Hegelian notion of truth, is what's true for the US, or simply *true*, might not be so in China. For example, the Chinese deny selling Silkworms to Iran despite the fact the whole world has seen them in photographs taken by private surveillance satellites. Remember, this is a "friendly" nation.

We need not even touch on China's domestic problems that cause the US concern. We will simply grant that whether a country forces abortions on its women is irrelevant to how we treat that nation. We'll pretend that foreign policy should be made in a moral vacuum, and should only take the pragmatic approach.

Still, there is good reason to question where our current relationship with China is headed. Does the US intend to pursue closer relations with China at the expense of the proto-capitalist societies that are forming in South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore? Is the US prepared to demand that Beijing live up to the agreement it made when it takes over Hong Kong in a decade? What exactly are the kinds of military technology we won't sell to the Chinese?

Every good gambler knows his limits, knows when the risks outweigh the returns. US/China relations are coming to a point where the stakes are getting very high. China could continue to be helped down the road to freedom or could unexpectedly revert to tyranny with the "right" leader in the Forbidden City. The US needs to decide if it is going to fold or raise all bets. Ω

STARS, BARS, BELLS, AND POPLARS

by Jeff Evans

Recent weeks have seen a wave of editorial condemnation of Confederate symbolism in the form of the battle flag. When two gentlemen wrote *The Daily Tar Heel* suggesting that affection for the flag might be a benign expression of regional pride, the Forces of Progress were stirred. Sniffy contempt was audible: I think I heard about these people on "60 Minutes" once, but how did they get here to the Campus of Enlightenment? Aren't these the kinds of people who wear hats and drive pickups?

Judging from all the "I'm from the South and I don't support the rebel flag" editorializing, the spirit of Progress is alive and well at UNC. But while we are busy making the world safe for Tolerance by excoriating those states which persist in honoring the Symbol of Hate, shouldn't we set a positive example by removing everything from our campus which anyone might possibly find offensive? Consider some of the offensive symbols which still remain right here is Chapel Hill...

Take the Bell Tower, for instance. Since some of the men to whom it is dedicated were veterans of the Confederate army, it obviously stands as a tribute to slavery. How long will its bells continue to sound the bitter toll of injustice? Can the stain of bigotry be blasted off along with the red paint?

Various campus buildings bear the names of other rebel soldiers. So what if these men were prominent alumni of UNC! In keeping with the spirit of Progress, shouldn't these buildings be renamed in honor of more just and deserving (and less offensive) figures? Why not change Pettigrew to, say, Malcolm X Hall?

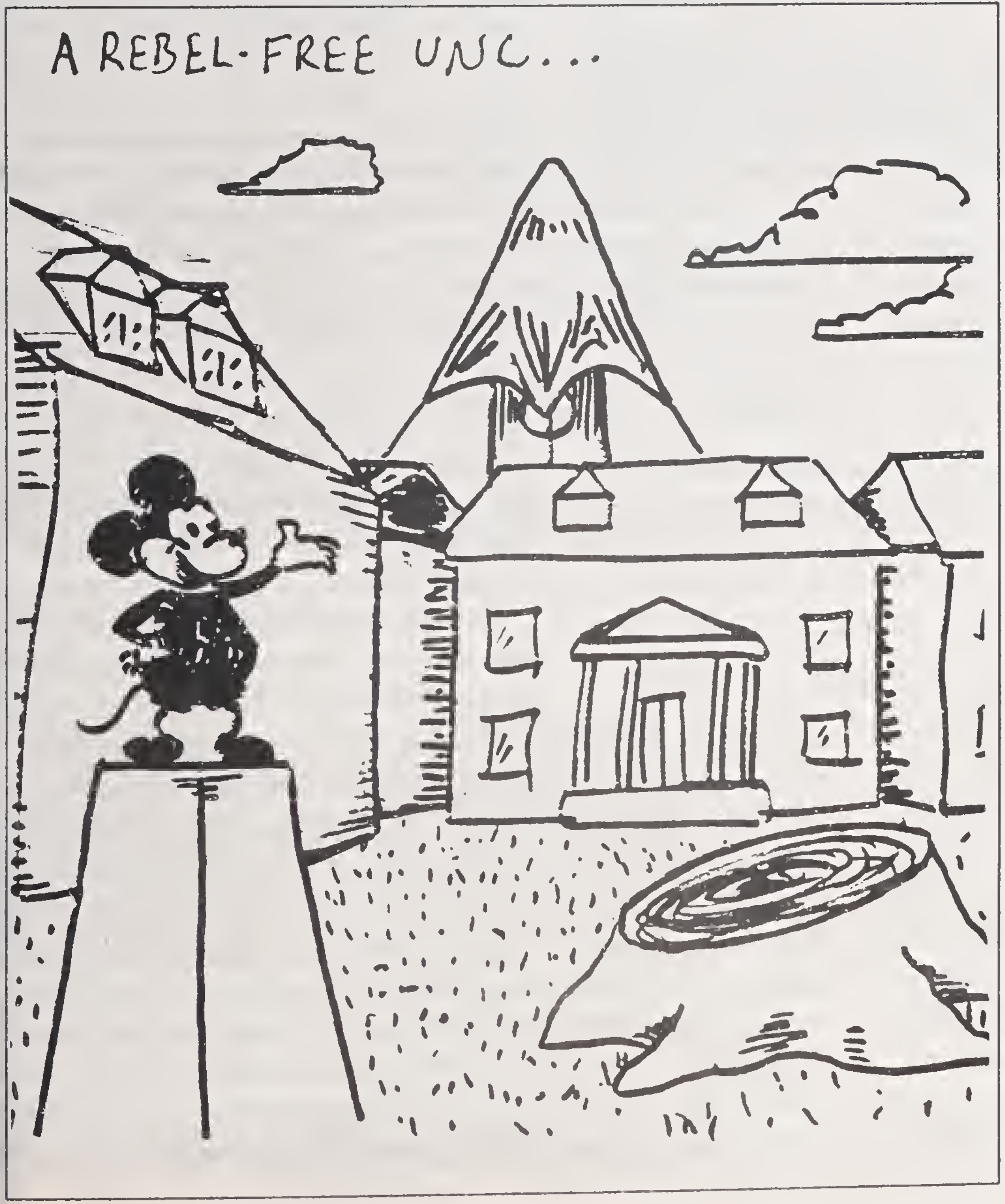
Don't forget that vile symbol of racism, the Davie Poplar. Many will recall that it has been standing since the Civil War times. How can this relic from the Old South be allowed a place of honor on our campus?

In order to make this campus truly inoffensive, we should make a grand atoning gesture while purging ourselves of evil symbols. How about chopping the Davie Poplar into firewood and stacking it around that metallic malignancy, the "Silent Sam" Confederate memorial? As the flames lick up around the monument, all True Progressives could circle around, join hands, and sing "We Shall Overcome" (and maybe, "Yankee Doodle Dandy", too.) Ω

GANDHI WITH A BAT

by Russell Williams

Protesting is an established and honorable tradition of the political process. The typical purpose of the protest is to galvanize public opinion on an issue, in order to force govern-


A REBEL-FREE UNC...

THE CAROLINA CRITIC

IS LOOKING FOR A FEW GOOD WRITERS, ARTISTS, EDITORS, AND SALESMEN AND WOMEN.

QUITE A FEW.

IF YOU THINK YOU'RE QUITE A FEW GOOD MEN AND WOMEN, THEN COME TO THE NEXT STAFF MEETING OF THE CAROLINA CRITIC.
WE MEET EVERY WEDNESDAY
IN THE CAROLINA STUDENT UNION
AT 7:00

WE'D LIKE TO MEET YOU.

Whatever Comes to Mind

Have you ever seen a walrus with the flu? It is not a pretty sight.

The editoral board has ruled out my desired use of atomics on any and all candidates in any and all elections for at least a year. "Dear Walrus, we thought you liked the circus!" I have the flu. "Walrus, old fellow, atomic bombs don't just grow on trees, where would you get one?" It's still R.R.'s America, and I'll manage.

Under "of cabbages and kings" this month we find a full menu. First we have representing cabbage, and soon to be cole-slaw, one Mecham, ex-governor of Arizona. Laugh, laugh. The trouble is, he got elected. Really. This worries me. Suppose Lyndon LaRouche got elected? Naw, that's like saying that we might vote in a retired B movie actor right after a peanut farmer....Then there's cabbage as in money, as in Louisiana. Puurraaaiissee Gawd! We come to the kings portion of the program. Kings, as emperors, and as in the Book of Kings, which methinks had in it somewhere a tale of one of God's anointed and a woman in disreputable circumstances. The only Difference the walrus sees between brother Swaggart and brother Baker (remember him?) is the Distance. From the women and the pulpit. By the way brother Swaggart, Voltaire is pronounced to rhyme with 'whole dare', not 'whole dairy'.

Back to reality. No, not yet, we haven't ponderoused(new verb, take note)- the student elections. Heh, heh. Walrusii *know* how elections are won. They're based on how people look. Martin, you had a great poster. Maynard, someone among your opponents obviously arranged yours. Poston, I never saw a poster of you, but as I thought you deranged this did not bring tears. Never give opportunities to a crazy person. Congrats to you, Jean. I've enjoyed most of what I've read by you thus far. But your "real experts" article (March 3) left me rather preplexed. Other than just being shallow and argumentive, as it offered no constructive suggestions, half the space was spent in a discussion of the flaws in the Black Cultural Center. What about the major flaw in the Indian, Native American, Oriental, and may I be forgiven, the White, Cultural Centers. Yes, I agree that racism is a problem on this campus, but so I find is a type of reverse, a seclusionism, and the Center might become a icon of it.

Walrusii feel that, in private, with who, how, and why, is the business of you, the other(s), and whatever you believe in , if any. Dear me, the CGLA gets $0.09 of the absurd sum I must render unto Caeser at the begining of every semester. Twoop, Twoop, Twoop-Wabba, Wabba, Wabba. I'm much more concerned with the amount given over to Student Government, the BSM, and Student Television, the latter of which I have yet to see.

Now to address the latest offering from Political Violence in Action, elsewhere known or excused as the end justifies the means. What would we do without the Dale McKinleyCourse in making friends and influencing people. Probably study the things we came here to study in the first place with fewer annoying interruptions. I despise the CIA. I also despise the behavior in the first and latest CIAAC riots. A plague on both your houses. You CIAACers destroyed the dignity of your hunger strike for a Pyrrhic victory. Pfui.

Whoever put the lights around the Old Well (pay attention senior class) has no sense of tradition, taste, or *chi*. Someone who did something like that might do away with the ugly, useful volleyball *cum* picnic area *cum* sunning circle in front of Bynum, shearing away the trees, swathing it with concrete and installing some tacky fountain. Imagine. Someone with the soul of a postcard. Definitely.

" Walrus dear, whatever are you doing?" Throwing grenades, amusing myself until the atomic engine of destruction and satisfaction I ordered arrives. If the Iranians can get what they want, a citizen such as myself should be able to place even more interesting orders. And have it delivered to designation... by Air. I'm vituping. Figure that one out.

Be with us next issue when the walrus goes to the kitchen to tell you how to barbecue Heidi, or for those not caring for human sacrifice(and if so why are you still reading this column?) we shall demonstrate with Bambi, using those valuable Super Tuesday syrup rations, without running the risk of political diabetes. Until then, *bon appetit*. Ω

—*The Walrus.*

---

ment leaders to respond to the wishes of the people. The idea is to mobilize the people into accepting your viewpoint, which is presumably so obviously morally correct that they will leap into your camp at your first suggestion. If they don't, well, bat them over the head with a few more protests until they get the picture. Unfortunately, all too often a protest is organized by the self-righteous and the aggravating, and the end result is not a swaying of public opinion for their cause, rather an alienation brought on by brow-beating tactics. Such is the case with the current Anti-CIA protest, an example of how not to conduct aprotest.

The first Anti-CIA protest, of course, was a complete success in irritating the general public at large. From the running up and down halls yelling slogans while classes were being held to the chaining themselves in front of the door so that students could not get into the interview, everything the protestors did was childish and patronizing. The overall theme is that we the students are just not intelligent enough to look out for ourselves, and if we do not have the good sense to avoid a job with the CIA, well, somebody has to help us. If the Anti-CIA protestors were not around, why, we might get a job with the CIA thinking Central Intelligence Agency stood for some sort of Mensa group. This protest excited hostility towards the protestors, and they apparently learned their lesson, because after they got through with their joke of a court case, they seemed to have learned one or two things from their first attempt and were ready for their next.

I was just getting ready to hit him from behind with my book bag when it suddenly occurred to me: *What if I'm not right?*

In the beginning of this attempt, it seemed fairly reasonable. The protestors went on a hunger strike against the CIA. Now, how they went wrong here is amazing, since it is not the most sympathetic of targets, and it's reasonably difficult to aggravate people with just a hunger strike. After all, they're not affecting anybody directly, they're just letting us know how they feel about the issue.

And yet, they did it. Against all odds, they annoyed me in a way I scarcely dreamed possible. Everyday, I would pick up the DTH and read yet another gem from the mouth of Dale McKinley. My favorite one was, "people will support us, because we're morally right." Pleased to meet you Morally Right. Apparently, I'm Mr. wrong, because I do not agree with his stance on the CIA. Believe me, it's a real aggravation not being Morally Right. I'm doing well to be Mr. Philosophically Coherent. Just yesterday I was coming down the street, when I saw somebody arguing for Simon. I was just getting ready to hit him from behind with my book bag when it suddenly occurred to me: *What if I'm not right?* I tell you, these doubts cripple me in my ability to deal with responsible opposition.

At this point, they were just an aggravation, a pain in the *DTH* which would hopefully disappear as one by one they discovered that fasting might be detrimental fo their health. Then, in a surprise move, the University remained firm and did not cave into their demands. Fordham decided to allow the CIA to come, even though it was in his power to keep the CIA off campus. It seemed as though the fast was to be in vain.

However, the CIA then decided not to recruit on campus. The decision was apparently made with the hunger strike in mind, and the CIA did not wish to come and stir up trouble. The interviews would still go on, but they would not be on campus, so students who wished to interview would have to go over to University Inn to do so. If it was recruiting on campus that was causing the trouble, they felt they could solve the problem by recruiting off campus.

Hah! Shows what they know! In a bold, daring expedition, the Anti-CIA protestors showed up at University Inn, rented a room next to the recruiter, and after dripping some red liquid in front of his door in a fit of passion, threw objects into his room and screamed slogans at him. Boy, that's what I call responsible protest. The interviewer called it quits, apparently more inclined towards avoiding trouble with frothing protestors than recruiting. The Anti-CIA protestors followed him in a car and a motorcycle, intent on making sure that he did not go somewhere else in town to recruit. Yep, it's been a long time since we've seen somebody run out of town by the "morally correct". Sadly, the protestors were unable to obtain tar and feathers, but that's student budgets for you.

Societies condemn protest

On Monday, February 29th, the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies, UNC's oldest student organization, passed the following resolution:

A Resolution Concerning Recent Actions of Students
Associated With the CIA Action Committee

Whereas the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies founded self-government by students at this University, formulated the Code of Student Conduct, and shall continue to maintain an interest in the dignity of the University, and

Whereas the Societies, while recognizing the role of legitimate protest in bringing concerns to the attention of the public, also recognize that there is a point beyond which protest becomes anarchy and rebellion, and

Whereas, on Tuesday, February 23rd of this year diverse students engaged in activities that may be characterized as intimidating, hostile, and violent, which are unbecoming to a member of this academic community, and

Whereas, acting under that freedom of speech which is ensured by the Constitution they effected a denial of this same right to others, thus exhibiting a hypocritical disdain for the basic responsiblities of citizens of these United States and/or members of this academic community, and

Whereas this is the second abuse by these students, the first involving the disruption of classes during the preceding fall semester, thus interfering with the true purpose of the University and with the right of the students to pursue their education unencumbered by unnecessary and gratuitous histrionics,

Therefore Be It Resolved that the Joint Senate of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies condemns the reported actions of these students, and urges a thorough investigation; and should these reports be borne out, urges that appropriate measures be levied against them.

Passed at the sixth meeting of the second session of the 193rd year of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies, February 29, 1988.

Up until now, I've mostly run over the facts because I feel they're incriminating enough. Public opinion has been overwhelmingly against the protestors, with the exception of one letter from Mary Rider, a graduate student in Social Work, who, in a letter to the *DTH*, invoked the words of Martin Luther King, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." I firmly believe that, and the actions of the Anti-CIA protestors constitute a terrible injustice: to the recruiter, to the University, and to the students. They have inflicted their views upon the student body by the age old tactics of harassment and intimidation. Maybe they didn't think their case was strong enough, maybe they thought people might have their own views on the subject. Apparently, having the wrong views removes our rights, because the protestors' only justification of their actions is that they are morally right, and therefore can remove students of their rights.

This kind of thinking is repugnant. As Brandeis said, "The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding." I believe that the Anti-CIA protestors have good intentions, but then again, I believe that Jesse Helms has good intentions. I find the actions of the protestors as despicable as those of the Moral Majority. They are perfectly willing to run over my rights to obtain their goals. In view of this, I have decided to strike back. If anyone wishes to have their resumes forwarded to the CIA, but does not have the time to go through the channels, send them to:

CIA Resume Depot
c/o Russell Williams
2-K Estes Park
Carrboro, NC 27510

Just send them to me in a sealed envelope, and I will hand deliver them to the CIA when I go for my interview at the end of this month. None of the envelopes will be tampered with, and they will be given to the CIA with the intent of setting up interviews on campus before the end of the year. There will be no charge whatsoever for this service.

Dale McKinley summed up the protest by calling it a victory. I think it was a victory for the CIA. The Anti-CIA protestors have accomplished what millions of dollars in advertising and propaganda were unable to do: they made the CIA look sympathetic and victimized. Far from reacting as the evil terrorist, they preferred compromise to conflict. It is the Anti-CIA protestors who look bad, while the CIA has come off smelling like a rose. Responsible student protest has been set back by their actions. The most disturbing comment was a quote by University Inn general manager Charles Nottingham on the actions of the protestors. "This is a University town. We realize that's part of the college atmosphere." Unfortunately, this seems to be all too true. Ω

Russell Williams is an English and Economics major from Greensboro.

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE
present
Dr. Dwight R. Lee
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS
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"Ideology and Contemporary Economics"
Wednesday, March 23rd, 7:00 pm
check the *DTH* for room

BLACK COMMUNITY MUST SEEK STRENGTH WITHIN

by Rob Foster

Later this year we will honor the 20th anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King Jr. Undoubtedly, this will bring back a lot of discussion over the issue of civil rights. The two issues of most importance will be: where are we now? And, where do we go from here?

Where we are now is an easy question to answer. Discrimination still exists. Although more individual blacks have integrated into the higher echelons of the business community, the great majority are still mired in the lower tiers of America's economic system. These conditions have placed the black child in sub-standard educational facilities, handicapping him and his race. Clearly the approach taken to end these problems has not succeeded. Understanding why these policies have failed, and what possible actions can be taken to steer a new course, is vital.

The failure of the civil rights movement resulted from an over application of their first goal, ending segregation.

Segregation, as it existed in the American South was immoral; it divided the races, labelling one class as inferior. The black community, led by Martin Luther King, campaigned courageously to break down all of the physical barriers to integration. The movement then went one step further, actively encouraging integration in all aspects of public life. The idea that a black community would have to totally assimilate with whites has stagnated the growth of the black community.

Affirmative action does not have the ability to rescue the black community. True, on numerous occasions it has exposed discriminatory hiring practices. But as a tool for social reform it falls far short of its goals. For black suburban yuppies ("grays", as one observer described them) affirmative action opens some doors. For the black ghetto youth, however, professional sports are still the most accessible road to security. In a business community, where hiring policies are based more on personal contacts than qualifications, integrating in a white male-dominated company is very difficult.

The black community needs to regain the vision laid down by Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael that came to be known as "Black Power." To achieve equal social status with the white community, socially and economically, the black community must take control of their own destiny. They must control their local governments and begin to establish their own economic infrastructure. That is not to say that these companies should be all black, just dominated by black interests, in the same manner most companies today are dominated by white interests.

Fortunately there have been several trends towards this direction. Several large cities, despite racist opposition, have elected black mayors. Jesse Jackson's campaigns have led to higher voter registration among the black community. Even on this campus there has been a drive to increase the presence of black culture to help aid in recruitment. The organizations which exist to help blacks in financing education and entrepreneurship are a step in the right direction. There is still a long way to go, however. The current economic system is dominated by large white companies, which hampers the ability of new companies to form.

The black community is faced with a two-edged sword. Economic growth is necessary to provide the funds to establish new enterprises, but it also strengthens the white-dominated system. Black political leaders must use their power to encourage local businesses, even to the point of discrimination against other products. Without such a policy, the black community will continue to exist on the fringe of society, with isolated inroads into the mainstream. Forever dreaming, but never waking up.

Rob Foster is a senior History major.

PRO-NUCLEAR

(Continued from page 2)

of all nuclear power plants combined adds less than 0.01 millirem to the average person's yearly exposure; this, as you can see, is *much* less than medicine, air travel, or TV.

A few years ago, when CP&L's Shearon Harris plant was nearing completion, a letter appeared in the Daily Tar Heel from a member of the faculty worried about the dangers of low-level radiation from the plant. He said he might move away to avoid the radiation. Where?

Denver.

The extra radiation to the public, all taken together, from the operation of a large (1000-megawatt) nuclear plant for one year, totals about 5000 millirems. This translates, as described above, into a statistically expected 0.001 cancer deaths per plant per year. If we add other sources of radiation exposure from nuclear power, such as uranium mining and processing, and add up the radiation exposure for future generations too, we get a rather higher figure, about 0.4 eventual cancer deaths per year of operation of the power plant.

This includes nuclear waste disposal. Despite how things seem from bureaucratic bumbling and a partly political debate over where to put a repository for the very radioactive "high-level" waste from spent nuclear fuel, we can dispose of this waste relatively safely. We want to do this as carefully as possible to minimize the risk, and as we learn more about waste disposal, the preferred method may change. Critics then point out that "we aren't sure how to do it" as if this means we have no idea how to do it at all.

Burial deep beneath the ground has been shown to be a good candidate method for high-level waste disposal. One study assumed that the waste was buried at a *randomly* chosen location, a half-mile underground, and assumed it was as likely to escape as the naturally occurring radium in the rock and soil above, all the way up to and including the surface. This is a very generous assumption, giving no weight at all to care in selecting a burial site, packaging the waste, and so on; yet it gives only 0.01 cancer deaths over a million years, for one plant's yearly production of high-level waste. A more realistic estimate places the risks at a lower level. While high-level waste does remain dangerous for many thousands of years, the worst of the danger disappears after only a few hundred. The fatal dose is then about half a pound; many household chemicals are more toxic than that.

What about nuclear accidents? Nuclear power plants have been operating for decades, and the fact that we have not had an accident worse than Three Mile Island gives us an upper bound: about 5 or 10 deaths per reactor per year.

(I just ignored Chernobyl. Not only was the plant inherently dangerous, it was practically sabotaged by its own staff.)

In the spirit of asking "what's the least dangerous way to do it?" we should compare the risks of nuclear power with those of other sources of electricity.

The air pollution from a large coal-burning power plant, in the form of sulfur and nitrogen oxides, toxic metals, cancer-causing hydrocarbons, etc., has been estimated to cause 25 to 74 deaths per year of operation, from respiratory disease and other things. Some coal-burning power plants release *more* radiation, from natural radioactivity in coal, han a nuclear plant would, and this radioacivity is much more long-lived. The pollution from coal has been shown to be a major cause of the acid rain that has sterilized some lakes n the Northeast and caused problems even in Canada. Some large dams have as many as .00,000 people at risk from a dam burst, so hat the potential for large accidents is not unique to nuclear power; and a dam burst would kill its victims in minutes or hours, not over decades. Oil and gas are too scarce and xpensive for extensive use in electricity generation, and we have cut their use back ramatically in recent years.

Is nuclear power too dangerous? Not ompared to the alternatives!

For instance, the Three Mile Island acci-ent resulted in one death from radiation — nd 50-150 deaths, the first year, from pollu-on, if coal-fired plants were cranked up to replace the lost electricity.

But is nuclear power economical?

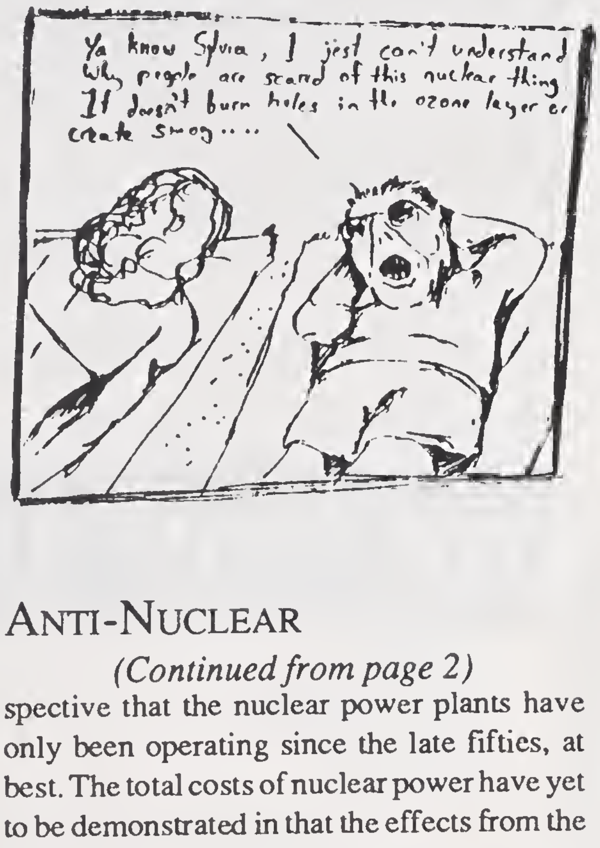
Some nuclear power plants are very expensive — like the Shearon Harris plant which cost $3.9 billion dollars for one 900-megawatt reactor. Others, more typical, are not — like Duke Power's Catawba plant, with two 1150-megawatt reactors, which cost less; over two and a half times cheaper per unit of electricity. Since the capital costs of nuclear's main competition, coal-fired power, are lower but the fuel costs are higher, there are trade-offs; but nuclear is still economically competitive. Other sources of power, except for hydroelectricity, are still more expensive; and a lack of suitable dam sites has been a problem since the late 1940's.

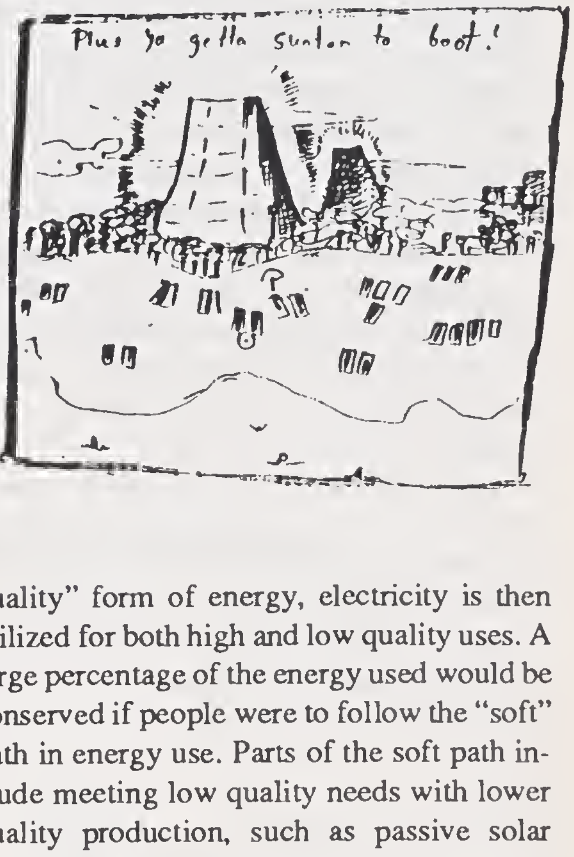
In the recent past, however, new power plants of any kind have become much more expensive, due to a variety of factors, and as electricity became more expensive, people began using less. This means that many power plants, including nuclear plants, have been delayed (increasing the costs still further when they are finished) or cancelled entirely. Power companies have been pushing for conservation to allow them to avoid building new power plants. Some people have argued that it is possible to avoid building any new power plants at all, by employing enough conservation measures. This may be so, but often it isn't happening. Winter and summer, CP&L and Duke Power both have been regularly setting new usage records, and both estimate they will need new power sources during the 1990's. Many other companies are in the same position.

Conservation is not without its risks, too. Tightening up houses to cut heating costs reduces energy use, but it concentrates indoor pollution. Sometimes this means radon, a natural radioactive element; so we can have radiation exposure from ill-considered conservation tactics too!

There is much room for efficiency improvement, as the utilities themselves recognize; but someone actually make the improvements, and if the public demands more power, it is the legal responsibility of the power companies to provide it. We should certainly not seek to build expensive power plants to promote the waste of energy; but neither should we seek to avoid using one of our cleanest, safest, and cheapest sources of electricity, nuclear power. Ω

John Jaynes is a Graduate student in Physics.


Ya know Sylvia, I jist can't understand Why people are scared of this nuclear thing. It doesn't burn holes in the ozone layer or create smog....


Plus yo getta suntan to boot!

ANTI-NUCLEAR

(Continued from page 2)

spective that the nuclear power plants have only been operating since the late fifties, at best. The total costs of nuclear power have yet to be demonstrated in that the effects from the first reactor meltdown (Chernobyl) will not be apparent for many years, if not generations, and that no one can ever promise protection against contamination from the high level redioactive waste that must be contained for thousands of years.

The answers to our energy problems can be found in the way society utilizes energy. So far, the utilities have followed what is known as the "hard" path of in supplying energy to the public. The hard path consists of building large power plants with an extensive distribution system for electricity. Being a "high quality" form of energy, electricity is then utilized for both high and low quality uses. A large percentage of the energy used would be conserved if people were to follow the "soft" path in energy use. Parts of the soft path include meeting low quality needs with lower quality production, such as passive solar heating. Large centralized power plants should only be considered where high quality energy is needed. The idea is to match the type of energy needed with the source that best fits the needs.

According to one of the world's leading experts on energy strategy, Amory Lovins, the United States can "quadruple its electrical efficiency, making it possible to run today's economy, with no changes in lifestyles, using no thermal power plants, whether old or new, and whether fueled with oil, coal, gas or uranium." He goes on to state that we would only need a modest amount of wind power combined with the present hydroelectric capacity if we were to practice a few simple conservation techniques:

- Eliminating pure waste of electricity, such as lighting empty offices.
- Displacing with good architecture, and with passive and some active solar techniques, the electricity now used for water heating, space heating, and cooling. Some U.S. utilities now offer zero-interest weatherization loans which need not be repaid for ten years, or until the house is sold — because it saves the companies millions of dollars compared with obtaining the electricity by building new power plants.
- Making lights, motors, appliances, smelters, and the like more efficient and cost-effective.

"…if we want to provide our energy services at a price we can afford," stated Mr. Lovins, "let's get straight what question our technologies are supposed to provide the answer to." Knowing what we really need energy for is the answer to the first question which should be asked about our energy demands. As a society we must emphasize the importance of starting with energy end uses rather than focusing on energy sources, such as building new power plants. Only after we have clearly exhausted all of the above cheaper alternatives should we consider building new central power stations of any kind, be they coal or nuclear. The environmental costs which are incompletely considered in the decision process of building new power plants are eventually brought out by such events as the Chernobyl accident, by the destruction of forests by acid rain, even across national borders, and by the loss of natural habitat resulting from the toxic emissions of both nuclear and fossil fuel generating plants. We can eliminate most of the environmental degradation, the known and even unknown consequences of producing high quality energy, by merely practicing simple, cost effective conservation techniques. Ω

Don Whittier is a UNC junior.

NUCLEAR STRATEGY

(Continued from page 10)

Assured Destruction posture, but would also protect our land-based retaliatory forces from first strike, thus offsetting any new capability the Soviets may have to detect our submarines — a capability that they either already have or are close to obtaining, according to Greg Fossedal of the Hoover Institution. Tactical defenses — anti-missile rockets deployed at key NATO facilities — would help weaken the Soviet theater nuclear force threat.

The United States should commit immediately to a defense transition, and begin deploying land-based systems, including the one ABM base allowed by the 1972 treaty in the United States. Perhaps this layer of terminal and point defense will be bolstered by SDI weapons in space; perhaps they will not. But we should recognize that NATO and the U.S. have *no* land-based strategic and tactical defenses by design, not because we don't know how to build them.

The bottom line is this: the nuclear balance is moving towards a new formulation, and U.S. strategy must be designed to respond to it. The threat is not so much the prospect of an actual Soviet attack in the near future — it is the potential for nuclear blackmail that the Soviet Empire is sure to exploit. If the free world is not sure of its ability to deter or to retaliate against attack, then it will have a tough time dealing forcefully with future Soviet or proxy adventurism around the globe. The tide of freedom and democracy, generally gaining momentum throughout the world, could be halted — or reversed. Ω

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PROMETHEUS BOOKS

Dateline: Washington

By John Hood

THE ECONOMICS OF PRIVATIZATION

One of the great failures of the Reagan presidency has been the inability of the fed-eral government to transfer services to the private sector.

Privatization as a practical plan for shrinking the state to manageable size has caught on in two countries, Great Britain and Canada, whose economic reforms in every other way follow Reagan's example. Assets and government-owned enterprises have been sold off to he workers and to the public-at-large, transforming inefficient and even corrupt bureaucracies into productive private operations. The side effects are greater empowerment of the public through ownership rather than state stewardship, and a hefty sum of revenue for he government treasury.

The United States is far behind in this area. This is ironic, because private efforts in fields raditionally thought of as the province of government have been crucial in the founding and growth of the American experiment. Virtually all of the early colonial expeditions were actually private ventures by financial and trade enterprises. Columbus's first voyage was, in effect, a public/private partnership — though Queen Isabella provided much capital, about a third of the funds needed were supplied by shipowner Martin Alonso Pinzon, who also captained the "Pinta" on the voyage. The Virginia Company of London Bankrolled the Jamestown colony. And two-hirds of those pilgrims aboard the Mayflower — including John Alden and Miles Standish — were hired and sent by private religious dissidents and a London joint stock company o advance trade interests.

Privateers did most of America's fighting n the high seas during the Revolution, the War of 1812, and even the much-vaunted U.S." naval action against the Barbary piates of North Africa. Westward expansion was almost entirely a private initiative, as most of America's roads, canals, and rail lines were actually built by entrepreneurs (indeed, ll the governments of early America could manage to do during their period was begin he noxious practice of granting monopolies o those companies who couldn't cut it out in he vibrant competition among transportation nd communication enterprises.) Remember he Pony Express? As one might have already uessed from its legendary efforts, the Pony xpress was not a U.S. Postal Service peration — it was begun by some smart busiessmen who grasped the profit potential in oast-to-coast communication. Even the xpress was soon supplanted by another priate venture: transcontinental telegraph lines.

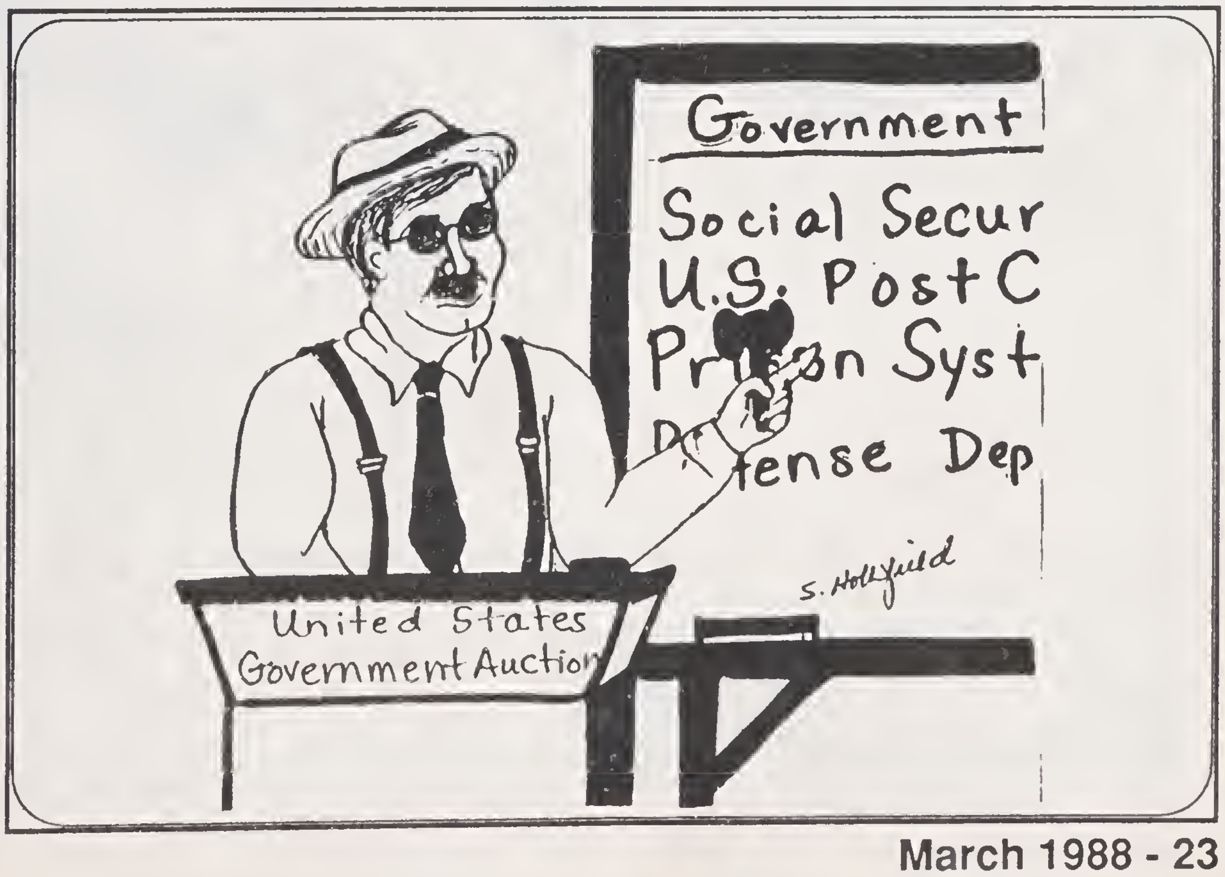
It was only after much of America's "infrastructure" had already been constructed by private firms did the state and federal governments move in. The Civil War brought part of the expansion of government operation and control over basic services, and corrupt monopoly granting made up for the rest.

But today, we view the provision of many services — from road operation to education to trash collection — as in need of government involvement out of necessity, when in fact many of these needs can be met more efficiently through private means. Privatization of services can be achieved through several different routes, depending on the program. Government can "contract out" operations like prisons and trash collection to private companies. "Vouchers" can be used like food stamps to bring market forces to bear on a plethora of government monopolies, from education to public housing. Using tax incentives and deregulation, government can "shed the load" of some services like health insurance, pensions, and day care to private companies, where the pressure of competition can increase efficiency and variety. And in many cases, government can "sell off" operations and assets to the workers or the general public.

There are many opportunities for savings through privatization in the current budget. For instance, public housing units could be sold at very low prices or even given away to low-income residents at a net savings to the treasury, since housing projects eat up billions of dollars in subsidies each year. Such an exercise in "urban homesteading" would give many low-income people their first opportunity to own a home, with all the pride and sense of personal responsibility that ownership entails. Examples of tenant management or ownership of public housing projects demonstrate that as responsibility and financial stakes for tenants go up, crime, unemployment, welfare dependency, and drug use go down.

Great expanses of public lands, such as wildlife preserves could be sold at low cost or given away to environmentalist groups, with a net savings for the federal government. These groups, having an actual financial stake in the land, can manage their property as they see fit. Not only would this in all likelihood increase the value of the land in the long term (because owners have more of an incentive to take good care of land than stewards), but we could also end a lot of political conflict over the use of lands that really shouldn't be "public" to start with.

Privatization offers government the opportunity to curtail its involvement in the everyday lives of citizens — without causing the demise of the services those citizens depend on. This strategy may be able to accomplish what budget cuts and austerity cannot: a share of government spending as a percentage of the U.S. gross national product that is back down to levels we as a free society can live with. Before jumping to the conclusion that every new problem we face merits government action, which in turns necessitates taxing the public more, why not try leaving the money and the power in the hands of the public to meet the challenge themselves? Ω



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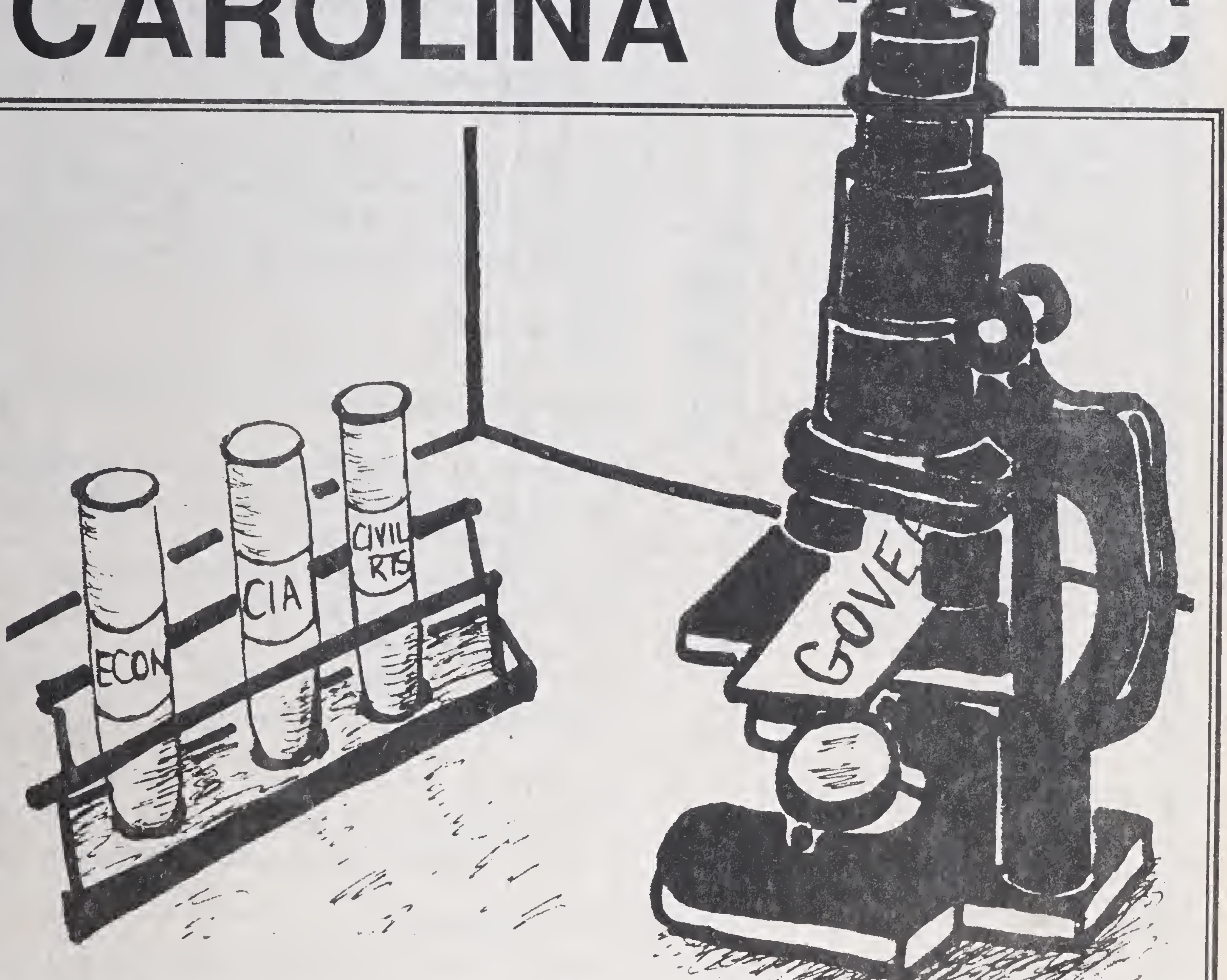
State and Paternalism
Critic Forum, Page 3

Vol. 1, No. 7
April, 1988

The CAROLINA CRITIC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The Carolina Critic *is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social group, or sex. Actually, it is affiliated with fantastic sex. Subscriptions are still $10 a year. Correspondences and submissions should be sent to:*

The Carolina Critic
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604 Tinkerbell Road
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

In This Issue...

3 **Critic Forum**
Does the government have the legitimate power to enforce codes of behavior? The issue of victimless crimes is discussed by David Hood and Charles Balan.

4 **Correspondence**

5 **Up Front**
The deaf student protest at Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C. unmasks an out-of-touch Board of Trustees and the merciless press, says Patrick Rothwell.

6 **The Critical Eye**

Focus on the nature of Government

12 *Moral Minorities*
John Jaynes discusses Moral Bolshevism and tyrannies o
the Left, Right, and wherever the CIA protestors fit.

13 *The Lessons of Public Choice Theory*
Georgia Professor Dwight Lee's March address on campus is reported and analyzed.

15 *Defense Budget Mythology*
Robert Allison explores the military-social spending balance and its political camouflage.

16 **In the Zoo**
Women's Studies is this month's exhibit in the menangerie, as David Hood notes its self-imposed exile.

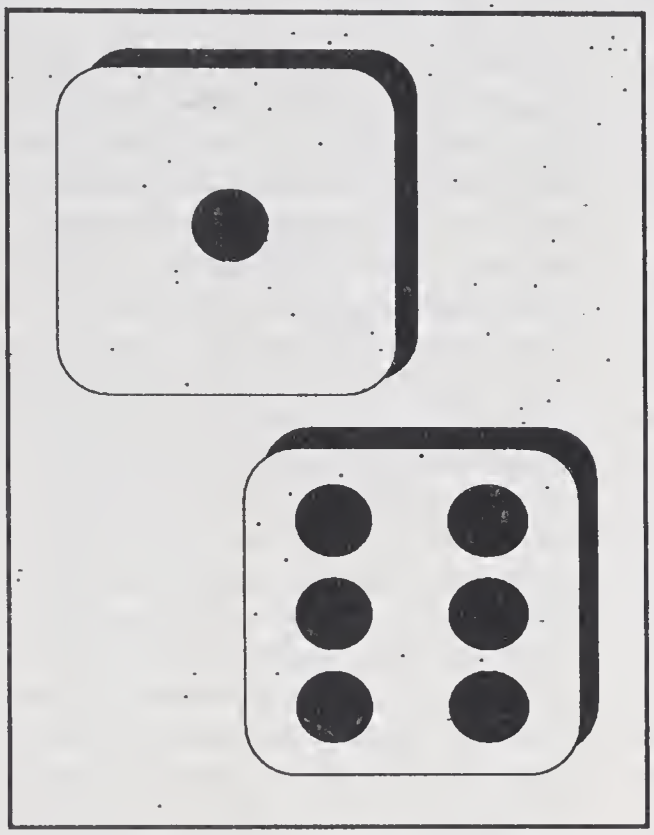
17 **Our Altered State**
Who says Charlotte is the state pariah? Michael Lowrey reports on the pitfalls and drawbacks of Royalty.

18 **The World Stage**
Jeff Taylor examines the demagogic claims of American neo-Protectionists.

19 **Essays**
Jeff Evans finds fault with flag-banning . . . Liberalism rears its ~~ugly~~ (excuse us fair-minded typists) unique head as Kenny Felder comments on the Critic 1987-88 . . . Connie Smith reviews three new albums.

23 **Dateline: Washington**
Correspondent John Hood exposes the deception of the recent "civil rights" bill.

SHOULD THE STATE STOP VICTIMLESS CRIMES?



Aye—By Charles Balan

WHEN DISCUSSING SO-CALLED victimless crimes, such as prostitution, gambling, pornography and illicit drug usage, it is important to define our term "victimless." Prostitutes bear unwanted children, contract diseases and spread them to willing clients and then on to their spouses or lovers. Gamblers throw away millions of dollars, often go into huge personal debt and cause their family much anguish over their practices. Pornography exploits the human body, cheapens the sexual nature and reportedly leads to increased rape and abuse of women and children. Illicit drugs cause great physical harm and often death to their users, and these users often commit crimes under their influence. So I think that we cannot define these crimes as "victimless" at all, but maybe as "invisible."

But the question is "Should the government have the authority to legislate these crimes?" The answer should be obvious, but let us look at it closely to arrive at our own conclusion.

First, exactly what power does the government have about how we govern our private lives? We have the inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. So, if the government is enforcing the aforementioned crimes, then are they denying us our rights? Let us then define "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Now certainly we have the right to our lives (albeit not in the womb, according to the Supreme Court!), but does that mean we have the right to our deaths? If a drug or a disease contracted from a prostitute kills us, is the government condoning that by not enforcing laws that protect our lives?

We have the right to our Liberty, but does that mean we have the right to bondage, such as addiction to drugs or pornography, or an overwhelming gambling debt?

Now comes the hard one, the right to the Pursuit of Happiness! If I am pursuing happiness, and that comes in the form of prostitution, gambling, pornography or drugs, isn't that my right? Not when it interferes with others' rights to Life and Liberty. This is very difficult, but the government has a responsibility to fulfill its obligations to all of our citizens. As has already been shown, all of these crimes have an effect on those who are around the persons committing these acts.

Some might cry that this is paternalism at its finest. I would say to hat argument that having no paternalism constitutes anarchy, and government at its leanest is still paternalistic to some degree. We must only agree on how much government we want in our private lives.

So the answer to our question "Should the government have the uthority to legislate these acts," is a resounding *yes*. Our government xists to protect all the people's rights and those actions that interfere with everyone's right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness must be curtailed. This is the only way to ensure that everyone's lives re free from problems that others may bring them. Ω

alan is a junior interdisciplinary studies major from planet Earth.

Nay—By David Hood

WHEN DISCUSSING ISSUES LIKE drug use, prostitution, and gambling, the term frequently used is "victimless crimes." This designation is more important than it might appear at first glance, for the debate about government power in these areas has to do primarily with the proper definition of "victim" by the state.

Quite simply, a government exists in a free society for one purpose only; to protect the rights of life, liberty, and property of the individuals in that society. Any other function of state power, whether it be to forcibly redistribute income or to enforce some code of personal morality, cannot be reconciled with the freedom of thought and action that we consider to be the basis for the American experiment.

Why do I say this? Free thought, if it is to have any value at all, must be able to manifest itself in action, or there is little incentive for people to engage in it. And this must be true for *everyone* in the society, not just a select few who make decisions for the rest of us. If we truly believe in free choice, as we enumerate in our Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights, then it must apply to all facets of life, or it is meaningless. The only proviso is that the actions taken do not infringe on another's right to think and act themselves.

This principle of free choice is trampled upon every day by our government, in the form of laws against victimless crimes. In such cases as drugs and prostitution, it is only the participant(s) who are harmed by their admittedly unwise behaviour. I fail to see where the society at large has any compelling interest to interfere in these decisions.

And just saying that "society," or God, believes these actions to be immoral is not an argument. That has been the standard rationalization for persecution of minority views since the dawn of history, from Copernicus to the Holocaust. The simple fact is that the majority is not always right, nor need it be. If God truly considers these actions damnable, then the perpetrators will have to face him at Judgement Day. The State has no right to interfere in personal decisions, as long as they do not pose a physical threat to another.

Another important question is, where do we draw the line? If we prevent someone from ingesting cocaine, why not alcohol and nicotine, which are also harmful and much more prevalent? And if we prevent gambling, why do we allow church bingo games, or trading on the stock market (which is absolutely nothing but pure gambling?) We are obviously inconsistent about which activities we want to prevent.

But why stop there? We could mandate what people should eat, such as a ban on fried food, or a mandatory fiber intake... Or how about telling people what they should wear? We could prevent a lot of colds by making it a crime to walk in the rain without a jacket or umbrella!

If these examples sound silly, just think what people would have said ten years ago if you told them that the government would *require* them to wear their seat belts!

The truth is that there is simply no objective way to determine

A letter to the gentle readers:

ONWARD AND TALLY-HO!

Dear men and women of impeccable taste:

Well, it's April 1988, and we're still around. Somehow we've managed to publish a journal of snide comment and vibrant discussion every month since our first issue back in October, and the future continues to look bright for *The Carolina Critic.* People are reading us, if letters, comments, and catcalls around campus are any measure. Students and faculty are registering their support for or at least interest in the project. At least one English instructor has made the *Critic* a required class reading (with instructions, one would assume, to ignore our " unique" spelling and grammar.)

Nor is our following confined to Chapel Hill. Readers enjoying our work regularly (or so they say) include Richard Rahn, Chief Economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Stan Evans, columnist for *Human Events* and contributor to *National Review* and other journals; David Hoppe, Rep. Jack Kemp's chief-of-staff; and Virginia Postrel, editor at the libertarian *Reason* magazine. Naturally, we have encountered some real challenges, especially financial ones. But in our characteristically sanguine manner, we prefer to look at our burgeoning debt, not as a crisis of biblical proportions, but as a learning experience in federal governance.

Some consider the success of *The Carolina Critic* a miracle (others think of it as more of a plague, but that would be straying back into biblical proportions...) No such mystic explanation is necessary. The *Critic* simply fills a void in the campus discussion—both in content, as we present the classical liberal perspective of "free minds and free markets," and in our style, which might be called, in professional terms, "hip and groovy."

We are still in the process of planning the future of The Carolina Critic Society. Some of the ideas we're thinking about include: "Critical Lectures," a series of addresses by local and other professors on a variety of topics (indeed, this program was kicked off last month with an address by Dr. Dwight Lee of the University of Georgia, a professor of economics with a "public choice" philosophy of political economy): "Critical Issues," a series of panel discussions and debates featuring student and community leaders, professors, and special guests on issues of particular interest to college students: "North Carolina Student Forum," a biweekly op-ed piece by *Critic* staffers and other students for statewide distribution in daily and semi-weekly newspapers: and broadcasting opportunities and other projects. Other ideas on how to expand the activities of the Society are welcome, as well as how to publicize and expand the impact of *The Carolina Critic.*

In this last issue of the academic year, we'd like to encourage students, especially underclass-men and -women, to become involved in the *Critic*. We need to make sure that the organization remains intact as seniors graduate and move on to other things. Special encouragement, of course, is given to students interested in building the business side of the magazine: ad sales, accounting, and publicity.

As we continue to study and discuss individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society, I hope we all occasionally take a moment to consider our good fortune in having the right to speak and write what we will. Most of the time the discussion of individual liberty takes on an abstract quality, with little apparent relationship to out everyday lives and challenges. But we would be well advised to compare our liberty with the slavery endured by young men and women in most of the world, and marvel at the wisdom of our Founding Fathers: " We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What is most amazing to me is how revolutionary those words remain, 200 years later.

For those of you (truant or otherwise naughty) who are planning to attend summer school, look for our super-cool summer extravaganza, coming soon to a newsstand near you. Otherwise, we'll see you next year.

Sincerely no one's,

John M. Hood
Head Honcho and Gadfly

Nay to Victimless Crimes

which personal behaviors should be regulated. Now one could argue that the Bible (or the Koran) gives us a blueprint for living that is easily enforceable by the government. But I was under the impression that one reason why this country was founded had to do with the freedom to worship as one chooses. Although we have sometimes strayed from the ideal, the point was to leave religion up to individual choice. This can hardly be reconciled with current gambling laws, for instance, which exist primarily as a means of enforcing puritanical values through the violence of the state.

Also, as I recall from my Sunday School days, the whole idea of Christianity is that one *chooses* to accept Jesus Christ as one's saviour, and to follow his teachings. Being forced into accepting Christian values kind of defeats the purpose of salvation, which is the underlying principle espoused by the church. It does people no good to force the Bible on them at the point of a sword, as Charlemagne did, if it does not allow them to decide for themselves. Even the Christian God allows the existence of sin and temptation, and allowed Jesus to be tempted by Satan in the Wilderness.

What should we do to reaffirm our nation's commitment to individual liberty? Nothing less than a total revision of our laws can suffice. We must come to realize that in the eyes of the state, there should no fundamental difference between selling your body for manual labor in a coal mine, and selling your body for sexual satisfaction. Although we may consider the latter to be repulsive, it is not our body to do with as we wish! As long as the actions are truly voluntary, and involve no violation of the freedoms of another person, they should be treated like any other activity.

There is, of course, one other counterargument which must be dealt with. How can prostitution, for example, be truly voluntary if the woman simply had no other way to make ends meet? If we accept this argument, however, then we seriously blur our definition of voluntary action. Burglars would not be responsible for their deeds, since their actions were caused by poverty and therefore were not voluntary!

If we as a people are to fully recognize the integrity of free choice, then we must begin with our own personal lives. Each time we chip away our liberty to act and make choices, we march further down the ominous road towards an Orwellian Big Brother, and the total loss of individuality that would occur as a result. One excellent way to begin to march in the other direction would be to repeal laws against victimless crimes. Ω

By Patrick Rothwell

A relative comes under fire

REFLECTING ON THE GALLAUDET PROTEST

This past spring break, while much of the student body went to the beach or to other sites, I spent my spring break in the Washington, DC area where my parents moved after my graduation from high school. I was expecting a very quiet week at my parents' Bethesda home. Then I woke up Monday morning at about 10:30 a.m. when my grandmother very excitedly told me to read the morning *Washington Post*. On the front page was the announcement that my mother's ousin, (my first cousin once removed), Elisaeth Zinser, had been appointed as President f Gallaudet University in Washington, DC, he country's only liberal arts college for the leaf. As I read on in the news report, this ppointment was brewing big trouble.

In case you were too busy getting a good an on the beach and did not bother to read the ewspaper during break, the Gallaudet Board f Trustees was under considerable pressure rom the student body and from many parts of he deaf community to appoint the first deaf resident of Gallaudet University. There were hree finalists for the position. Two of them vere deaf graduates of the University. The hird was Elisabeth Zinser, who was not deaf nd did not know sign language. The final ecision of the board was to appoint Ms. inser to the board because she was, in their iew, the most qualified candidate since she ad the most successful and most broad dministrative experience in academia out of ll the candidates. Her appointment was also first of sorts: she was the first female to be resident of Gallaudet. However, the reaction f the students and faculty was swift and ostile. They were not going to accept her as eir president and they decided to boycott all asses until a four-point plan was unconditionally put forth: the resignation or dismissal Elisabeth Zinser, the resignation of the hairman of the Board of Trustees, a restructring of the Board of Trustees to have a ajority of its membership to be deaf, and nnesty for the students who were protesting. the way, Elisabeth Zinser was, and is, a ce-Chancellor at UNC-G.

As you could probably guess, I was not ry sympathetic to the students at all. I was t even sympathetic to student activism in eral since this came right after the CIA testers ran a CIA recruiter out of town. The tics of the students seemed very irresponsle, and I was very upset that they were attacking a member of my own family. I understood the fact that they weren't angry with Ms. Zinser personally, but I saw burnings and hangings of her in effigy as vicious personal attacks, and I still do. At some point someone or some people broke into the empty President's house for some unknown reason. The protests even went to the extent of searching people's car trunks to make sure that Elisabeth Zinser was not hiding there to sneak on campus. In effect, it was almost as if mob rule had broken out on campus.

As the week went on, the story became a staple on the local news. The news stations even had people signing a translation of the news broadcast. As it broke onto the network news, the Congress decided to get involved in the dispute. Several Congressmen threatened to cut off all government funds to Gallaudet, which would destroy 75 percent of the university budget. The alumni association at Gallaudet attacked the presidential appointment as well as a number of national deaf organizations. Several other deaf schools, including one in North Carolina, closed in support of the Gallaudet students. Jesse Jackson, in trying to extend his "Rainbow Coalition," called for the resignation or dismissal of Zinser. George Bush soon afterward followed suit. By the end of the week, Elisabeth Zinser resigned with support from no one except the Board of Trustees who stood by their appointee to the very end.

"It is interesting that the students were threatening to sue charging discrimination against the deaf. Who's discriminating against whom?"

It's been several weeks now since this week-long affair, and I have had time to think about what happened with some amount of hindsight and less bias. My first concern was the exploitation of the event by the media. The press seemed to be utterly fascinated by a protest in which all of its members were mostly silent and making their point by signing. As a result, the press had blatantly one-sided reporting in which there was little room for the board to rationally explain their actions. The students' methods of protest never came under question, but the integrity of the Board of Trustees was continually questioned. There was not attempt to look at Elisabeth Zinser's background until after she resigned.

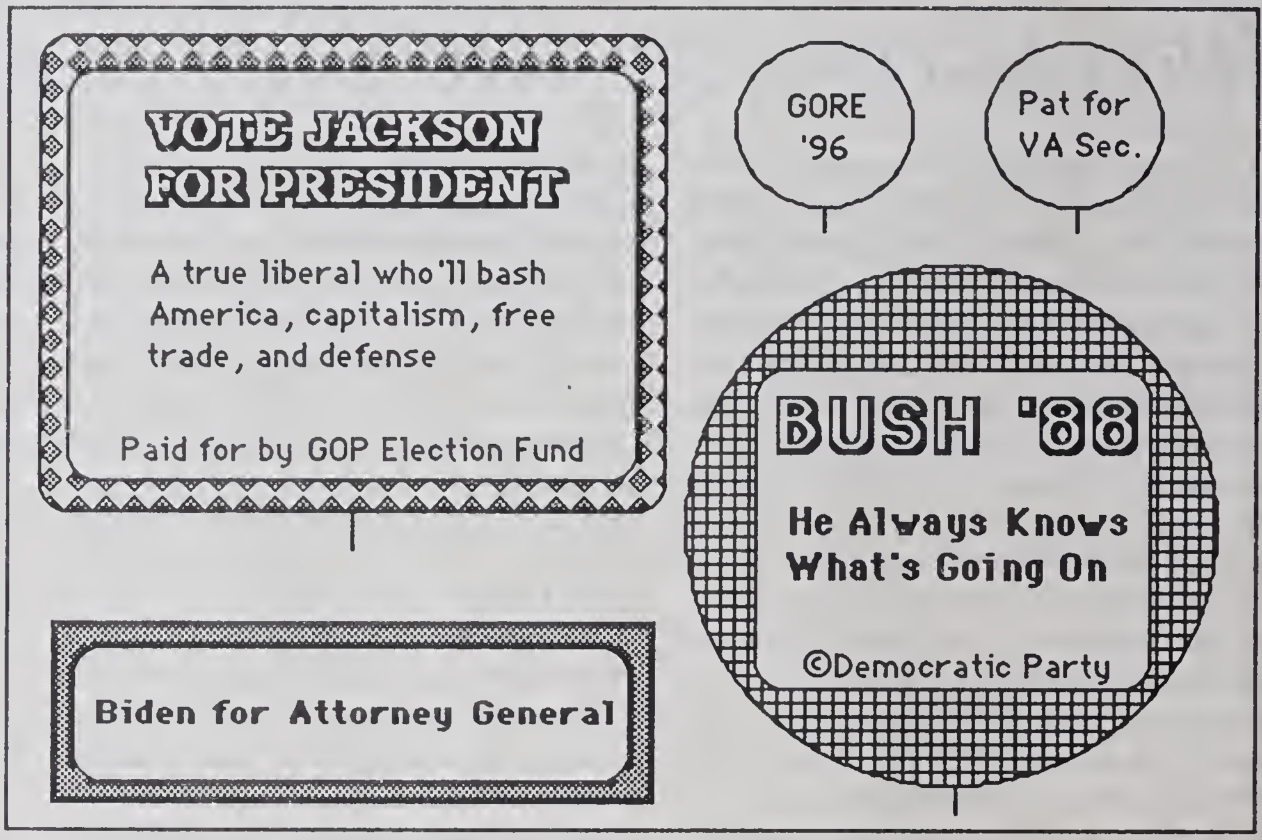
My biggest complaint about the whole affair is the line of reasoning taken by the students and the deaf community about qualifications for the presidential office. The student leaders stated that Ms. Zinser was inherently unqualified as president because she wasn't deaf. That statement alone would disqualify all previous presidents of Gallaudet. However, I am more concerned about using arbitrary litmus tests as qualifications for such jobs. In this case, we had someone, namely Ms. Zinser, denied the job as President simply because she was born with the natural ability to hear even though she had much more administrative experience than the other two candidates. It is interesting that the students were threatening the University with a lawsuit charging discrimination against the deaf. Who's discriminating against whom?

Who is ultimately at fault for this crisis? While the students have to take a lot of blame for using what I would consider to be irresponsible tactics, ultimately the Board of Trustees is at fault. Rightly or wrongly, the student body felt as if the University was not able to understand fully the needs of deaf students. The Board of Trustees completely misread or ignored the concerns of the students. By naming a hearing president they sent precisely the wrong signal. They were, in fact, very out of touch with the University they were supposed to govern.

For myself, as a relative of Elisabeth Zinser, I have learned much about what it's like to have a member of the family in the center of a national controversy. Elisabeth Zinser was in the spotlight for only a week, but many families face situations like this for a longer period of time. Robert Bork is a name that comes to mind. Neither Zinser nor Bork had their integrity questioned, but their very presence caused a furor. I can now look at the Gallaudet situation with some amount of unbiased perspective. However, I'll be always upset at the way Elisabeth Zinser was treated if you ask me about the subject. Because of this experience, I will always have respect for the families of those who are in the spotlight. It could happen to anyone, and who knows, it might happen to you. Ω

THE CRITICAL EYE

Vol. 1, No. 7
April 1988


VOTE JACKSON FOR PRESIDENT
A true liberal who'll bash America, capitalism, free trade, and defense
Paid for by GOP Election Fund
GORE '96
Pat for VA Sec.
BUSH '88
He Always Knows What's Going On
©Democratic Party
Biden for Attorney General

- Jesse Jackson has it exactly right. If he is nominated by the Democratic Party, "We, The People, Will Win"—in November.

- Meanwhile, the American people have demonstrated their pacifism by labelling Dick "Because It's Your Fight, Too" Gephardt a trade warmonger. *Au revoir,* ye of faint heart and fainter brow.

- East Carolina University Chancellor Richard Eakin has said no to condom vending machines for ECU dorms. Now, before anyone contemplates such machines for UNC we would like to point out that there would be little use for them at Carolina dorms. The guys at Teague are sexually active, to be sure, but not with partners—so there's little threat of AIDS. And everyone knows that the girls of Spencer and Kenan don't, you know, *do it*. If we really want to do something about the spread of AIDS, best close down or police several gays', excuse us, guys' bathrooms on campus. The basements of Bingham and Gardner would be good places to start.

- Fresh from his loss in the Supreme Court on a libel case against *Hustler* over tasteless use of his face and name in a satire, Jerry Falwell appears to have begun a fascinating campaign against U.S. House Speaker Jim Wright (D-TX). The current issue of *Liberty Report*, affiliated with Falwell's Liberty Association, portrays Wright on its cover as a grinning vampire. Martin Mawyer, editor of the magazine, said that the portrayal is "just symbolic. . . we wanted to show that Wright is sucking the life out of a lot of the things we are trying to do." The *Critic* has so far been unable to confirm reports of Wright's vampirism. One allegation, that Wright spends large blocks of time peering anxiously into his office mirror, may easily be evidence of megalomaniacal narcissism as a doomed attempt to find his reflection. But we have reached two conclusions on the matter: 1) in a gesture to dispel rumors of necromancy, Wright should offer some of his copious forehead fuzz to our man Gephardt, and 2) Falwell is a hypocrite.

- Meanwhile, in the Old World, the Belgrade *Politika* tells us of the strange case of Marcia Stankovic. Marcia, it seems, was killed by her mother with a pitchfork. Her mother, it further seems, thought Marcia was a vampire. After the deed was done, the mother rushed to the hardware store in Orijan, Yugoslavia to buy the biggest stake they had. (Question: Do all Yugoslavian hardware stores carry a full line of vampire stakes?) She then drove the stake through her daughter's heart. Is this all true? Since the story appeared at the same time Gorby was visiting Yugoslavia it could be a metaphor for how the *Soviets* have been sucking the life out of *Eastern Europe*. If not, then when you go to Belgrade remember your garlic and crucifix.

- Recent news of Iraq's massacre of Kurdish villagers by chemical weapons (provided by the Soviet Union) and continued violent unrest in the Armenian nation of the Russian Empire itself is probably raising few Middle Eastern eyebrows (which are, on the whole, significantly bushier than either Wright's or our man Gephardt's). The Kurds and Armenians have been chased around the present-day Iraq/Iran/Soviet convergence area for thousands of years by empires of all shapes, sizes, and sadists. They are arguably the most oppressed, downtrodden, and pitiful peoples on Earth. Actually, the Kurds might be labelled the *most* pitiful, since even the Armenians have been known to take out their frustrations on them every now and then. Nevertheless, we wonder (but not for very long) why these nations inspire no organized lobbies, no create-a-homeland push from the State Department, no trade sanctions efforts, no call-in-the-82nd Airborne contingencies, and little action in the usually hyperactive United Nations. Indeed, organization of these oppressed peoples has been left largely to fringe movements of religion and revolutionary collectivism. Even so, we can't help but cheer their cause. Who wouldn't?

- Good news! Kinda. Stanford University, in a surprise move, has decided not to scrap 2,500 years of Western thought under pressure to require a "non-Western, non-white, non-male" core curriculum. The faculty has voted to offer something of a Great Books curriculum. In their infinite wisdom, the council chose to include works by Plato, but not Aristotle; Rousseau, but not Locke; and Marx, but not Spencer. We feel better already. Now

Western culture can be destroyed from within.

• Is this finally the end of the nuclear winter fantasy? The delusion was started by a theory that the extinction of the dinosaurs was caused by a global cooling brought on by the impact of a meteor. Now, scientists at Cal. Tech contend that a meteor impact would cause a global *warming* and *that* is what killed the dinosaurs. At least these scientists have followed some sort of standard procedure in letting fellow scientists review their findings. Carl Sagan & Company did not. Expect to hear dire warnings about a nuclear summer any minute now.

• In a related note, a *Critic* team of scientists and sophists has come to the conclusion that an all-out nuclear exchange would bring on what we call nuclear spring. Everything would be green and blooming for a period equal to the half-life of Germanium. And no, we won't submit our findings for peer review. It's just too damn important.

• In a spirit of gyrating glasnost grooviness, Soviet KGB agents and their protegés in the Afghan secret police are offering $10,000 to anyone bringing in any Western journalist, dead or alive, who accompanies resistance forces into the country. Why, oh my, that might violate the Soviet Constitution.

• Nothing is more touching than the sincere efforts of government to cover its tracks. The rise of the cable television industry in the U.S. over the last decade or so has demonstrated the shortcomings of federalism: as federal authorities generally kept hands off, local and state governments asserted their dubious authority to grant "franchises" (read: "monopolies") to particular cable companies, treating them for all intents and purposes as utilities. Hence many jurisdictions demanded all sorts of guarantees from cable firms, such as universal availability instead of offering service to only upper-income neighborhoods. Bribes, kickbacks, and other compensation have also been widespread. Indeed, many major cities, such as New York City, still have granted no cable franchises, while the favors and bribery negotiations continue. Now, as new firms offering satellite programming that would clearly compete with cable systems try to break into the market, cable franchises and local governments are fighting to keep the status quo. Adding to the mess are recent signals from Washington, including from the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance, Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH), that cable should be brought under close federal regulation. Metzenbaum, an out-of-the-closet capitalism-hater anyway, says that the "monopoly power" of cable firms justifies tight control from the government. So who is responsible for this monopoly power? Government.

• As all this was going on, however, the D.C. Court of Appeals struck a blow against heavy-handed government control over communication: in a 2-1 decision, the court ruled that the

Clipboard

Is *Newsweek* trying to tell us something? Seems the March 21 issue of the news weekly contained an Isuzu advertisement featuring heir now famous liar of a spokesman, Joe Isuzu, in a gray suit, white shirt, and a big white cowboy hat telling more of his stories. On the facing pace is a picture of Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis in a emarkably similar picture wearing a gray suit, white shirt and a big, white cowboy hat accompanying a story titled "Quick-Change Artists: Democrats put on a campaign masuerade."

Speaking of Michael Dukakis, the British ews magazine *The Economist* describes him s "a technocratic type with about as much fire n his belly as a word processor."

From the you can't fool enough of the eople enough of the time file: General Mootors' Pontiac Division has announced it's dropping the Fiero at the end of the current model year. Too bad, we really liked autos hat look like sports cars, including two seats nd very high insurance rates, while lacking ngine power, good steering response and uality construction.

If nothing else it will encourage people to o some reading to figure out whose face ey're staring at every time they buy someing: The West German government has proved new designs for paper money. Gracing the new bills will be such "notables" and otherwise household names as Carl Friedrich Gauss, Sybilla Merian and Benitta von Arnim.

Maybe they'll build on that world famous reputation to challenge the likes of Yugo or Hyundai: TASS, the Soviet news agency, reports that a West German firm and a Soviet company from Estonia, a republic "famous for its race cars," have formed a joint project to built Formula 3 race cars for sale in Western Europe. Our only question, how does one come to be famous for building race cars in a nation without races and with a multiyear waiting list for cars in general?

Military Insignifica

Somehow, this "good" news still leaves us slightly sick to our stomachs: According to Rep. Les Aspin, the Wisconsin Democrat who heads the House Armed Services Committee, cost overruns on weapons programs have dropped substantially over the last decade. Now, the average price increase is a mere 35 percent, down from the 55 percent of ten years ago.

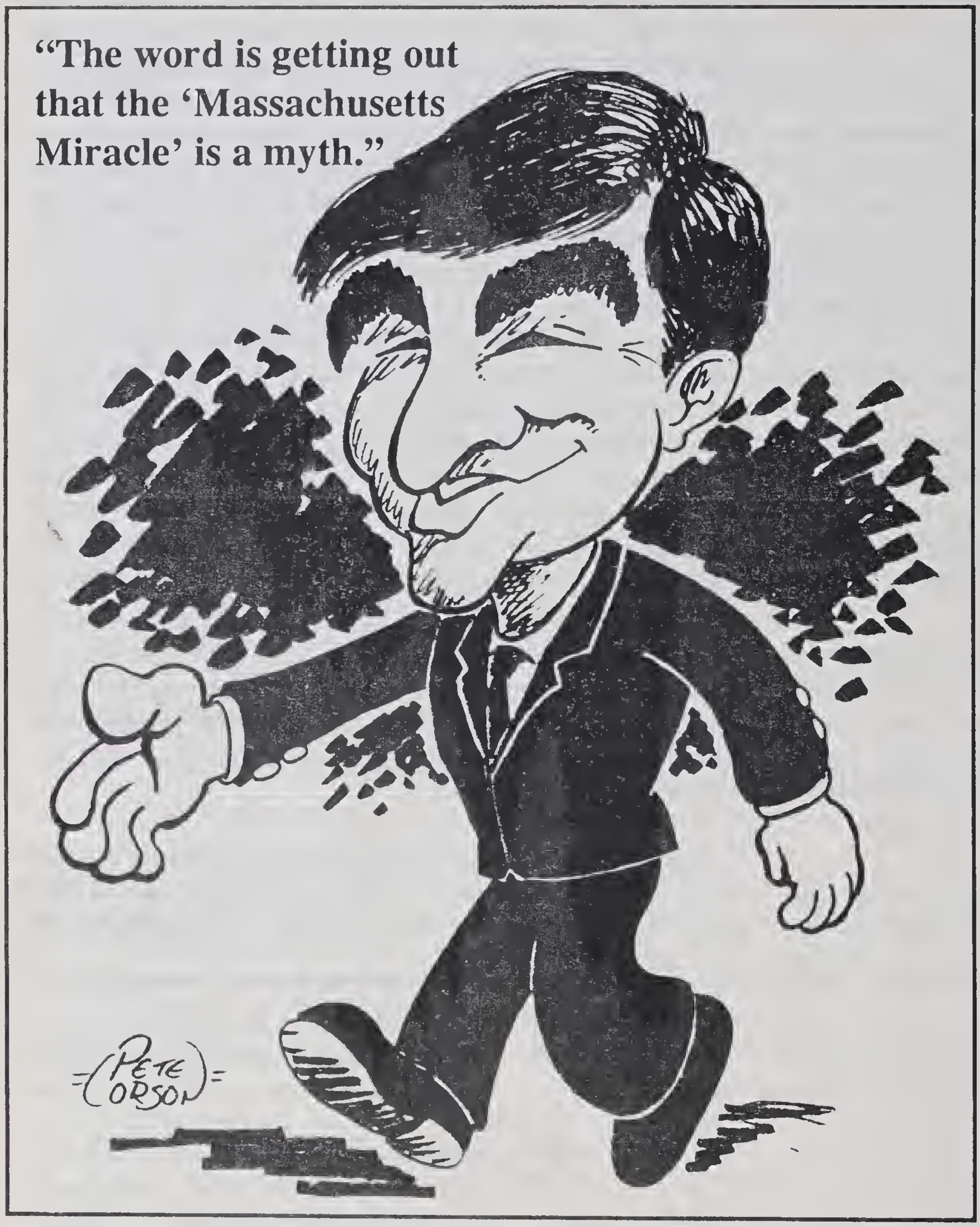
Lucky Number 13? For the first time in over thirty years the Royal Air Force is actually *increasing* its size and strength. Come 1989 or 1990, the 13th Squadron will reform with Tornado attack/reconnaissance aircraft to the bring total fighter, bomber and attack squadron strength to 28. RAF strength in these areas as of January 1957: 104 squadrons.

In a related note, the historic British airbase of Binbrook will close at the end of April, after over fifty years of use by aircraft ranging from the Battle and Lancaster bombers of World War II to the Mach 2 Lightning fighter.

I thought they were supposed to be good at this sort of thing: The West German submarine U-27 recently collided with an oil platform in the North Sea and was entangled with the platform for over an hour before managing to surface.

Strange fact to dazzle your friends and/or win bets at parties with: Seems that during World War II the United States built submarines in Wisconsin. The Manitowoc Shipbuilding Company of Manitowoc, Wisc. built the boats, which had to be launched sideways (and not front or rear end first) because of the water depth. After trials on the Great Lakes (!), the subs were put into floating dry docks, minus such items as periscopes and antennas so as to fit under low bridges, and towed down the Mississippi river via Chicago to the ocean. Twenty-eight submarines were built at Manitowoc between 1941 and 1945, and four were lost in the war against Japan.

— Michael Lowrey



"The word is getting out that the 'Massachusetts Miracle' is a myth."

infamous Teddy Kennedy-Fritz Hollings measure requiring media mogul Rupert Murdoch to sell either his newspapers or television stations in New York and Boston is unconstitutional because it clearly singles out Murdoch. In fact, the court said the law fingered Murdoch with the "precision of a laser beam" and thus violates his right to equal protection under the law. This is not simply an exercise in abstract BS; the *New York Daily News* and *The New York Times*, rivals of the *Post* formerly owned by Murdoch, both own stations in the city as well. But due to a grandfather clause in the federal "cross-ownership" rule, these organizations can own both papers and stations without legal censure. The Kennedy attack on Murdoch had nothing to do with preventing monopoly, and everything to do with suppressing conservative opinion—as the Court clearly recognizes.

• Dumb quote of the month, courtesy of Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-WV): "The Reagan Administration's attempt to blame Democrats [who defeated a contra military aid package in early February] for the latest Sandinista offensive is inaccurate. It may be true that the Sandinistas were emboldened by the severing of humanitarian aid for the contras." Yeah, beans and blankets. But no bullets. What a terrifying prospect.

As in Communist Poland, Nicaragua is how having trouble with labor unions. The workers in this Latin paradise are understandably upset that the introduction of new Sandinista currency has caused a drop in real wages. Ortega & Co. are treating labor union leaders as counter-revolutionaires. But there's no need for them to worry. They have a virtually inexhaustible supply of gringo Witness for Peace types who are willing to paint buildings and pick coffee for *free*.

• Has the Mideast gone mad? A former Israeli defense technician tells the world that Israel has stockpiled a couple hundred A-bombs and then is kidnapped by the Israeli Mossad, thereby lending credence to his tale. Next it was discovered that the Saudis have acquired nuclear-capable missiles from our good friends, the Chinese. The CSS2 missiles have a range of 2,200 miles. Now, if we truly believed that the policy of Mutual Assured Destruction was a good thing, then all this would be welcomed. But deep down we all have to admit that MAD is an immoral and shaky strategy. Intuitively, a strategic defense would be all the more valuable in a world where regional powers, some friendly, some not, have the ability to deliver a nuclear warhead!

• If you didn't hear about this, don't be surprised. Last month Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan gave a "speech" at the University of the District of Columbia. About 5 white protestors showed up to picket the appearance. According to the protestors, as soon as they were out of range of campus police they were attacked by 11 or 12 black men. Some of the attackers wore the maroon bow ties of Farakhan's security people. The protestors were beaten, kicked, and slammed into concrete sup-

Mencken's Musings

¤ *Government is the enemy of all well-disposed, decent and industrious men.*

¤ *When women kiss, it always reminds one of prizefighters shaking hands.*

¤ *Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard.*

ports. One victim was taken to a hospital where he was told he had a concussion. As assault complaint was filed with the D.C. Metropolitan Police, but nothing has come of it. It is, of course, Mayor-for-Life Marion Barry's town. And for some reason we don't think Bill Cosby will be stepping forward to offer any rewards, either. Can you say double standard?

• So the Soviet Union has changed the way it views the world? You would never know it by listening to Radio Moscow. A recent broadcast by RM claimed that a West German firm, Ortag, was told by the CIA to cultivate a mutant "human killer" virus in Zaire. The Soviets had previously contended that Ortag was full of ex-Nazis who were in Zaire to build missiles, but never mind. . . According to RM, Ortag's test results were handed over to U.S. researchers with ties to the Pentagon. (Gasp!) The virus was then tested out on convicts in California (in San Fransisco, no doubt). In case you haven't guessed, that killer virus is AIDS. No word yet on how the CIA is responsible for halitosis and premature ejaculation but we're sure Radio Moscow is working on it.

• The Iron Lady rolls on. The British budget for 1988 will be a balanced one and a several billion-pound tax cut is on its way. Maggie has managed to cut taxes for the seventh year out of eight. In contrast, since the 1981 tax cut, U.S. taxes have been raised every year—effectively negating the effects of the cut. In Britain the top rate has been cut from 60 percent to 40 percent. As could be expected, the Labor Party ranted and raved about the budget in Parliament. The one downside to all of this is that now Maggie will have to endure the return of all those British rock stars who were in self-imposed tax exile. Another 7 years of tax cuts and not even "Taxman" will be relevant in London.

• The first-ever television show buyer's convention in Africa was held recently in Harare, Zimbabwe. Most of the representatives there were from state-owned TV networks in Africa. This made for some interesting comments. Nebiyu Eyassu, head of Ethiopean television, said: "We would not want to show anything that ridicules or criticizes socialism." Guess that means *Spenser for Hire* and *Wheel of Fortune* are out of the question. But everyone was at a loss to explain why *Dallas* is the top-rated show in Marxist Zimbabwe. The official explanation is "escapism." So supposed New Socialist men and women fantasize about being rich and powerful capitalists? How telling.

• For, oh, about the fourth or fifth time now, the Marxist guerillas in El Salvador have tried to stop a free election. The FMLN declared polling places to be "military targets" and attacked a few to show they meant it. Despite this, 70 percent of the Salvadoran electorate showed up to vote. And to think in this country we worry about how rain will affect voter turnout.

• All of this comment on the Salvadoran election has focused on how many seats the rightist ARENA party picked up. The implication is that right-wing death squads will become more active. This is a big assumption. Nevertheless, the U.S. must make it clear that political murders will not be tolerated. What has been overlooked about the election is that it shows the Salvadoran people are scared. They turned to the candidates who promised them security and they cannot be blamed for that. They are afraid of the FMLN and feel that despite heroic efforts by President Duarte, the rebels cannot be negotiated with. Unfortunately, since Salvadorans cannot send Congressmen to Washington, their fate remains uncertain.

• It was a crisp morning in upstate New York as a doctor glanced out his office window and noticed his house passing by. The home was cruising down the street on a flatbed truck. Running after his house for several blocks, the doctor finally got the truck driver's attention. But when the hapless homeowner reached the rig, whoever had hired the flatbed had fled. We know that it's a progressive society and everything now, but would it be too much to ask for burglars to at least put forth the effort to break into a house, rather than simply carting the whole thing off? Perhaps so. No doubt the ACLU is already offering to take the case to court justifying the creative footpad's approach on safety grounds. Broken glass can be an occupational hazard, you know.

• Sen. Gary Hart will be running for the U.S. House of Representatives in November. No excuses needed, Donna—that's two term *state* Sen. Hart, a California Democrat, who'll be challenging Republican Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino. Evi-

If You're not working for The Carolina Critic...

You're just not Hip Enuf.

The Carolina Critic *staff meets every Wednesday in the Carolina Student Union*

Campaign '88

After withdrawing from the race, **Sen. Bob Dole** (R–KS) quipped that he hopes his wife **Elizabeth** does run with **George Bush** as his elected VP. "That way, I'll get a car and a driver," he said. Whatever. Leadership.

The Dems are having fits. **Jesse Jackson** looks like a real candidate now, not just a nice token to have around and smile at. The party brass knows Jackson is unelectable, but they can't do anything about it. They simply waited too long to start making Jesse explain himself on the issues. Any moves in that direction now could be perceived as part of a Stop Jackson drive. And they would be.

There are wildly different views on just why Jackson can't win in November. **Ron Walters**, political science professor at Howard University, says it's a matter of race: "Probably most people will vote against him because of his race; most people don't care about the issues." Sorry, but that doesn't explain how voters differentiated between two centuries of white candidates. Meanwhile, **Robert Smith**, a professor of Afro-American politics at Howard, says that "a substantial number of white persons who object to Jackson do so more because of his ideology than his race." And "I would say he would not be nominated or elected if he were white." Mr. Smith would no doubt like to hedge his prediction about the nomination.

Since **Sen. Albert Gore** (D–TN) finished with less than 10 percent of the vote in Connecticut and Michigan, he is no longer eligible for federal matching funds. All good things must come to an end.

But Gore did come right out and say that Jackson was unqualified to be president. The Duke, so far, has been silent.

All the while doubts grow about **Dukakis'** campaign. All that money and not that much to show for it. The word is getting out that the "Massachusetts Miracle" is a myth. In Connecticut, 46 percent of Duke voters wished there was someone else to vote for. **Mario**, are you out there?

Rep. Charlie Rose (D–NC) was found guilty by a House of Representatives ethics panel of violating a few finance rules. One would think this and his fairly liberal voting record would make him an inviting target in the fall. But so far the GOP has no takers. Is there not anyone in Fayetteville or Wilmington who's willing to take this guy on?

This certainly is a novel campaign tactic. Speaking before a group of black community leaders, **Lt. Gov. Bob Jordan** said: "I've got to get the redneck vote in Eastern North Carolina." Hard to tell which group was more insulted — the blacks or the rednecks. Maybe he forgot where he was or got his note cards mixed up; who knows?

—Jeff Taylor

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dently, though, it's his real name.

•Of course, celebrity name ID isn't everything. Just ask Paul Simon or Mr. Babbitt. Or either of the Dick Gephardts.

•John Zaccaro, Jr. was convicted of selling cocaine to an undercover cop a few weeks ago. His mom, Geraldine Ferrarro, was upset with the decision and herself. The last Democratic VP nominee blamed herself for becoming newsworthy and "making him a target." Now how does this square with the standard liberal belief that the rich and powerful are favored by our legal system? Or is it that liberals don't have beliefs, just contrivances?

•A Dallas DJ has become infamous for asking listeners to send money to him. Not for any reason — just send money. Well, 12,000 dupes responded with pledges of $20 each and the radio station is "stuck" with $240,000. Gee, that's almost as bad as 20,000 students forking over the equally nebulous and unnecessary student fees.

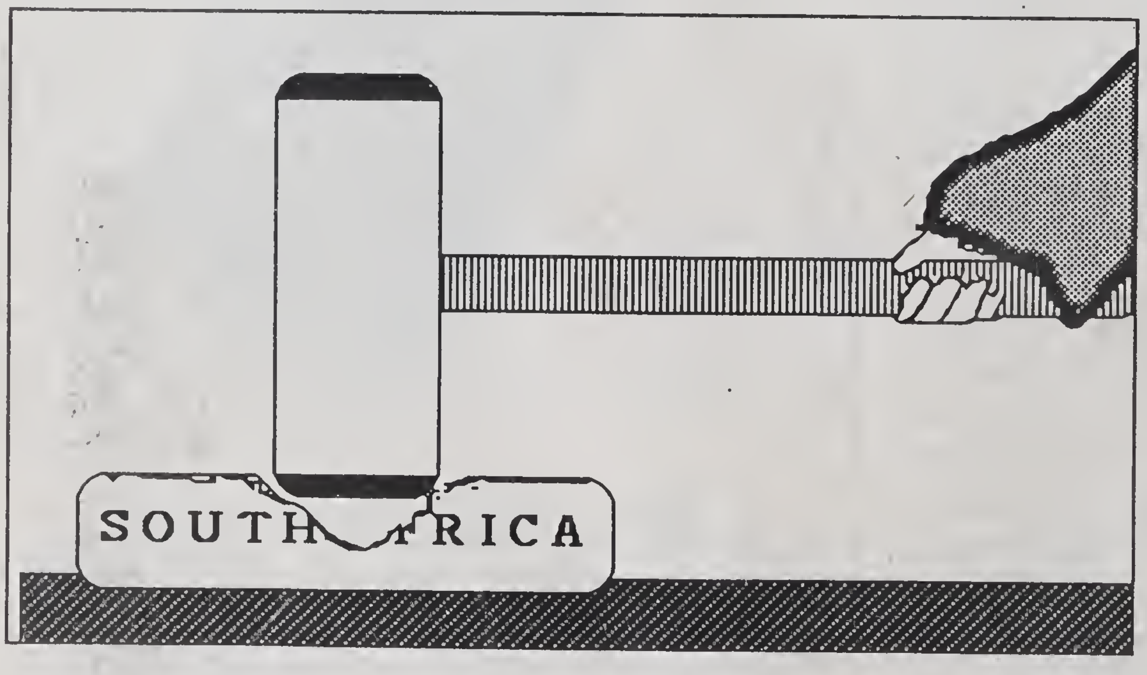
•Within 48 hours Sonny Bono was elected mayor of Palm Springs and Cher won an Oscar. We can't explain it, but does a Pact With the Devil make any sense?

•In Fort Worth a 256 pound woman had a 130 pound tumor removed. There is no truth to the rumor, our sources say, that this was actually Jimmy Hoffa.

Apartheid—by popular demand

SINCE THE CAMPUS TRENDYITES SEEM TO HAVE temporarily and, we assume, inadvertently forgotten to do so—being preoccupied by ketchup and bike exhaust, of course—let's take a moment to trumpet the glowing successes of the South African sanctions/divestment policy. It is, after all, the centerpiece of Chapel Hill *trendismo* (a new word coined by *Critic* lexicographers, but destined for widespread usage soon) and, as such, should be constantly elevated to a high place in campus discussion. Naturally, the *Critic* is more than happy to oblige.

1) As U.S. companies leave the country in droves, selling assets to whomever can and will buy, a new generation of rich, white Conservative and National millionaires has been created. Consequently, the advances made in black economic power by labor unions and



Feelin' Good and Moral Yet?

American influence embodied in the Sullivan principles have been compromised.

2) Since there is no longer any *Realpolitik* reason for cultivating a good image in the West, pro-apartheid thugs have decided to indulge themselves, and have asserted their power in the rightist white parties. On Feb. 24, the National Party (NP), under electoral pressure from the Conservatives (CP), cracked down harshly on anti-apartheid groups and activities, including labor unions and the clergy. The CP's main election message, of course, was that South Africa is the victim of international conspiracy (which, by Jingo, it is), so whites must rise up and protect the *folk* from reform and integration. Another product of the CP resurgence was the passage of a bill to prevent any political organizations or parties from receiving foreign assistance. This will weaken groups supported by Western sources, but hardly affect the African National Congress and other factions receiving Soviet bloc aid, as they are based outside the country.

3) Recent signals by Pretoria to the Soviet Empire about settling the Angolan/Namibian conflict suggest that South Africa is seriously questioning the reliability of its Western allies, and is thus seeking less risky relations with Soviet proxies. Christopher Coker of the London School of Economics, a close observer of South African diplomacy, further observes that Pretoria has "logically lawless reasons against continued alignment with the West—from which it now derives very little and can xpect even less...What [the South Africans] have to offer the Soviets] is the exclusion f the U.S. from a region of the world which Washington has always taken for granted as a Western sphere of influence."

4) Even in the face of NP concessions, the anti-reform CP regained legislative seats in March that had been lost in 1987.

Now, in what must be an effort to extend and expand these victories, Rep. Ron Dellums (D–CA) is proposing a total severing of all American trade and diplomatic ties to South Africa, and advocates American action against any parties or countries that move in to take the place of the U.S. Probable results range from civil war to increased tensions between America and other "less morally pure" Western countries to increased Soviet influence in southern Africa.

Will our own Chapel Hill adherents to campus *trendismo* jump on Dellums' bandwagon? Take a guess. *Hey Hey, Ho Ho, Apartheid Has Got To Go.* Everybody: *Hey Hey, Ho Ho...* Ω

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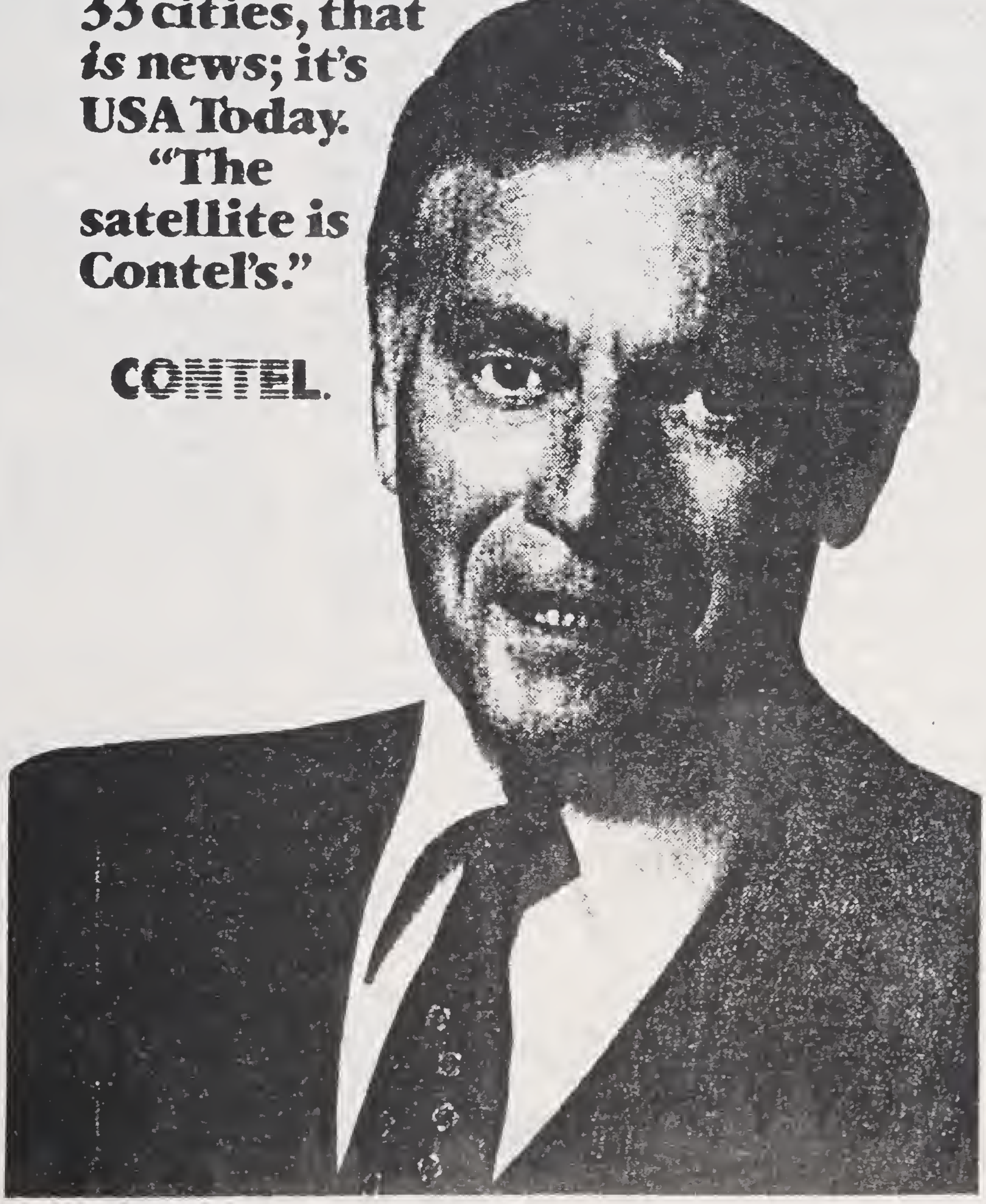

CONTEL.

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MORAL MINORITIES

Enforcing values by government fiat is common instrument of religious, student protest tyrannies

By John Jaynes

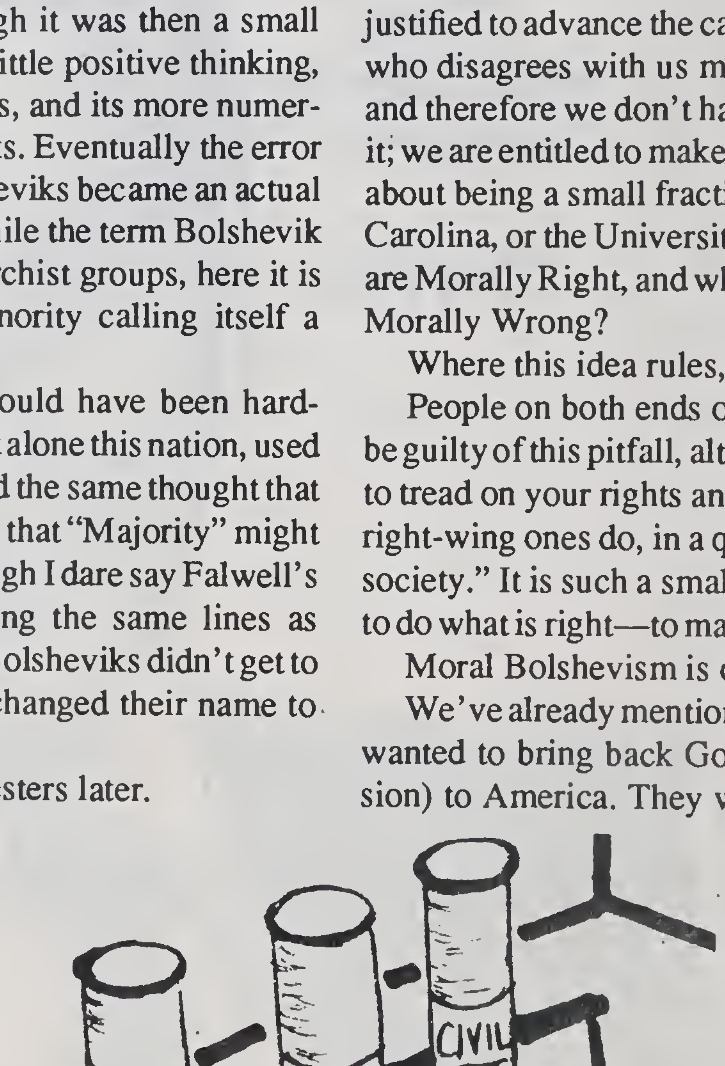
WHAT DO THE CIA PROTESTERS AND JERRY FALwell have in common?

Moral Bolshevism, which could be explained as "the morality justifies the means."

Let me explain the terminology. Once upon a time there was a Russian Communist Party. There were two factions, one which believed in open membership and one which believed in restricting membership to professional revolutionaries. The second group, the professional revolutionaries, managed to get control of the Party newspaper, although it was then a small minority. It therefore got to practice a little positive thinking, calling itself the Majority, or Bolsheviks, and its more numerous opposition the Minority, Mensheviks. Eventually the error of terminology was corrected; the Bolsheviks became an actual majority and went on to rule Russia. While the term Bolshevik is often applied to revolutionary or anarchist groups, here it is used in a more technical sense: a minority calling itself a majority and seeking to take control.

Falwell's Moral Majority, which would have been hard-pressed to be a majority in any county, let alone this nation, used the same trick of words. Perhaps they had the same thought that V. I. Lenin's bunch of Party animals did, that "Majority" might become a self-fulfilling prophecy, although I dare say Falwell's crew would not admit to thinking along the same lines as Godless Communists. These would-be Bolsheviks didn't get to rule much of anything, and have now changed their name to something less pretentious.

We'll get—I mean, get to—the protesters later.



Sometimes minority groups decide that they will tell everyone else what to do. This is not an unusual thing, and as long as the majority has the option of ignoring them, not necessarily a bad thing. Sometimes, however, the minority find a means to ensure obedience. This is called tyranny, or oppression, or worse, and it has stomped a nasty path through history.

Sometimes such a minority offers the excuse that it wants to do the "right thing" for the rest of the people, who are "misguided" in wanting to do something else, and need to be "helped" to choose the Right Path. The group has a right, even an obligation, to ensure that others, the majority, behave "properly"—whether they want to or not.

Moral Bolshevism is a variation of this idea. It is the idea that a particular group's morality justifies enforcing that morality on everyone else, by whatever means comes to hand, simply because the morality says so. A moral minority may rule by Right...

We are Morally Right. Perhaps God told us so, perhaps we just know it. We can do whatever we feel is necessary or justified to advance the cause of our Moral Rectitude. Anybody who disagrees with us must be Morally Wrong, by definition, and therefore we don't have to listen to him, or her, or them, or it; we are entitled to make the decisions. We don't need to worry about being a small fraction of the people in the U.S., or North Carolina, or the University of N.C. at Chapel Hill. After all, we are Morally Right, and who would want to do anything that was Morally Wrong?

Where this idea rules, tyranny rules.

People on both ends of the left-right political spectrum can be guilty of this pitfall, although the left-wing ones usually want to tread on your rights and freedoms in different ways than the right-wing ones do, in a quest to fix what they see "wrong with society." It is such a small step from trying to convince people to do what is right—to making sure they can't do what is wrong.

Moral Bolshevism is distressingly common today.

We've already mentioned the Moral Majority, the group that wanted to bring back Good Old American Values (their version) to America. They wanted to persuade the population to adopt Moral values, and to act morally. If that failed, they would settle for making the people act Morally anyway, whatever their values, by making Immoral behavior illegal—reading pornography (they get to define what's "pornographic"), having an abortion, making love without a (marriage) license, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

From the current events file, we have the CIA Action Committee's recent Actions at the University Inn and elsewhere. Since the CIA does things which are Morally Wrong, the CIAAC decided that the CIA had no business conducting job interviews on campus. They went on a hunger strike to try to convince the administration to do the Morally Right thing and deny the CIA recruiter entry to our (supposedly open) campus. This didn't work, but when the recruiter himself decided to move the interviews off campus to avoid trouble, they repaid the kindness by bringing trouble literally to his door. When he then decided to leave town without interviewing anyone, they followed him, either to harass him further or make sure he didn't come back. Sometimes when the people don't do what you want, you just have to do it for them.

RIGHT CAN SOMETIMES GO RIGHT OFF THE DEEP end. Those who are of the opinion that abortion is Morally Wrong sometimes have decided that merely picketing abortion clinics is not enough. One must harass the women going inside. If this does not stop the baby-murder, occupy the clinics. Or simply firebomb them; no clinics, no abortions. Similar tactics have been used against those experimenting on animals. Anything goes, when you're Morally Right.

I could go on, but let's not.

I am not arguing that morals have no place in politics; I am not condemning protest against immoral acts. Quite the contrary. I *am* happily condemning the idea that a minority, especially a tiny minority, must be allowed to have its way because it insists it is morally right, even if this means that the Moral Tail must wag the Morally Indifferent Dog.

It is fine if the Moral Majority tries to persuade people to care more for one another; to build families instead of unsatisfying promiscuous relationships; to abandon sleazy exploitative sex magazines for more wholesome reading. It is another thing for them to write their morals into our laws.

It is fine if the CIA Action Committee wants to stage a hunger strike to bring to public attention the supposed atrocities of CIA adventurism. It is admirable, for people to believe in something so strongly that they will risk their health just to tell people about it. It is another thing for a tiny fraction of the student population to pick and choose which government agencies or companies are to be allowed entry to the campus, and then run disapproved recruiters out of town.

If we allow groups to rule by moral fervor instead of popular support, where will the line be drawn? Will we have a university where student groups get to decide which employers are Morally Clean, have no ties to the CIA or South African investments or abortion clinics or nuclear weapons—and which ones are to be kept off campus, and out of town if that can be arranged? Will we have a society where books and magazines judged to be Morally Indecent are removed from store and library shelves—or simply burned when and where discovered?

Or will we instead have a society where we, the people, refuse to be pushed around by Moral Slop, and insist on these pressure groups having something more convincing than their Moral Authority before they get what they want? Say, maybe, facts? Even an appeal to *our* morals would not be out of order, as long as they realize that we have rights and freedoms that we think are Morally Nifty and which we will not give up lightly.

We live in a democracy where the majority, not a particular and selected minority, is allowed to rule. There are always going to be imperfections in this kind of system, and therefore temptations to meddle with it to fix this fault or that. Our freedoms are not gifts from God or ours by natural law; they will last only as long as we defend them, even—especially—from our own "moral" impulses to chip away at them. Ω

Jaynes is a physics graduate student from Orange County.

Good news for Classical Liberals:

PUBLIC CHOICE OFFERS INSIGHTS INTO VOTING, POLITICAL ECONOMY

By David Hood

THE CAROLINA CRITIC HAS BECOME MORE THAN ist a hip magazine.

One of our new functions is *Critical Lectures '88*, a series of peakers we bring to the campus to promulgate the Classical iberal perspective. Our inaugural speaker on March 23 was r. Dwight R. Lee, Professor of Economics at the University of Georgia. Dr. Lee has worked at several other institutions of higher learning, including U. Cal.-San Diego, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and George Mason University.

Dr. Lee represents a school of economic thought which is currently the rage in conservative circles: "public choice" theory. With its roots strongly grounded in the Classical Liberal tradition of emphasis on the individual, this set of beliefs embraces the free market as the ideal. While it does not condemn altruism as our *Critic* guru Ayn Rand does, public choice as a philosophy does frown upon income redistribution schemes that rob an individual of his free choice.

THE GEORGIA PROFESSOR'S LECTURE FOCUSED primarily upon two major ideas in public choice theory. The first of these concerned how people vote. Trying to understand why people vote in a manner which does not further their particular self-interest, Dr. Lee posits a model in which individual voters realize that their vote will not matter one way or the other. They understand that one vote will not sway an election in which hundreds or thousands are participating, so public choice theorists claim that they vote *to make themselves feel good.*

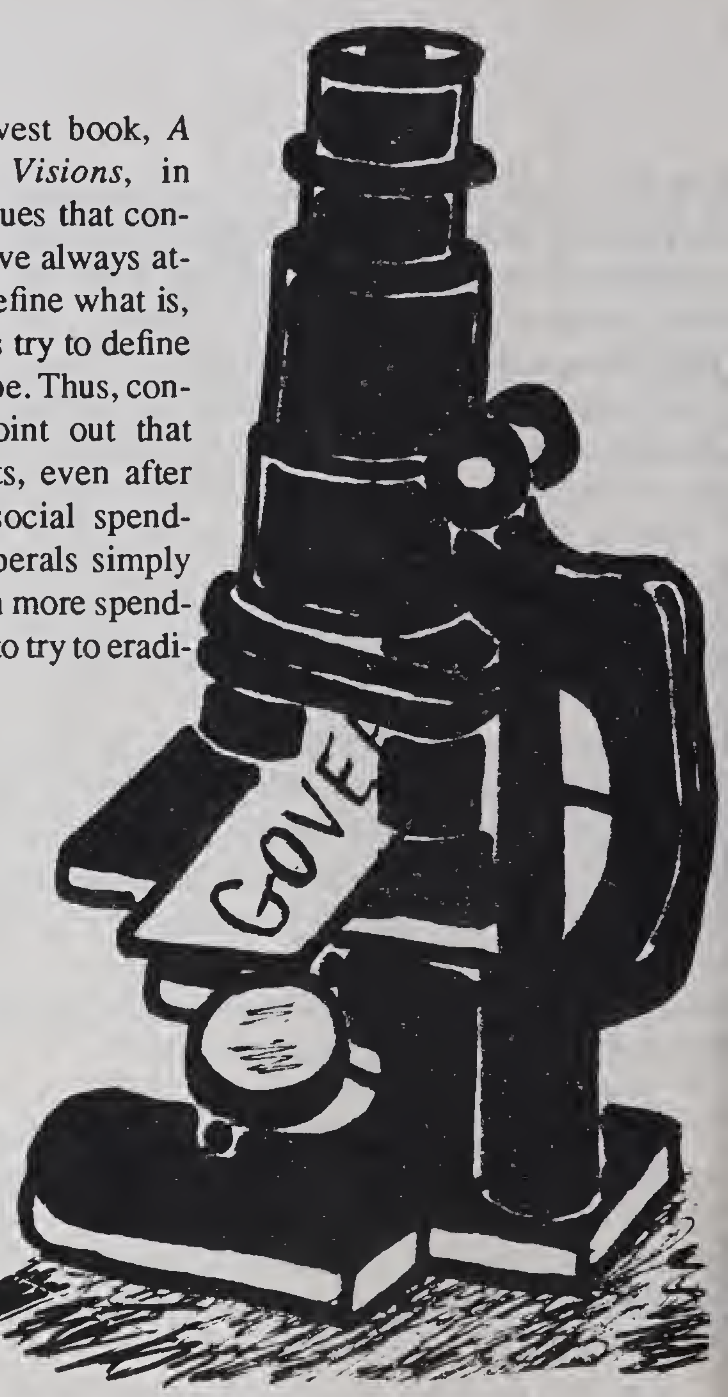
How does this relate to the socialistic programs they are trying to explain the existence of? Well, in the current lexicon of the American polity, it is the social program which enjoys a certain aura of morality and justice that even conservatives find it difficult to condemn. Witness presidential contender Jack Kemp's unwillingness to argue against such political nightmare policies as Social Security and Welfare... Lee and others argue that voters will vote for these programs because they have been told they are moral, and because they couldn't have prevented that extra taxation anyway (their vote is inconsequential.)

Then the vested interests take over. Washington groups or governmental agencies take over the budding programs that the unwitting electorate has voted in, and balloon them into larger and larger tax-sucks. Pork-barrel tactics take over, and Congressmen are unable to maintain control over the fiscal side of policy.

I think this argument has a lot of merit, and it fits in nicely with the oft-quoted phenomenon of people voting Democratic in local elections, Republican in national ones. They can vote to "feel good" on the local level, but elect someone to keep everyone else's "feel-good" voting tendencies at a low level of success. At some level, though, there has to be a point at which people will vote to keep taxes low and veto people who want to spend more and more on social programs. Otherwise, we would never get fiscal conservatives into office like we do. Still, the model is an interesting one.

A second major idea in Dr. Lee's lecture concerned the role of economics in public policy. Public choice theorists, he argues, do not consider the economic theories they espouse to be ideological in any way, as opposed to Marxists or other people who assume an end result before constructing their economic theories to explain them. Public choice simply accepts the inevitable: that people will normally act in a manner which furthers their own self-interests. It would do no good to argue that people should be selfless, they argue, when it is clear that human nature will dictate the opposite.

This does constitute a refreshing objectivity which does not have to base itself in "ivory tower" theories. We all know that people *are* self-interested. This also goes along with Thomas Sowell's newest book, *A Conflict of Visions*, in which he argues that conservatives have always attempted to define what is, while liberals try to define what should be. Thus, conservatives point out that poverty exists, even after decades of social spending, while liberals simply come up with more spending schemes to try to eradicate it.



While I do think that "telling it like it is" makes a lot of sense, I do not agree that Classical Liberals have to buy into a conservative philosophy that dictates that things simply *exist*, and that they cannot be fundamentally changed. Arguing for individual integrity often puts one at odds with these same conservatives, for whom certain things one would change become untouchable. At any rate, public choice theory certainly has a lot to offer the Classical Liberal in terms of the free market; after all, Lee himself describes himself as a Classical Liberal in the opening of his speech!

THE CHALLENGE DR. LEE'S SPEECH LEAVES US IS clear: we must convince people that voting *against* governmental spending fiascoes is a *per se* good thing. We must make people "feel good" when they vote to lower their taxes and kick the big-spenders out of power. While Dr. Lee was somewhat pessimistic about our ability to effect such a change in the minds of the American electorate, he hadn't been exposed to the truly astonishing didactic power of *The Carolina Critic*! Ω

Hood, who is soon to compromise his liberty credentials with a nuptial rite, will attend the UNC Law School next fall—admissions anomalies notwithstanding.

THE DEFENSE BINGE MYTH

Budget priorities have shifted from military to social spending over past decades, creating the huge deficits America faces today

By Robert Allison

ONE OF THE MOST MISUNDERSTOOD ASPECTS OF the budget process is the role of military expenditures. It is a standard liberal assertion that defense spending is responsible for our budget deficit. But this liberal fantasy does not hold up to close inspection.

Let's start with a little arithmetic. Over the past several years military expenditures have amounted to around 25 percent of the budget. It does not take a doctorate in mathematics to see that 25 percent does not a budget deficit make. Domestic spending has accounted for a much larger proportion of the budget than defense. It logically follows that these domestic programs are contributing more to the deficit.

To make this point a little clearer, it is useful to compare domestic and defense spending for the period 1955-1982. During this period U. S. defense expenditures, in 1982 dollars, amounted to $82 trillion. Domestic spending, also measured in 1982 dollars, amounted to $421 trillion. This clearly shows that our recent deficits, and the resulting increase in the national debt, have their roots in ever expanding spending on domestic programs.

Another myth of the new age liberal cult is that of large ncreases in defense spending under Ronald Reagan. But this ne of thinking ignores several important points. First of all, the ncreases that have occurred have not been particularly large, specially when compared with increases in other budgetary ems. Also, Jimmy Carter started a defense buildup at the end f his presidency; in many ways Ronald Reagan was just ontinuing the trend.

> **"While the administration has declared a war on drugs, it seems some members of Congress would rather have a war on defense."**

THIS WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, BUT nfortunately it lasted but a while. Liberal rhetoric aside, there ave been no increases in recent years; military expenditures ave been held constant. As George Will recently noted, olding defense spending constant translates into inflation-adjusted decreases. So much for the fabled defense increases which are so often bemoaned by liberals.

But people often focus too narrowly on defense numbers, citing this percentage of the budget or that percentage of the GNP. The amount spent on defense, in and of itself, is not important. What does matter is how much is spent *vis-a-vis* the amount being spent by one's adversary. Our main adversary, the Soviet Union, spends 13 percent of its GNP on defense. We spend 7 percent of our GNP on defense. *Glasnost* aside, these figures are less than reassuring. But hey, Gorby is such a peacenik that we probably don't have to worry anyway. And if you believe that, well, then you will probably believe most anything.

> **"In the last budget there were several million dollars earmarked for the study of weeds."**

THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS OUTSPEND US ON defense is no big secret. But there will still be wailing and gnashing of teeth by liberal Democrats at the mention of defense spending. They would much prefer spending cuts. While the administration has declared a war on drugs, it seems some members of the Congress would rather have a war on defense.

But this sets up a rather paradoxical situation. Democrats tend to oppose defense spending, which they claim is causing our deficits. But the Democrats have controlled Congress for the past two years and we have not seen any serious attempts to bring the budget process under control.

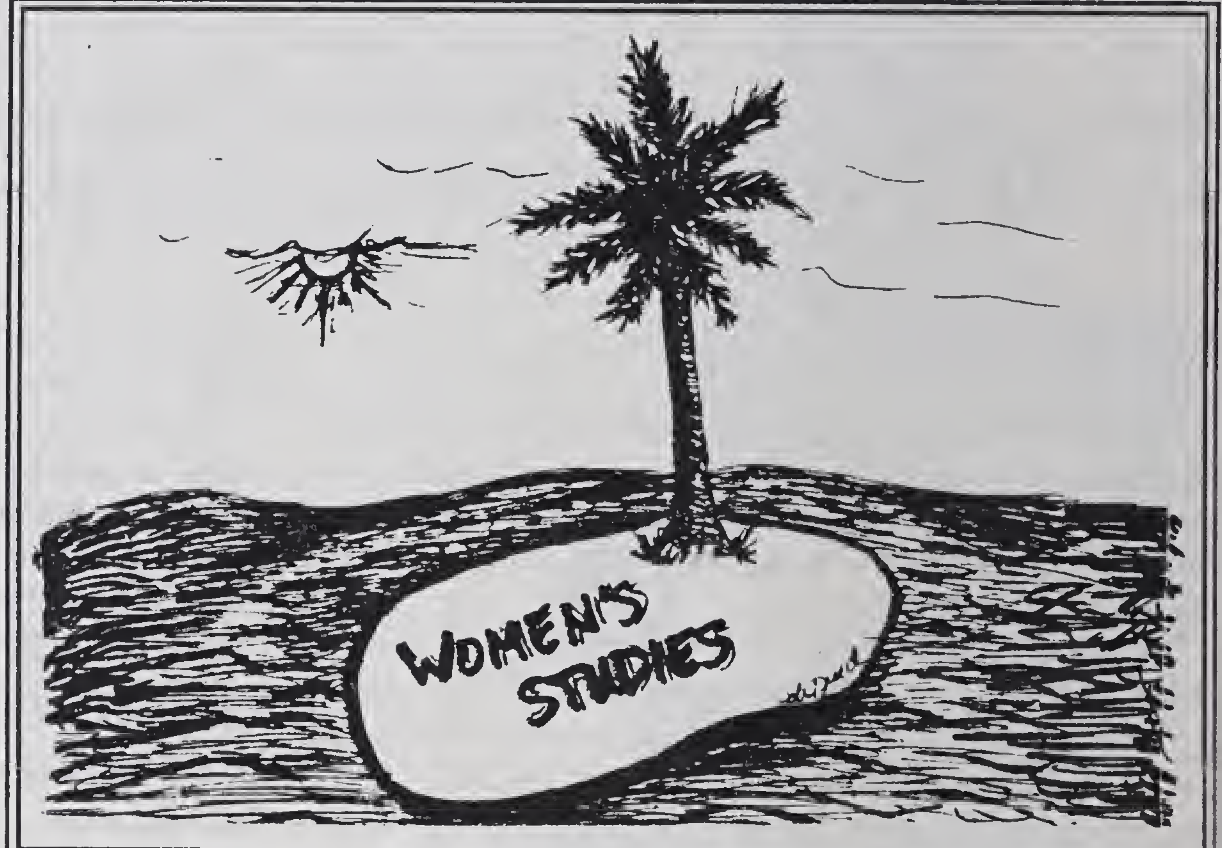
In the last budget, there were several million dollars earmarked for the study of weeds. It is quite disturbing to hear talk of defense cuts when money is being spent on such absurdities. It is time for the Democrats to remember that defense of this country is one of the primary tasks assigned to the federal government by the Constitution. If these gentlemen are not interested in doing it, maybe we should find somebody who is. Ω

Robert Allison is a senior from Old Fort and an officer of the UNC College Republicans.

In the Zoo

By David Hood

FEMINISM AND SELF-IMPOSED EXILE



ANYONE LOOKING FOR A SOCIAL Sciences perspective course?

Well, I was in such a position at the beginning of the semester, and soon found that there were few options for someone who did not already have that particular requirement completed. Given my schedule, I could either try a Psychology 28 course, for which I did not have the prerequisite, or I could sign up for Women Studies 50, *Introduction to Women's Studies.*

Naturally, I chose the Psychology course. But I found out it also interfered with my schedule...

So, I found myself in the Women's Studies class. Not that I particularly minded, really. After all, my being a Classical Liberal carries with it a certain element of feminist belief. We argue that the government has no business enforcing views of the world other than that necessary to protect the life, liberty, and property of mankind. Laws which make a distinction between male and female, like those which do so on the basis of race, are anathema to a free society.

On the other hand, that same theory of government indifference to gender cuts against many of the programs currently advocated by feminist groups like the National Organization of Women, and as I was soon to learn, those advocated by Women's Studies.

On the first day of class, I received the course syllabus. On topics ranging from advertising to the workplace, I was to be the recipient of radical feminist dogma from a variety of sources in the readings. Now normally I wouldn't mind this. After all, I had read some of these selections in other classes, and had selectively agreed or disagreed with the arguments presented.

No, the problem here was the lack of *anything* not in support of a radically feminist view of the world. Saying that the class lacks balance is a serious understatement. I had at least expected something from Phyllis Schlafly or some other anti-feminist writer that the professor might include in order to to ridicule it in class. But nothing was included in the packet of readings, or in the views of guest lecturers, which in any way challenged the orthodoxy which was to become the didactic purpose of the class.

Case in point: Unit Three of the course focuses on "Strategies of Resistance and Change: Achieving Gender Justice," which is a euphemistic way of saying What Can Government Do To Redistribute Income. Certain policies are nearly assumed to be Truth, such as comparable worth legislation or guaranteed day care, without any discussion of their efficacy or their incompatibility with a free society. Instead, the lectures focus on "strategies to achieve economic justice" and "securing a greater measure of gender justice."

In fact, the only context in which the views of the Enemy are discussed was one lecture by Professor Jane Dehart-Matthews on the makeup of the anti-ERA constituency. It was an insightful look at the attitudes of those women who worked against ERA (although their views are given no credence, of course.) Any other mention of the arguments against radical feminist orthodoxy was made only in passing, as Reagan-bashing was quite a popular practice by both instructors and students during the lectures.

NOW GIVEN THE FACT THAT CONtemporary thought on gender-related issues has been left out of the curriculum, what is actually studied during the semester? Well, some of the topics included are quite interesting and worth studying, such as sex-role socialization in young children, or the scientific basis for gender-asymmetric traits. It would be a mistake to assume that everything in this class is so biased that it is not worthy of study.

The problem is the Big Picture. Women's Studies, if this class is typical of its premises and teachings as an independent discipline, dwells entirely too much on the obvious, while giving the more controversial or complex subjects incomplete coverage. Hardly anyone denies the existence of patriarchal views in society, and their odious consequences when combined with the violent enforcement mechanisms of the state. The problem occurs when this study leads to the conclusion that Western tradition is not the "women's tradition," and thus the search begins for distinctly feminine contributions to such fields as science, religion, or the arts.

Denying that women can accept Western philosophy because, for example, Aristotle thought that the womb moved around the body in search of sperm, does not do women any great service. The trick is to agree that women were oppressed in the past, but not reject Western thought on its face because of it. The trend towards having courses which deal only with women in a particular field is disturbing. It assumes that women need the protection of separate courses rather than a general exposure to Western thought in the field in question.

Now the argument frequently made in favor of these segregated course curricula is that women need some of "their own kind" to relate to and identify with, since they cannot do so when dealing only with men. This is also the same argument used to support the notion that minorities need to identify with role

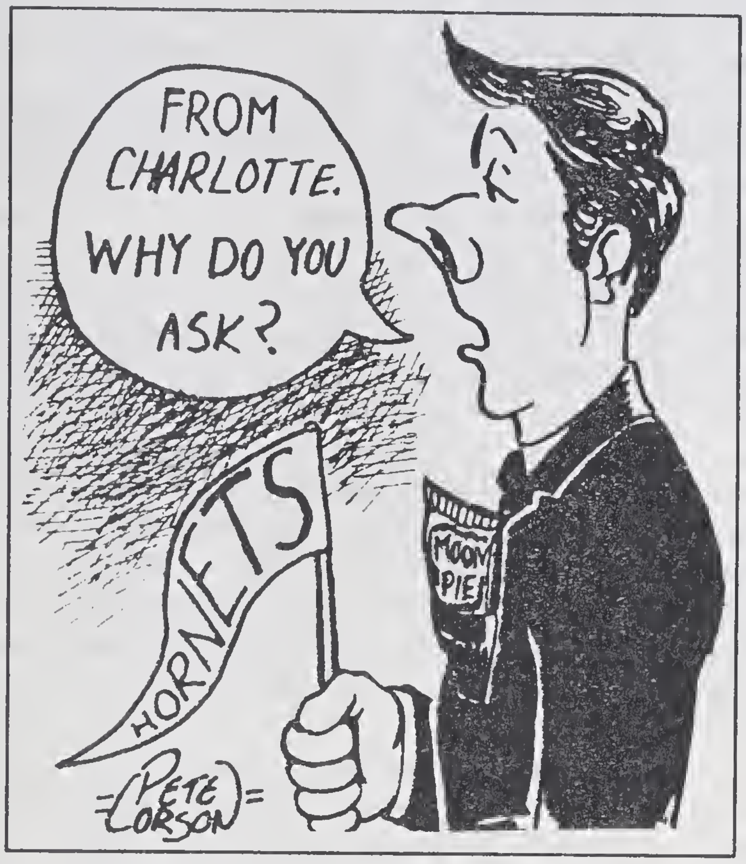
(Continued on page 22)

Our Altered State

By Michael Lowrey

NC's royal pain in the. . .

ASKING FOR JUST A LITTLE RESPECT



WELL, EASTER HAS ARRIVED and passed and I survived my Journey to the Darkest Depths, yes, truly the most hated place in The Old North State and survived to tell about it. I went to Charlotte, and I lived. Indeed, I gained new insights into this state and its politics and economics. And somehow, I even managed to avoid becoming more of a city slicker than I was before.

Charlotte is a strange place in this state: tobacco, furniture or textiles aren't *the big* industry. There seem to be a lot of Republicans in the region, imports most probably from regions where the locals speak and are real Yankees (i.e., not merely from Maryland). More interesting, Charlotte doesn't really seem to care too much about state government and/or Raleigh or anywhere else in this state! Why they even have their own public TV station independent of the North Carolina public TV system, complete with a discussion of Charlotte news in place of a similar show focusing on the state in the North Carolina system.

Beyond these petty inconsistencies with its state lies the dreaded "CH factor," the Queen city's bane and archenemy. Seems people keep confusing it with places like CHarleston, S.C., CHarlottesville, VA. and CHarleston, W.V. Even when the Charlotte Symphony went on a Tour of Europe last summer, confusion was generated when the crowd at a Berlin concert thought the performers hailed from Charlottenburg, a suburb of Berlin! This seems absurd, Charlotte actually has a good sized population (between 350,000 and 375,000, it's the largest city between Washington D.C. and Atlanta), a diversified economy, and is not a port/ major military outpost (read less than desirable area to live next to) with large scale internal division. Nor can Terry Holland (or is it Tom Smith?) and the Virginia legislature be found in Charlotte. Still, ads have been known to exist for airline flights between New York City and the major urban center of Charlotte, — SOUTH CAROLINA.

Going hand and hand with the "CH factor" is a desire by Charlotteans (not Charlottans, as is commonly assumed) to have their city mentioned without the (hopefully) "N.C." following. In short, Charlotte wants to get some respect nationally as a "major league city." This means not just a bigger population. Hell, Jacksonville, Florida has that and gets less than no respect, unless you're looking for a definition of rural sprawl. *It means Major League sports.* The grand plot is that people will see the name Charlotte Hornets in the sports section under the title "NBA" and realize which "CH factor" city, is truly important. And likely, thousands of people will book flights to Charleston S.C. to see the fledgling Hornets. Of course, that is if they don't die laughing at the 60-268 Hornets over their impending first four seasons as the case is likely to be. . . Major League air service (i.e., nonstops to/from London) will magically transform Charlotte from the city people tend to hate on general principles or forget about into, yes, strap your selves into your seats, An International City. It even means news stories in Charlotte that Major League Crime (the Mafia) might be coming to seem more important. In short, Charlotte wants to be Atlanta with better roads. Failing that, not to be in Atlanta's shadow would suffice.

THIS GOAL, THOUGH, IS NEITHER uncommon nor bad. Raleigh basically wants to overshadow Charlotte (never mind Durham and the rest of the great Triangle) and become the dominate city in the state. Fortunately, Charlotte has managed to avoid the largest long term problem facing the Triangle: a multitude of different cities and counties with different agendas doing different things and attempting not to be overshadowed by what's happening in the next city or county. In Mecklenburg county there is no doubt who number one is.

In the Triangle it is a different manner. Raleigh thinks it's dominant in all areas. Durham doesn't want to be overshadowed by Raleigh. Chapel Hill wants to create an alternate reality in which it stays a sleepy little college town, devoid of influence on it by the university, while attracting all the Triangle's aspiring Yuppies to live there and pay taxes. Ultimately, its attempts will fail, but try telling that to Chapel Hill's town fathers. The classic example of what happens can be seen with professional baseball in the Triangle. Durham has a class A team, the Durham Bulls. Raleigh wants minor league baseball (the words "me too" come to mind) and decides to build a stadium. *Then* they realize they need approval of the Bulls owner, who doesn't like Raleigh's choice of owners. All this type of rivalry leads to redundancies, hurt feelings and major impediments to getting important things done, especially if they need regional planning.

The Queen City's image problem gets worse, however, when one talks politics. Leaving aside the hate of Charlotte in certain parts of the state, Charlotte still has political problems in Raleigh. A tendency to vote Republican won't get you far in the General Assembly, nor will replacing your representatives every two or four years get you a lot of seniority. Certain internal divisions don't help either. Indeed, people in the Great State of Mecklenburg are in utter shock these days; state money is on its way to help with the worst of the city's road problems, including the infamous Independence Boulevard which will be made into a limited access express way and the talked-about-for-some-fifteen-years Outer Belt.

Yes, Charlotte may be the Great State of Mecklenburg. It is, at minimum, a place unlike most other in this state: a real Sunbelt city. As for me, I'll gladly go there after graduation. After all, what city or town in either of the Carolinas can offer such a combination of jobs, good public schools and cultural opportunities? And the people there are even friendly! Ω

The World Stage — *By Jeff Taylor*

A SURPLUS OF DEFICIT DEMAGOGUERY

JUST BECAUSE DICK GEPHARDT IS out of the race and his amendment went belly up in Congress does not mean that foes of protectionism can kick back and relax. There's no guarantee that some other populist demogogue won't come along to fan the fires of xenophobia and produce a similar bill.

A number of the myths bandied about in political discourse require an entire philosophic system to retire them. Luckily questions about the trade deficit, where it comes from, and what does it mean, can be explained with only a few facts and some clear thinking.

First, it must be remembered that trade figures are made up of two things: the value of goods one country sells to another and the value of investments a country makes in another. The first part of those numbers is easy to see—it's the Nissans, Sonys, and BMWs. The investments are much harder to find, yet are counted just the same.

Foreign investments have been pouring into the U.S. because of high interest rates. They have funded any number of construction projects and business expansions which help keep the economy strong. Despite this, trade figures including foreign investment are held up to show what bad shape the country is in. How perverse.

Much has been made about how the U.S. is now some sort of "debtor nation." Comparisons are made to Third World basket-cases like Mexico. But there obvious differences. These nations must import large quantities of food to feed themselves or, in the case of Mexico, must borrow vast sums from foreign banks to pay for their government.

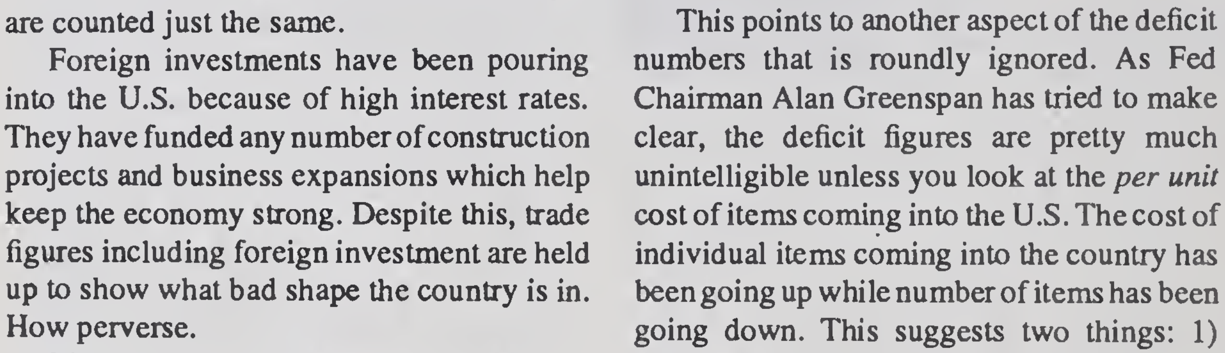
The U.S. trade deficit with Japan is largely the result of millions of individuals deciding that they prefer Sony over RCA, Toyota over Ford, and so on. And no longer is that decision based solely on price. In the last decade the Japanese have moved into higher-priced, high-quality markets. Japanese cars and home electronics have built a reputation for reliability and quality. Consumers can now choose them as much for that as for price. Supposedly, that's how a free market works.

Oddly enough, U.S. trade practices pushed Japanese car-makers into higher-priced, high-profit markets. The "voluntary" limitations on car exports from Nippon to the U.S. gave the Japanese a very good reason to ship over $15,000 cars instead of $5,000 ones. Honda, for example, once made only inexpensive sub-compacts. To take advantage of a perceived weakness in the U.S. car market (and to beat the quota) Honda launched an entire new division—Acura. It now produces up-scale cars for the Brie-and-white wine crowd.

This points to another aspect of the deficit numbers that is roundly ignored. As Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan has tried to make clear, the deficit figures are pretty much unintelligible unless you look at the *per unit* cost of items coming into the U.S. The cost of individual items coming into the country has been going up while number of items has been going down. This suggests two things: 1) Americans are not being swamped by cheap, shoddy goods, 2) American workers must be making enough to afford expensive imported goods.

One would think this is a sign of a robust economy. Instead, the protectionist identifies a trade deficit with a jobs deficit. The simple fact is that millions of jobs have been created in the U.S. while Japan and West Germany have *lost* jobs. Seldom is it news when someone is hired, but when a plant is closed down it is explained as yet another example of America's diminished economic might.

The obsession with reducing the trade deficit has resulted in actions that have very real costs to consumers. In 1987, pronouncements by Treasury Secretary Baker and others that they would like to see the dollar go lower caused an effective devaluation of the currency. Inflation in 1987 almost doubled from 1986. That means that consumers had real dollars taken from their pockets because of a fear of trade deficits.



DOES AMERICA HAVE ANYTHING to fear from its trade deficit? Not at all. The U.S. cannot help but have a trade deficit with most of the developed countries it does business with. The American market for both goods and capital is immense. American firms cannot be expected to sell more and invest more overseas than foreign firms sell and invest here. (The fact that sales and investments in foreign countries by U.S. firms located overseas are not counted as U.S. exports in trade data make it doubly impossible.)

Second, the deficit "problem" is in many ways a matter of semantics. The word "deficit" suggests that something has been lost or missing. But does the U.S. lose something when a foreign good is purchased?

The U.S. consumer receives a car, a TV, o what have you. The Japanese, German, o Korean producers basically receive a promis to be paid later. Since dollars are useless i these countries the producers are willing t take an IOU for yen or marks. The producer are left with pieces of paper while the American consumer receives a valuable product Who has come out better? Isn't the fact tha the producer is willing to forego immediat compensation a sign of his faith in the U.S economy?

The fact is that when an economy is stagnant and consumers are unable to purchas goods, whatever their origin, that nation wi have a trade surplus. Only a fool or one wh wishes to obscure the facts could claim that trade deficit is necessarily a bad thing.

Far worse is government meddling to e tablish an imagined trade balance. Not only free trade between nations disrupted, mark equilibriums are upset to benefit ambitio politicians and a few slothful corporation And the American consumer pays for it surely as he pays his income taxes. The diffe ence is that nothing can be done about t income tax.

ESSAYS

CSA flag under fire

SCHOOLS STIFLE STUDENT EXPRESSION

By Jeff Evans

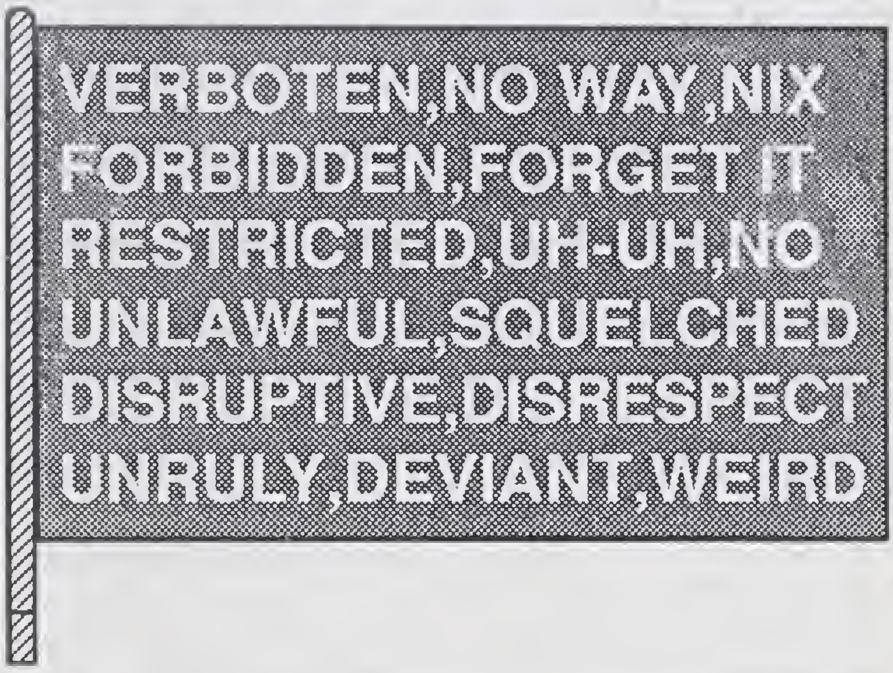
THEY'RE TEACHING SOME VERY INTERESTING lessons in Durham public schools these days. Unfortunately, respect for individual liberty doesn't seem to be one of them.

Tony is a student at Githens Junior High School. The other day he was waylaid by administrators (one being a Mr. Putney from neighboring Jordan High School) who confiscated the denim jacket he wore. Why? Well, it seems the coat (which he had been using without incident since the Fall) bore a rebel flag about the size of a business card on the shoulder. Githens' principal, Dr. Woods, felt constrained to seize the article of clothing because it might cause trouble. I suppose Dr. Woods would have told James Meredith not to enroll at Ole Miss because "it might cause trouble." Since when do Americans forfeit their rights because someone might object to the exercising thereof?

The flag-banning censors' argument often comes down to portraying proud Southerners as Nazis. They want us to think Tony and others like him are Hitler Youth storm troopers goose-stepping up and down the school halls in brown shirts, jack-boots, and rebel flags. Reality is far from this ludicrous straw man; Tony just happens to be a Good Ole Boy (a rare, endangered species around these parts, but not quite extinct) who prefers blue jeans, cowboy boots, and Hank Williams, Jr. to leather pants, chains, spiked bracelets, and the Butthole Surfers (a real group—I didn't make it up.) He also thinks "the Klan's a bunch of jerks."

The new prohibitions didn't stop at Confederate flags, though. T-shirts which read "Black by popular demand" were also outlawed. One wonders where this might lead. If consciousnesses were raised in other areas, the appropriate clothing prohibitions would naturally have to follow would they not? I suppose the Chapel Hill/California Greenpeacers might object to the wearing of wool clothing. ("We must end the brutal exploitation of sheep.") Others might (over a nice lunch of quiche and alfalfa with whole wheat toast) realize that the wearing of cotton is insensitive (given the sordid history of that fiber) and should be made illegal. If this run-amok sensitivity continues to dictate the dress code, students will have to choose between wearing 100% Dacron or going naked (not an easy choice considering the luxurious comfort of polyester.)

Why not punish bullies who threaten their classmates instead of students who are attacked because they dress according to their individual cultures and personal tastes? Administrators like Mr. Putney (who hasn't exactly curtailed his self-expression—he drives a bumper-stickered Black Powermobile) ought to get out of the ideological fashion consultant business.



A Paul Simon liberal announces:

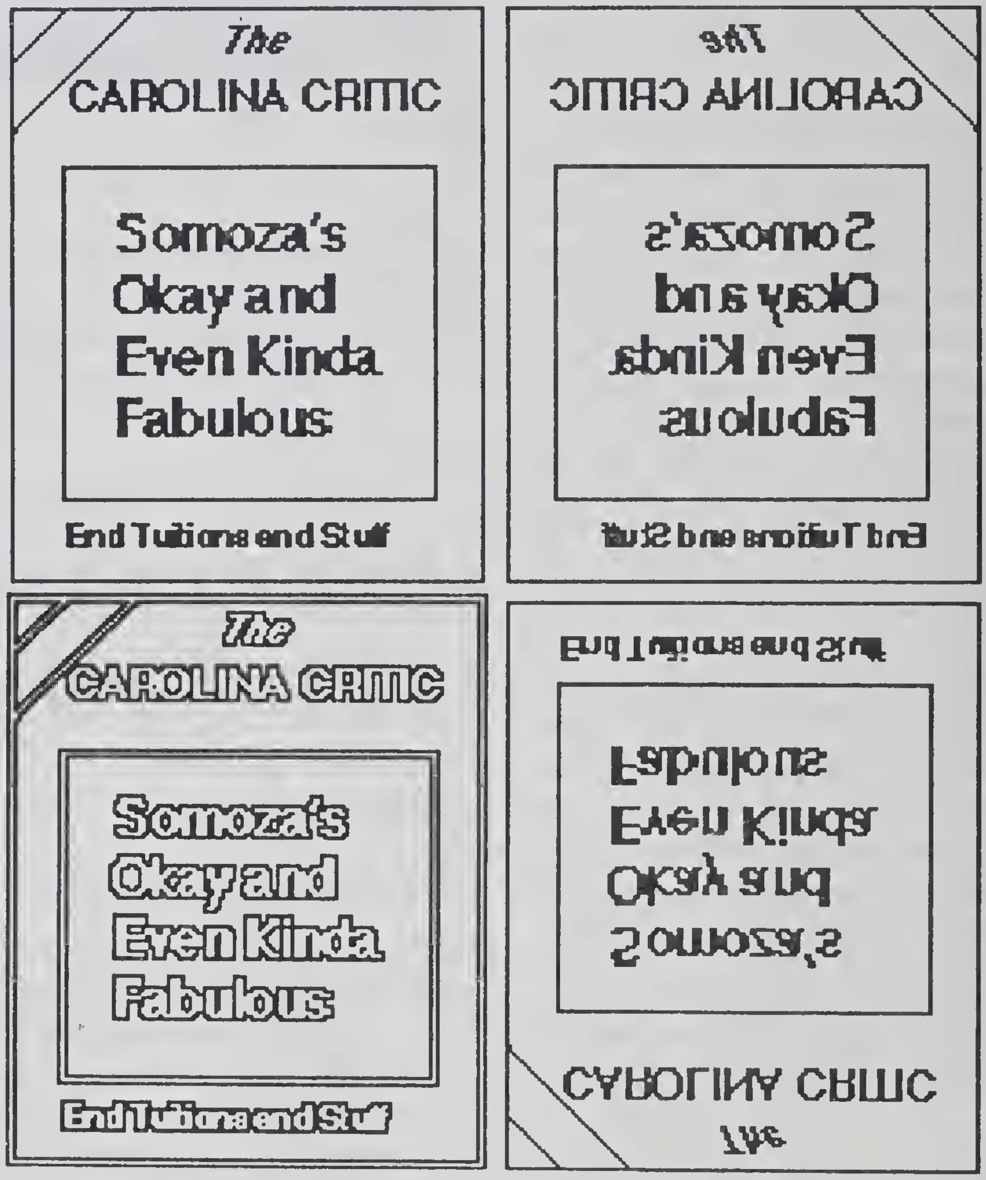
DON'T DISCOUNT A LITTLE CRITIC LEFTISM

By Kenny Felder

IN THE *CRITIC'S* PROSPECTUS, EXCERPTED IN THE second issue (lo, those many months ago), we read that John Hood founded the *Carolina Critic* for the purpose of "instilling reason into the campus debate," with the awareness that "the need to rally groups advocating free minds... is very real." In the past few months, I've gotten the impression that a few cynics doubt these high ideals: our right-wing/libertarian bias is so strong that some readers have begun to consider us a small group of single-minded angry people with closed minds and knee-jerk conservatism. I want to come out now and assure these people that free thought is the first and foremost goal of the *Critic*, far more important than mindless dedication to any particular viewpoint. Regular contributors to the *Critic* range from far-right conservative to far-out libertarian to blatantly apolitical. One aspiring commentator, a student who has published an article in every *Critic* to date, has political attitudes which are, in fact, distinctly *liberal*: not in a John Hood ("classical liberal") sense, but more in a Paul Simon ("Mondale liberal") way. That editorialist is none other than myself, and the article you're reading right now is my conscience-clearing attempt to offer a few opposing viewpoints to the opinions you've been exposed to in *Critic*s past.

Of course, having said that, I am now faced with the tantalizing choice of exactly what to discuss. Glancing over a few past *Critical Eyes* I read that insanity should not be a relevant issue in deciding how to punish a criminal... tax increases can not possibly do anything but harm to the economy... Social Security is inefficient and unjust... "revelling" rhymes with "grovelling"... where, oh where, shall I start? After a bit of soul-searching, I've decided to focus on two issues, CGLA funding and the Soviet Union, and throw out a few random observations which, if not informative, will hopefully at least be thought-provoking.

To start off with, then, the CGLA. If you've even glanced at any previous *Critic* you know this one: the CGC is spending my money against my will, which is *bad*, and on a *good* campus all student groups would sink or swim based on how much funding they could drum up through voluntary contributions and the like. It seems to me you can take that argument a little further, and eliminate tuition altogether: we could all just pay individual professors to teach us what we want to learn, and collectively pay rent to the University (or some private organization that leases out Learning Space) for the rooms, lab equipment, and so on. I heartily welcome anyone who wants to try such a thing to go for it: personally, I prefer for the umbrella organization called UNC to take my money and use it to educate me, shouldering most of the administrative burden itself. I voluntarily pay money every semester which gets distributed behind my back to teachers, computers, the CGLA, and other educational facilities. Then, when a CGLA outreach program volunteer shows up in my sociology class and gives me new insights into a major political and social aspect of the society I live in, I don't really have to worry about who found this person and arranged for him to show up today.



But shouldn't *I* make the decision to fund such organizations? Shouldn't I be able to pay the University for the functions I want, and let you pay for the functions you want? Actually, that's more or less the way it happens: but we do it on a small scale at UNC the same way we do it on a large scale in USA. We use elected representatives. Those crazy founding fathers decided, rather than asking the public to vote on every issue, to allow us to elect representatives to speak for us. In theory, those representatives are elected based on their platforms, and vote according to their promises, so that we get constantly what we ask for every four years. It may not be a perfect system, but I like it better than any other I can think of. If the student body felt strongly enough about not funding the CGLA, we would have elected Keith Poston. If a majority of us really didn't want *any* student fees, somebody with that opinion would have come forth, and would be sitting in Suite C right now with a big red pen. Personally, I'm glad we didn't go that way: but if you want to start worrying about where your money goes, you might be better off looking at mandatory meal plans and the like, which our elected representatives have no say in. Now *that's* taxation without representation, as well as pretty lousy econòmic policy.

TURNING OUR EYES outward from the campus, we find ourselves gazing Eastward toward the Evil Empire. Or Westward, it doesn't matter, you'll find it either way. This, to me, is where the *Critic* manages to come off worst, issue after issue. Look at the cartoon on page eight of issue four. (I *assume* you all keep your back copies, they're going to be worth a fortune some day. But for those of you who've temporarily misplaced issue four, the caption is: "David, peace is at hand! The Phillistines have agreed to the slingshot treaty. And after ratification, Goliath said he'd be down to see you in person.") Quite a knee-slapper: anyone who might think the Phillistines are actually interested in peace is either a traitor or a fool. After all, David was on God's Side, and the Phillistines were on the Other Side. It's a pretty easy universe to live in, since there really are no difficult moral decisions. Which side are you on? If you're Good, anything you do to destroy Badness is justified. The only way you can possibly go wrong is to let your faith in the Good and the Right waver. Then, you're lost.

I DOUBT IF PAT ROBERTSON WOULD BE MUCH offended by the analogy, but I don't think the *Critic* is trying to rely on God to make their decisions for them. But without divine guidance, if Gorbachev says he believes in freedom you can't say "that's impossible because you're just a commie." You have to judge him on his actions, such as promising to move out of Afghanistan, agreeing to an INF treaty, gradually cutting down on internal suppression of dissidence, and so on. Does that mean you have to trust him implicitly? Of course not — I don't trust Reagan implicitly, either. Furthermore, I prefer the way our country is run to the way the Soviet Union is run, and I treasure the First Amendment rights which are denied to so many people living under tyrannies of one kind or another. But Gorbachev hasn't been around for long: isn't it a bit early to start comparing *glasnost* to the Chinese cultural revolution, or calling it "window-dressing for the benefit of Western public opinion"? Do we really know enough to call Brian Bailey, who committed the heresy of being impressed by his meeting with Gorbachev, a "political neophyte" and a "real live useful idiot"?

In issue four, we read that the statement "conflicts between nations merely stem from 'misunderstanding'" is a "trite pacifist absurdity." I personally don't think conflict arises from the devil, and I don't blame the word "communism" either: so I think that, if disagreements *don't* arise out of misunderstanding, they must arise out of greed and narrow-mindedness, the belief on one or both sides that what *we* want is just more important than what *you* think you need. That kind of belief, to me, is the basis of immorality, and both the Soviets and our own hallowed nation have shown themselves to be fully capable of such illogic. I haven't seen enough evidence to convince me that either nation is generally willing to consider the rights or needs of others before its own. Neither have I seen so much brutality that I refuse to believe any indications of change or immorality on either side. But the general *Critic* line seems to be that no matter how many Somozas and Bothas and Battistas we support, no matter how many harbors we mine, it's okay as long as it's In the National Interest; conversely, no matter how many reforms they make and no matter how threatened they feel they are, the Soviets are pure evil until they throw down all their arms and convert overnight to our economic and political system. That's not a contradiction I can live with: in fact it's exactly that kind of doubletalk, exercised on *both* sides of the Iron Curtain, that I blame for most of the conflict in the world today. Ω

[Editor's note: Kenny, oh Kenny, how far have you strayed? In this otherwise fascinating essay claiming your corner of the Critic pantheon, you've overlooked a couple of points relevant to your conclusions. 1) Democracy, which you praise so admirably in discussing the CGLA/student fees issue, is scarcely enough of a political guarantee to protect individual liberties. The fact that 51 percent of a given population wish to oppress 49 percent may be majority rule, but it's not justice. In this case, the idea that the "student body" can decide what to do with my taxed fees assigns ownership of my money to someone else, or more precisely, to something else (since "student body" is a collective term and as such describes no being capable of thought or action, though most of us use the term sloppily).

2) Your reference to the David vs. Goliath cartoon makes a fair point, but I think you missed the thrust of the cartoon: that treaties which ban a certain weapon from each side's arsenal (say, for instance, the INF treaty) aren't always in the interest of both sides. As all young mystics know, Jewish legend tells us that David was able to defeat Goliath only by using his sling; if David had challenged Goliath in swordplay, he would have been slaughtered.—J.M.H.]

Between the Grooves . . .

GODFATHERS' LATEST MIXES TALENT, CLICHES

By Connie Smith

Godfathers/*Birth, School, Work, Death*

GODFATHERS SECOND ALBUM—*BIRTH, SCHOOL, Work, Death* — is an album lacking creativity. Godfathers, which consists of Peter Coyne (vocals), Chris Coyne (bass), Kris Dollimore (guitar), Mike Gibson (guitar) and George Mazur (drums), are very capable musicians, but they say nothing that hasn't been heard before.

The song "Birth, School, Work, Death" is the best of the bunch, but Godfathers, who are supposed to sound angry with life, come across with a much too polished sound, not the rawness needed for the type of music they are trying to play.

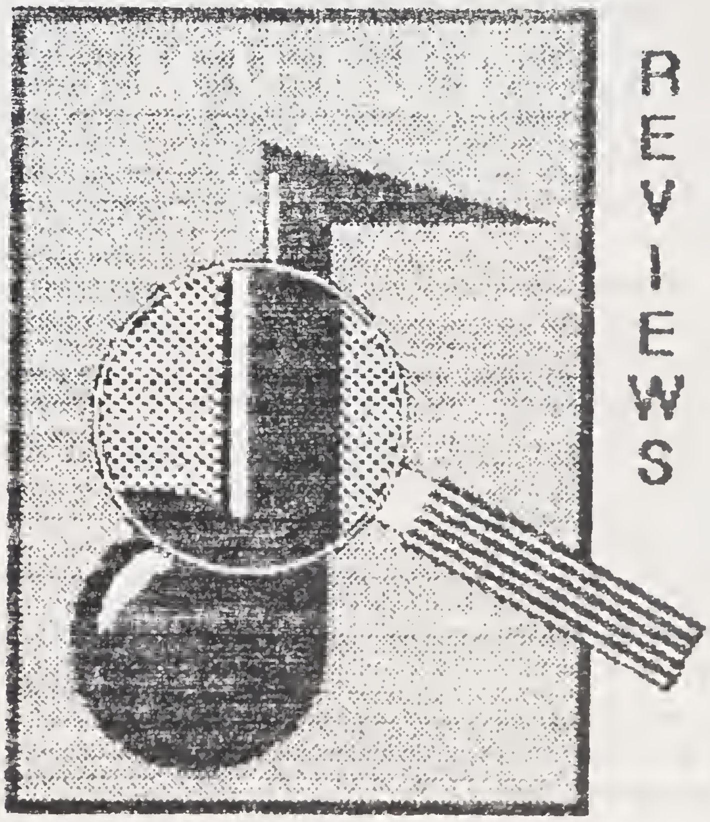
But there is some skillful guitar work. "When Am I Coming Down" has some superb, screaming, guitar action, as well as "'Cause I Said So." Yet, you still feel as if something is missing... originality.

When a band lacks originality, it becomes much too obvious. They go through the motions, and hope that their imitation is convincing enough. I was convinced that they could play, but I had a hard time convincing myself to listen to the album more than two times.

Birth, School, Work, Death has some Iggy Pop, Ramones etc. in it, but where are the Godfathers? Maybe their next album will show us.

Robyn Hitchcock and the Egyptians/*Globe of Frogs*

I happened to be one of the unfortunates who waited two



hours for a Robyn Hitchcock and the Egyptians concert that never was. Robyn Hitchcock had lost his voice and the show had to be cancelled. Hitchcock himself told the crowd of his ailment, and after various shouts of displeasure from the audience, requests rang out for him to "Play! Just Play!" Hitchcock refused, and our only appeasement was the performance of a few songs in which his voice sounded strained, and his face winced.

Robyn Hitchcock knew that he and the Egyptians aren't fantastic musicians: yes, they're good, and Hitchcock can write some catchy tunes, but it is his lyrics which make the song. *Globe of Frogs* demonstrates Robyn Hitchcock's mastery of intertwining his jangley guitar work with lyrics full of imagery and strangeness. In his manifesto on the album cover, Hitchcock states:

> *My contention is,... — and it's a bloody obvious one — that beneath our civilized glazing, we are all deviants, all alone, and all peculiar. This flies in the face of mass marketing, but I'm sticking with it. So loosen your spine, bury your television, and welcome to a Globe of Frogs...*

Though his contention "flies in the face of mass marketing," it did not stop this album from reaching No. 1 on the college charts. *Globe of Frogs* has some great tunes, such as "Sleeping With Your Devil Mask," "Balloon Man" and "Unsettled." Also, there are impressive guest musicians helping out: Peter Buck on "Chinese Bones" and "Flesh Number One." Also, on "Flesh Number One" Glenn Tilbrook joins Hitchcock in singing.

Yet, above all the clever music and tricky guitar work are the lyrics. They have you baffled, and perhaps at first there is no way to decipher them; Hitchcock says that he is "concentrating... on the organic. All of us exist in a swarming, pulsating world, driven mostly by an unconscious that we ignore and misunderstand." But if you listen and look hard enough you can see a story or an idea emerge from the paintings his words create in your head. "In a Globe of Frogs, you know what's right, you know it..."

Robert Plant/*Now and Zen*

"The Rest is History" is the name of the band which sent Robert Plant a demo cassette of "Heaven Knows." "The Rest is History" couldn't have had a more appropriate name. Robert Plant, with the help of this Zeppelin influenced band, opened his eyes to the magnificence of his past and then chose to incorporate it into his future, namely *Now and Zen*.

Robert Plant put together a band consisting of Phil Johnston, keyboardist, who cowrote all of the songs except one, and some of Phil's friends — Doug Boyle, guitarist, and drummer Chris Blackwell. Jimmy Page (indicated by ZoSo) plays guitar on "Heaven Knows" and "Tall Cool One." Together they produced the best Robert Plant album to date.

Plant was clever in his approach of showing his "rediscovery of the past." References to the Zeppelin years were quite overt in "Tall Cool One," where Jimmy Page has the familiar guitar screech from "Whole Lotta Love." And then as the song fades out bits of such Zeppelin hits as "Black Dog" and "Dazed and Confused" are dubbed in. With other numbers, though, Led Zeppelin references are manifested in the songs' actual power and passion. "Helen of Troy," "Billy's Revenge" and "White, Clean and Neat" have more strength than previous Plant songs.

Calling *Now and Zen* a Zeppelin revival, though, is going a bit too far. That was then and this is now. Led Zeppelin albums are still in production, so if you want Zeppelin, buy Zeppelin. But if you want to hear what one of the band members is doing now, without disappointment, pick up *Now and Zen*. Ω

Women's Studies Exposed

(Continued from page 16)

models of their own race, etc. Again, however, the assumption is that women (or blacks) cannot fully appreciate the thoughts and theories of white men, even when the subject is completely unrelated to race or gender.

And, of course, the corollary of this belief is that men such as myself cannot objectively comprehend "women's issues." This is reinforced in some of the assignments of the Women's Studies class I took. Some were worded in such a way as to be completely impossible to complete as a male. Our first paper asked us to interview a woman different from ourselves on the basis of race, age, or "sexual preference." Of course, *any* woman would be fundamentally different from myself, (although I probably could not have interviewed a lesbian, since we have the same "sexual preference" for women...) The second paper could deal with "Women and Creativity" by having us "explore our own creativity by designing a project." Again, my attempt to do so would fall outside the assignment, since it would be an instance of Men and Creativity.

Or how could I possibly complete the readings in one of our textbooks (called *Our Bodies, Ourselves)* when it clearly states on the cover that the truths within are written "by and *for* women" only?

Now no one attempted to enforce these obviously unintentional flaws in the assignments, but my point is a rhetorical one. It is the feminists themselves who claim that patriarchal use of language *subconsciously* serves to exhibit the anti-feminist views of the speaker. So, the wording of the assignments that in effect excluded me from taking part could have been equally subconscious in origin. These examples simply go to show one the inate separatism of the discipline itself.

THE PREMISE PRESENTED, THAT the thoughts of females, (or blacks, etc.) are incongruent with those of white males, is not only a self-imposed admission of gender-difference, as I argued above, but it is also *dead wrong*. Let's take a specific example: me. Even though I am a white male (who is sometimes considered a conservative) my favorite philosopher is Ayn Rand, a woman; and two of my favorite economic writers are Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams, both black. To the classical liberal, people require or deserve no special attention as a result of their race, creed, gender, or even sexual preference. And their opinions are to be judged in a rational, objective manner, with virtual blinders to the particular personal characteristics of the author.

But the theoreticians of Women's Studies argue that differences among humans require special treatment by societal institutions. (For that matter, so do racists, and men who want to keep their women barefoot and pregnant.) These theoreticians argue for subsidized day care, federally-mandated wage scales, and other nefarious schemes to be enforced by the violent extortion of personal property on the part of the government, i.e. taxes.

This set of beliefs would constitute a major step backwards for the status of women in our society. We have virtually eliminated sexual discrimination by the government; which was predicated primarily upon the notion that women were unable to make their own decisions and run their own lives. Now the feminist thought accepted as unquestionable truth in Women's Studies 50 would again discriminate on the basis of gender, this time in favor of women rather than at their expense.

What feminists need to realize is that *physical force*, as evidenced in the relative strength of men, as well as in the powers of the state, was the primary means through which women were kept in an inferior status throughout human history. Using it to achieve their own ends, by mandating feminist ideology on the public at the point of a gun, would undoubtedly lead to the oppression of other people. Sexism in the private sphere cannot be defeated through tax-and-spend legislation, only through a revolution of ideas.

Unfortunately, my experiences in Women's Studies indicate that its practitioners have yet to except this maxim. Ω

By John Hood

Scare tactics overwhelm substance

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THAT WASN'T

POLITICS IS LARGELY A CONTEST of codewords.

If this fundamental truth has ever been open to doubt, that doubt was laid to rest on March 22, when both the Senate and House of Representatives voted by large margins to override President Reagan's veto of "The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987." This bill asserted federal civil rights oversight over entire institutions throughout the United States, be they small businesses, churches, or other entities, that accept federal money for any program.

This bill was known to more serious debaters on both sides as the "Grove City Bill," since the measure was designed to overturn the 1984 Supreme Court decision on a claim by Grove City College, a small liberal-arts school in Pennsylvania, that federal student aid received by students of the school did not place their entire school under federal authority. The Court agreed with the college in the decision, finding that federal authority could be asserted only over those specific programs of an institution receiving federal money. For instance, only the financial aid office of Grove City College, the program receiving federal student aid, was covered by federal authority under the 1984 decision.

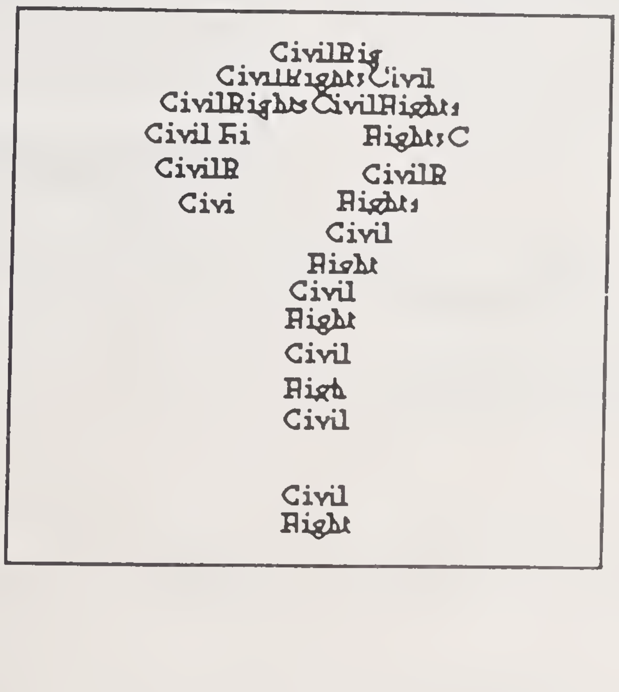
What many foes of the Grove City Bill of 1987 tried to make clear—and what most news coverage and Congressional floor debate skirted—was that the Grove City decision had nothing to do with "civil rights" *per se*. Indeed, the college had never discriminated on the basis of race, sex, handicap, or any other bias. Nor had there ever been an accusation by anyone that the college did discriminate. The real issue was federal auhority: whether proximity to federal money was to be treated the same as receiving federal money, hence bringing entire new categories of private and religious entities under federal egulation, oversight, and control.

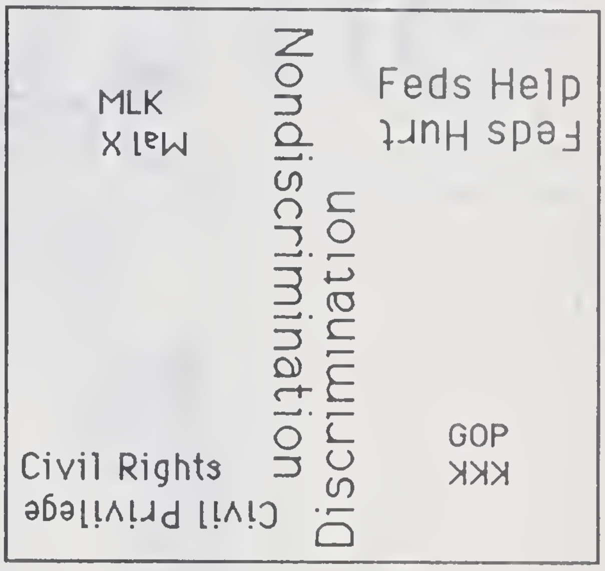
THE IMPLICATIONS ARE TRULY ar-reaching. If a small supermarket by its wn free and compassionate decision decided o accept food stamps for purchases, the Feds ould impose all types of regulations on the market—regulations under which many firms perating on tight budgets could never surive. If a community church accepts federal aid to run a homeless shelter, the entire church could be subject to federal oversight of its programs, services, and even membership.

These and other possibilities that the 1987 bill allowed, affecting everyone from family farmers under federal agricultural programs to charities accepting federal dollars, generated a great deal of opposition from various individuals and groups across the country. Bill supporters assured their constituents and colleagues that these hypothetical scenarios would not happen under this measure. But since President Reagan's veto of the Grove City Bill was accompanied by suggested language to prevent this unprecedented intrusion into private enterprise and religious liberty, the acceptance of which Reagan said would guarantee his support of the legislation, why would Congress need to depend on assurances when the opportunity clearly existed to protect these liberties in the bill?

The answer is, of course, that the bill was a "civil rights" bill. Centrist members of Congress who may have had genuine concerns about the bill and its murky language could still ill afford to vote against "civil rights." So the measure, and its sloppy text, passed overwhelmingly.

The term "civil rights" has taken on incredibly diverse, novel, and even contradictory meanings since the great movement of the 1950's for equal treatment under the law. The term means non-discrimination (against blacks and other minorities) as well as discrimination under affirmative action programs (against whites and Asians.) It means contempt for government tyranny (in Jim Crow laws and voting rights) as well as support for government management of "social and economic justice" (in the workplace, the church, the private school, and social clubs).





But no matter. "Civil rights" is now a codeword, like "democracy" and "Communist." It means different things to different people. But failure to honor its exalted place in our vocabulary is considered high treason.

There is a legitimate problem that necessitates federal action. Though churches, schools, businesses, and social organizations should be free of government intrusion—as religious and economic liberty dictates—federal money cannot justly be used for the purposes of discrimination. Of course, one source of this conflict is the use of taxpayers' money to fund all sorts of private and religious activity which should more properly be funded from private sources. But in the event that Congress, unwisely, gives money to an organization for a particular purpose, that organization cannot use the money to violate the fundamental principle of "equal treatment under the law."

THE BOTTOM LINE IS THIS: THE opposition to "The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987" was not opposition to civil rights. There is no law in politics against false advertising. When the Congress declined the opportunity to discuss the matter intelligently, and to make sure that religious liberty and property rights be protected clearly in the bill, it was voting against "civil rights."

Because, you see, freedom from government intrusion into out private economic and religious lives used to be the most fundamental civil right of all—and should be again. Ω

INTELLECTUAL AMMUNITION

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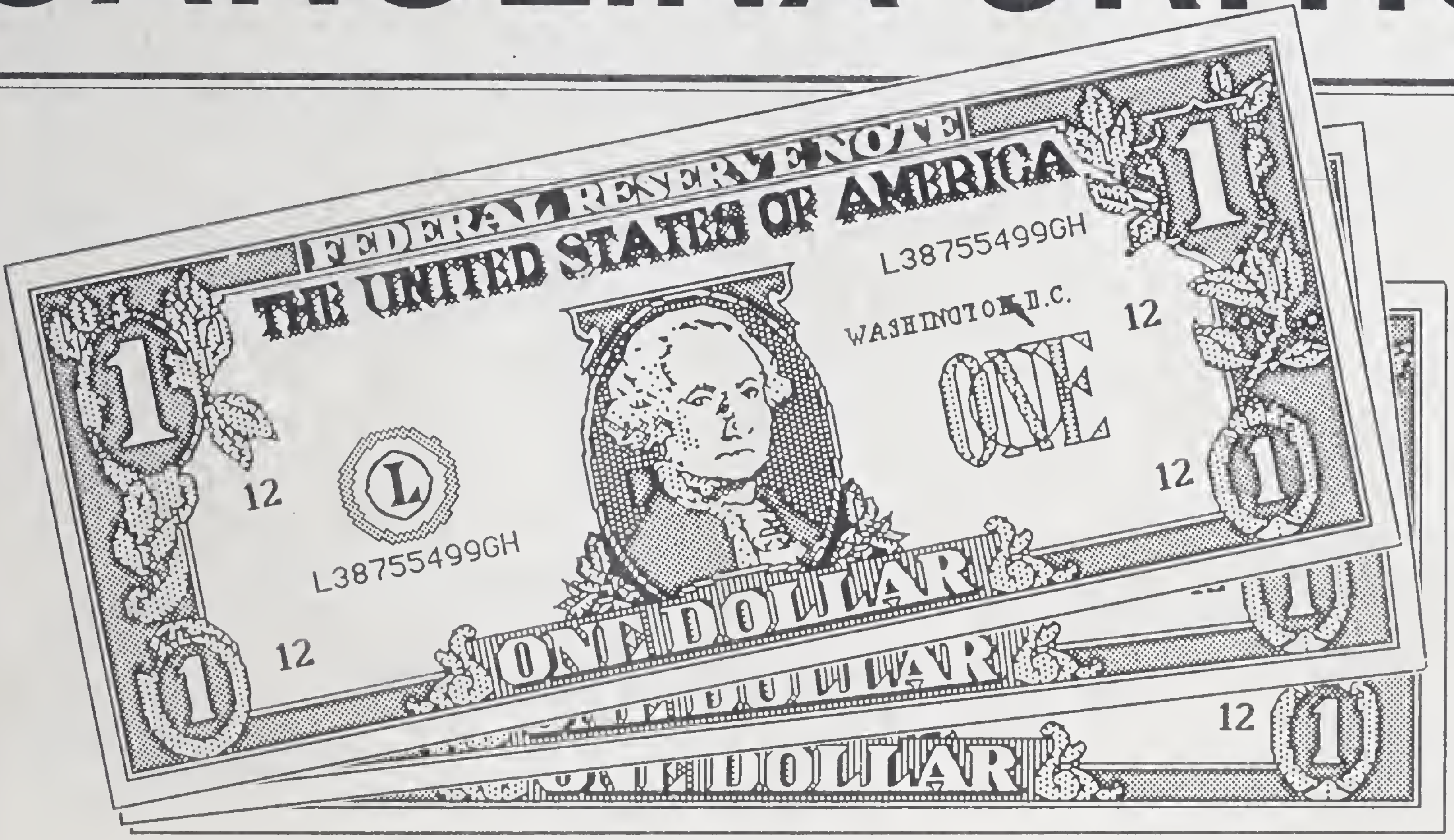
Vol. 1, No. 8
Summer 1988

The CAROLINA CRITIC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STRETCHING YOUR DOLLARS

UNC GOVERNMENT BUDGET

EXPLODING COLLEGE COSTS

MYTH OF REAGAN TAX CUTS

GRADUATION AND POMPOUS CIRCUMSTANCES

HOW TO WATCH 'NAM MOVIES WITHOUT REALLY TRYING

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of Opinion

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The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the discussion of individual liberty and its relationship to politics and society. It is affiliated with very little of merit or stature, and is also nonpartisan, non-religious, antisocial, unseemly, and not Baalist, really. Subscriptions cost $10 a year, though other covert aid is encouraged. Send all correspondence and submissions to:
The Carolina Critic
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Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

In This Issue . . .

3 Up Front
Michael Lowrey examines the current crisis in Israel, and the ramifications of oppression on the country's unique moral persuasiveness.

4 The Critical Eye

7 In the Zoo
The futility of commencement ceremonies and what it reveals about today's college students are discussed by University columnist David Hood.

Stretching Your Dollars

8 **Let Me Tell You How It Will Be**
Harry Bleattler reports on the student budget process, its pitfalls, constants, controversies, and inherent confusion.

9 **One For You, Nineteen For Me**
John Hood examines the upward pressure placed on college tuition costs by government education subsidies, and the failings of proposed solutions to the cost spiral.

12 **'Cause I'm the Taxman**
The standard line about Reagan's tax cuts and subsequent shortfall of revenues is simply an elaborate myth, says Jeff Taylor, who points out how the tax burden has risen on average families during the 1980s.

15 Essays
Duke Correspondent Chris Haines looks back at two movies that started a new wave of Vietnam era dramas on television and film.

Up Front

By Michael Lowrey

Israel in danger of denying its history

LIMITED OPTIONS ON THE WEST BANK

ANOTHER DEAD PROTESTOR. AN additional riot, more tear gas and stones. Slowly, the continued violence on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip has begun to seem almost commonplace, an unfortunate, yet daily, routine. As press (and world) attention is drawn elsewhere, the basic issue remains: Israel's problem of how to deal with large numbers of unfriendly people in occupied areas. While much uncertainty exists about the future, one thing is clear: Israel cannot remain a Jewish democracy while retaining its unique moral position — as well as the West Bank and Gaza.

Under Israeli occupation since 1967, the West Bank of the River Jordan is a predominately Palestinian (Moslem) region of Jordan. The eastern half of the holy city of Jerusalem also fell to the Israelis during the Six Day War and has since been annexed by Israel. The Gaza Strip is a slim, formerly-Egyptian strip of land along the Mediterranean densely populated by Moslems under Israeli occupation.

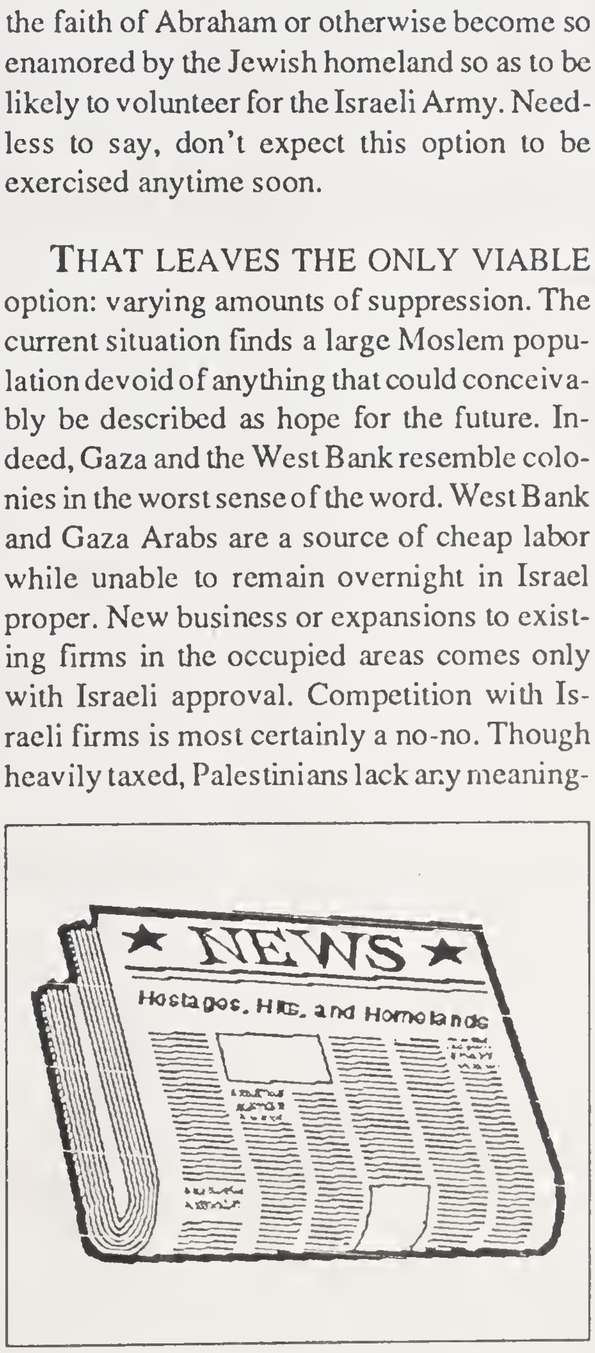
The question then is what Israel should do with these areas. There exist powerful reasons why Israel wants to keep control of the occupied territories, not least of which is security. After four major wars and a host of lesser invasions, raids, skirmishes and the like over the past 40 years, the Israelis are justifiably concerned about having (potentially) hostile neighbors too close. For many Israelis, in artillery range, ie. just across Israel's border with the West Bank, is too close. Also important is that occupied areas can't be used as a source of regular troops for wartime duty by the enemies of the Jewish homeland.

Beyond these security interests lies another extremely potent reason for retaining the West Bank under Israeli control: religion. Large numbers of Orthodox Jews consider everything up to the River Jordan to be theirs by right, as stated in their holy texts. Such Orthodox Jews are extremely important in Israeli politics, especially to Prime Minister Shamir and his Likud party (which, along with the Labor party, is one of the two major political parties in Israel) which depends on such Jews for votes or their minor parties as (traditionally) alliance partners in attempts to obtain a majority in the Knesset (or Israeli parliament).

Having (for the time being) deemed it necessary to occupy the West Bank and Gaza, the Israelis must deal with the local population. Four basic options exist: the Palestinians can be killed, deported, suppressed or made Israelis. Israeli public opinion makes it impossible to shoot or otherwise exterminate the lot of them, if that were even considered by policymakers. Nor can it be said that the Israeli people (or U.S. or world opinion) would allow the entire non-Jewish population to simple be deported to, say, Lebanon.

A third option, annexing the West Bank et al., is only marginally more appealing to Tel Aviv. Such a use of the carrot would require giving *all* West Bank residents Israeli citizenship, including the right to vote. Given current population trends, this would soon lead to the interesting irony of the Jewish homeland being so successful militarily that its Jews are an outnumbered and outvoted minority in a sea of Moslems. Nor is it likely that a million and a half Moslems will suddenly be converted to the faith of Abraham or otherwise become so enamored by the Jewish homeland so as to be likely to volunteer for the Israeli Army. Needless to say, don't expect this option to be exercised anytime soon.

THAT LEAVES THE ONLY VIABLE option: varying amounts of suppression. The current situation finds a large Moslem population devoid of anything that could conceivably be described as hope for the future. Indeed, Gaza and the West Bank resemble colonies in the worst sense of the word. West Bank and Gaza Arabs are a source of cheap labor while unable to remain overnight in Israel proper. New business or expansions to existing firms in the occupied areas comes only with Israeli approval. Competition with Israeli firms is most certainly a no-no. Though heavily taxed, Palestinians lack any meaningful impact on the political emviroment they live in — except by rioting.



Unfortunately, with this comes the risk of losing Israel's greatest asset, its unique moral persuasivess. The very foundation of Israel can be traced to an international feeling that the Jews, as a people who had been suppressed and, more often than not, persecuted for many centuries, finally deserved a nation to call their own. The ultimate and persuasive event was Nazi Germany's Holocaust.

Yet with this moral distinctiveness came a special obligation of living up to a higher standard. The actions of Israel must be pure of the sort of repression aimed at the Jewish people for those many years if Israel is to be proven worthy of the gift of nationhood. If, however, the Israelis show themselves to be no better than their past surpressors, what claim can Israel have to continued existence? Somehow the idea of *might being right* for the survivors and children of the survivors of the Holocaust is too loaded with a grim irony to bear.

But it is precisely this that suppression of the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza implies. Though tight controls can be justified by military necessity, after twenty years such excuses become laughable. Nor can the dirth of Arab leadership be claimed as an excuse for lack of Israeli unilateral action.

Israel must make a choice of what it values. It cannot retain the West Bank without surrendering its unique moral position, Jewishness, or democratic nature. There are no easy answers. However, one would hope Israel has more to offer than brute force and violence, as typified in the assassination of Abu Jihad. Or may it be that the *Pogroms* taught no one the lesson of freedom and dignity after all — not even their victims? Ω

THE CRITICAL EYE

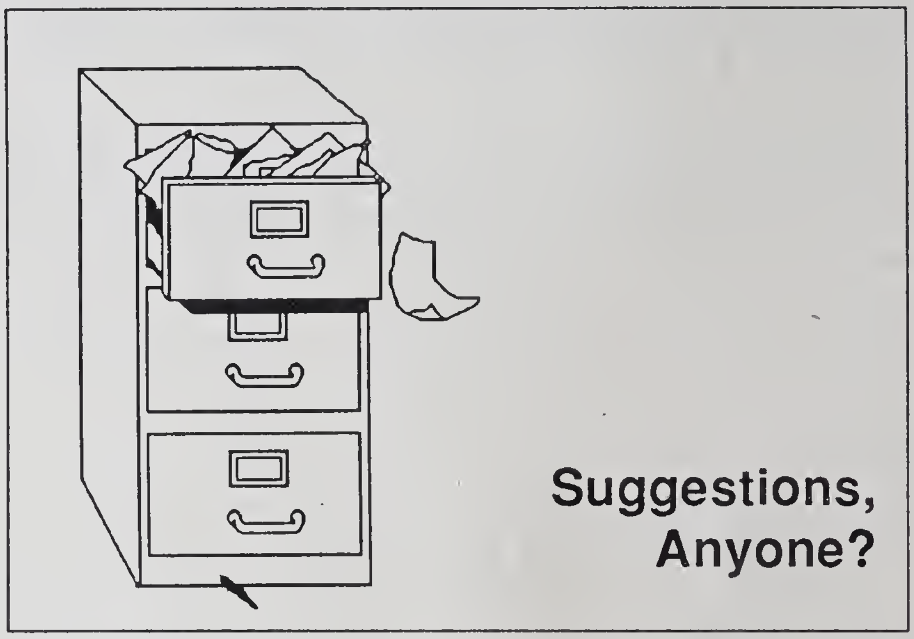
Vol. 1, No. 8
Summer 1988

• Chapel Hill has decided it needs a new seal & motto. The town engineers(!) have suggested "Pride in the Past, Faith in the Future." Ho-hum. Better suggestions? "Orange County Uber Alles" is nice, but too likely to be mispronounced. Borrowing from another local motto, how about "to Tax rather than to Seem"? Or why not come out and just say what everyone in town government is always thinking? "Durham Sucks."

• Sensible folk are already growing tired of all the election year excess — and the TV ads haven't even hit yet! Lest we become too cynical about the whole mess let's recall just how fortunate we are. In Moscow earlier this month Russian dissidents, sixty of them, were arrested when they tried to form an opposition party. They called themselves the Democratic Union and called for "political and economic pluralism" in the Soviet Union. By his actions (quick, brutal surpression) Gorby has made it clear that he is not prepared for such activity. Political pluralism doesn't come until the next stage of *glasnost*, roughly translatable as "when hell freezes over."

• Number of middle-level civil service posts in Japan: 6,500. Number of those posts held by women: 36. *The Economist* also reports that a mere 7.3 percent of working women there have a subordinate under them. Now, the next time a feminist crunchie states matter-of-factly how America is the center of patriarchical evil in the modern world, you'll be able to suggest another candidate for that important title.

• If you've been living in a cave (or Carrboro), you might not know about the Reagan Administration's "zero tolerance" program. It's part of the Feds' effort to bring the war on drugs to drug consumers. Customs and the Coast Guard have always searched vehicles and their occupants when they enter U.S. territory, and have always fined those found with drugs. Now the idea is to confiscate any vehicle which is found to have any illegal drugs on board. So far about 600 cars and a dozen ships have been claimed by the government as booty in this war. Citizens have lost their cars or boats even if a *passenger* was found to have a minute quantity of marijuana. We had thought that the linchpin of any anti-drug campaign — or indeed of American jurisprudence — would be the notion of personal responsibility. The principle of collective guilt only allows those who choose to use or deal drugs to say "it's not my fault" or "I can't help it." These philosophical nuances aside, if in the near future you plan to re-enter the Land of the Free (sic) be sure to conduct a cavity search of your passengers or risk losing your vehicle. Remember, in totalitarian states, cars are *so* hard to come by.



• The prolific novelist Robert Heinlein is dead at the age of 80. Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land* and *Starship Troopers* are certified science fiction classics. His futuristic settings often juxtapose free societies with police states, with Heinlein's sympathies always with the former. Liberty can never have too many advocates, and one as imaginative and forceful as Robert Heinlein is sure to be missed. And, one might hope, *grokked*.

Antagonistic Aphorisms

∞*Adultery is the application of democracy to love.*
—H.L. Mencken

∞*Conservative, n. — A statesman who is enamored of existing evils, as distinguished from the Liberal, who wishes to replace them with others.*
—Ambrose Bierce

∞*He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches.*
—G.B. Shaw

∞*War is father of all and king of all, and some he shows as gods, others as men; some he makes slaves, others free.*
—Heraclitus

∞*Love well, whip well.*
—Ben Franklin

• For some time now the Chapel Hill Town Council has been entertaining the idea of putting a surcharge on tickets to University events. The town deserves it, they say, for providing such luxuries as roads and police protection for the events. What they don't say is that this tax is a great way to get revenue from folks who can't vote for, or against, the town council. Well, a few weeks ago Mayor Jonathan Howes nixed the entertainment tax idea basically because the General Assembly did not vote on whether to give Chapel Hill the special permission it needs to levy

Election '88

SO THE LATEST **George Bush** gaffe is that he knew Gen. **Noriega** was hip deep in coke money before annointed members of the free press did? Sorry, but his real screw up has been denying this charge. *Of course* George Bush, and anyone else who was awake during debate on the Panama Canal Treaty, knew that there was evidence that the Panamanian military was not above drug running. Our own Sen. **Jesse Helms** voiced concern about this back in 1977, but was steamrolled by the **Carter** State Department. Arguments against giving the canal away were consistently ignored and evidence of drug involvement swept under the rug. Those in charge of the Bush campaign (Bush?) should have come out swinging with these facts instead of pleaded ignorance. You can use that defense only so many times before American voters start to believe you.

STATE SEN. **HAROLD Hardison** (D-Lenior) has decided not to seek a runoff in the race for the Lt. Gubernatorial nomination. Hardison, a backwoods conservative-type, evidently realized he did not project the "progressive" image the Democratic Party is striving for. This means that self-proclaimed progressive **Anthony Rand** will face Republican **James Gardner** in November. Current Lt. Gov. **Bob Jordan** evidently helped Hardison make his decision by assuring him that the party would help Hardison retire his $400,000 campaign debt after he got out. If Hardison didn't get out quick — well, you know how it goes. . .

MEANWHILE, IN WILD and wooly Robeson County, a contest of sorts was held for the newly created superior court judgeship. In the Democratic primary, **Joe Freeman Britt** was on the ballot along with slain Lumbee Indian activist **Julian Pierce**. Of course, Britt was already de facto judge because there are no Republicans in Robeson County. But Pierce got 2,000 more votes than Britt in the contest. Asked to explain this, Britt told *The Fayetteville Observer* that "the Pierce crowd was riding on a wave of sympathy. Heck, even I feel sorry for the man. He's dead." Good to know that all you'll have to do to get pity from Judge Britt is come before him dead.

WE NOW BRING you another episode in that thrilling drama *A Duke and His Veeps.* When we last saw our elfin hero, he was meeting with Sen. **Bill Bradley**, but not over the Veepship we're assured. Good for the Duke, he doesn't need another Yankee (and former Knick !!) on the ticket. Besides, Bradley's way too tall to be second banana to the former Gov. of the **Keebler Tree**. Still lotsa talk about **Sam Nunn** — he's about as short, Southern, and knows more about foreign policy that most senators. But **Eleanor Smeal**, head of NOW and victim of perpetual PMS, says Nunn is not strong enough on "Women's Issues." This, of course, rules Nunn out. However, **Alan Alda** is still available. . .

OH RATS — TOO tall, again.

SIT DOWN. TAKE a deep breath and relax. Ready? **Jesse Helms** has given his permission for a committee to be formed which will work toward his re-election in 1990. Go to your therapist now.

JESSE JACKSON REFUSES to let **Terry Sanford** forget that Sanford endorsed **Al Gore** for president. While orating in West Virginia Jackson said Sanford and Virginia Gov. **Chuck Robb** used "subtle racism" to steer Dems away from Jackson. Subtle? Presumably voters thus inclined already knew Jackson was black before any hint dropping started. And accusing Terry Sanford of being a racist is absurd. A wishy-washy, mealy-mouthed boob maybe. But not a racist.

— Jeff Taylor

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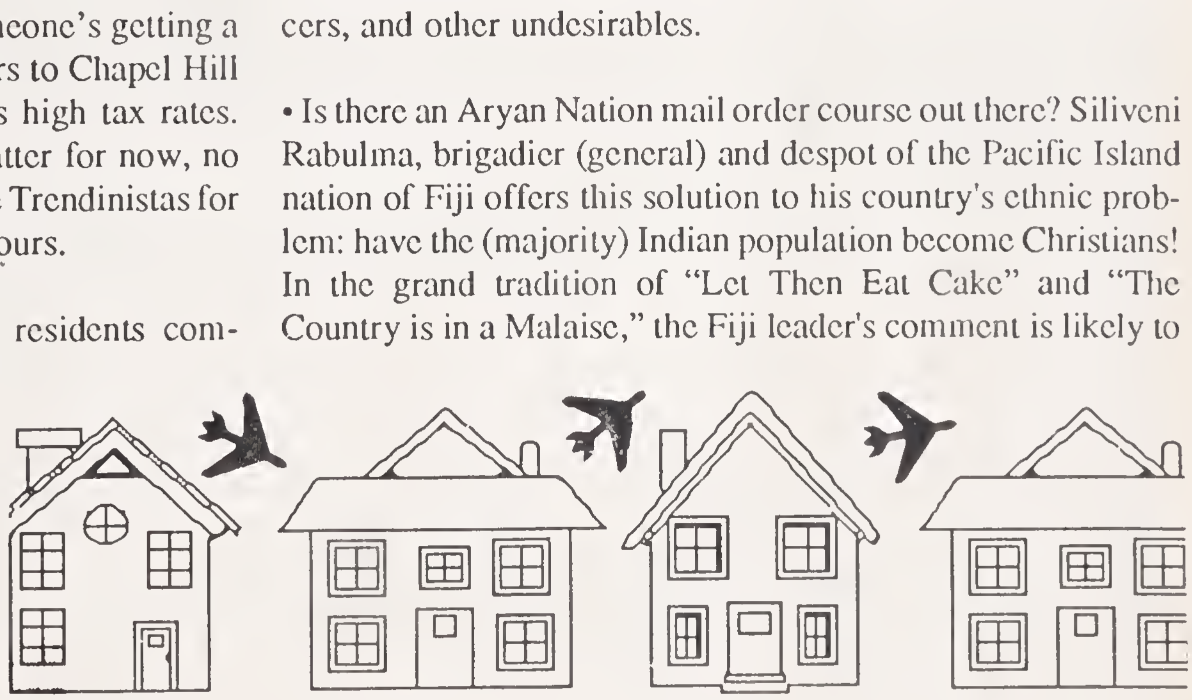
the surcharge. The Mayor said that it is unlikely the Assembly will act on it during the summer, either. But it's far from clear that we've seen the last of this scheme. As proposed it would have added $1 to the cost of all tickets in arenas (read: Kenan and the Dean Dome) which seat more than 15,000. Evidently it's not enough for the town council that such events generate hundreds of thousands of dollars for the town economy (and hence the government coffers) every year. Being muddle-headed liberals, the council believes that since none of this money goes *directly* to government, then someone's getting a free ride. They need to remember than visitors to Chapel Hill pay high prices due in part ot Chapel Hill's high tax rates. While Raleigh's reticence has settled the matter for now, no one should ever have to cough up a buck to the Trendinistas for the privilege of being in Chapel Hill a few hours.

• Earlier this month, Mecklenburg County residents complained to the FAA about low-flying Army helicopters and planes. It seems that several people were bounced from their beds by treetop-skimming aircraft. When asked about the ruckus, Air National Guard Maj. Harry Keyes said: "It might be communists for all I know." Or, for all Maj. Keyes knows, Amelia Earhardt.

• Only in South Carolina could one find the most entertaining federal highway: I-85. At one point the minimum legal speed goes up to 45 mph from 40 at the same time the maximum speed limit goes down from 60 mph to 55. Then, if one successfuly navigates these coercive niceties, one can view the Peachoid near Gaffney, an enormous monstrosity with its own access road ("To View the Peach") and bearing a striking resemblance to a particularly-distasteful metaphor frequently used to describe Duke/State fans, Massachusetts congressmen, IRS officers, and other undesirables.

• Is there an Aryan Nation mail order course out there? Siliveni Rabulma, brigadier (general) and despot of the Pacific Island nation of Fiji offers this solution to his country's ethnic problem: have the (majority) Indian population become Christians! In the grand tradition of "Let Then Eat Cake" and "The Country is in a Malaise," the Fiji leader's comment is likely to



come back to haunt him.

• The Revolution may finally be over. Mao's beloved Chinese Red Army will soon install 11 officer ranks in an attempt to organize the enormous and unwieldy force. Hierarchy! Such a *bourgois* force, once unleashed, will be *so* impossible to recapture. But, meanwhile, the army might then become more of a match for perennial sparring-partner Vietnam, who has had more than enough experience in efficient killing to know the value of rank. The Second/Third World becomes curiouser and curiouser.

• And you though Dale Bumpers was bad . . . Students at Western Connecticut State University were less than happy with having Bob Keeshan, a.k.a. Captain Kangaroo, as their commencement speaker this year. The damn little New England Yankee ingrates! Don't they realize how busy Mister Rogers is these days, what with the coup in the Land of Make Believe *and* the writer's strike? Besides, it's not the captain's fault that Bunny Rabbit stopped touring the circuit. Ω

Institute for Humane Studies

will award
a first prize of

$ 2,500

a second prize of $1,500, a third prize of $1,000,
and five runners-up of $500 each to outstanding
college-aged journalists and writers.

IHS FELIX MORLEY MEMORIAL PRIZES FOR WRITING

Application rules:

1. Applicants must either be enrolled as full-time students at an accredited university during the 1987-88 academic year or be college-aged.
2. Applicants must enclose three to five clippings (or copies) of articles written for student or other publications since January 1, 1987.
3. Only editorials, op-eds, columns, essays, criticism, investigative pieces, and short stories about the value of free markets and individual liberty will qualify for consideration by the Review Committee.

APPLICATION DEADLINE: JUNE 15, 1988

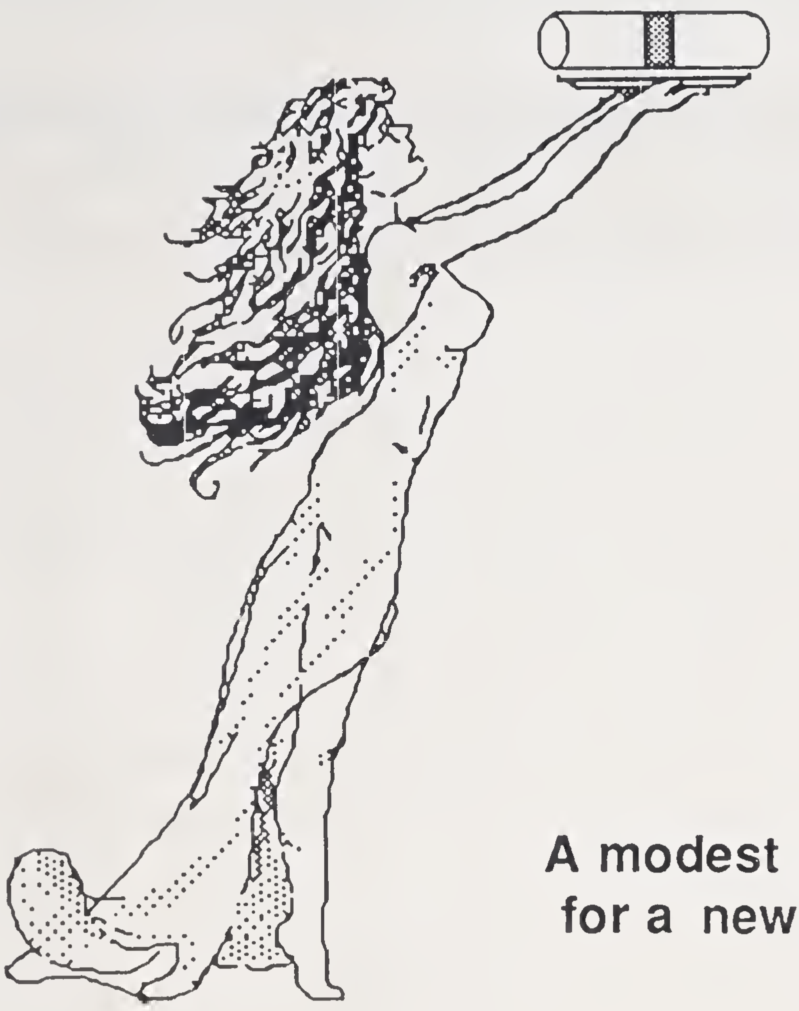
The Institute for Humane Studies is proud to announce the 1988 Felix Morley Memorial Prizes for writing. Total prize money of up to $7,500 will be awarded based on applicants' proven writing ability, potential for development, and demonstrated interest in the value of free markets and individual liberty. The competition is open to all qualified students regardless of race, religion, color, sex, age, military service, handicap, or national origin.
Requests for official applications and completed applications with clippings should be submitted to:
Morley Prize Secretary, Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030
Winners will be notified by August 15, 1988.

In the Zoo

By David Hood

Commencement an outdated ceremony

GRADUATION AND POMPOUS CIRCUMSTANCES



A modest proposal for a new system

I HAD WONDERFUL IMAGES OF A reverent service, complete with "Pomp and Circumstance," which would be a fitting observance of my four years of hard work. It would showcase the stately elegance of my alma mater to the many visitors and dignitaries who would be in attendence. And it would give me a chance to hear Arkansas' arch-liberal Senator Dale Bumpers in action.

Instead, Commencement exercises for the Class of '88 turned out to be a total farce.

After an hour of waiting in line to march into Kenan Stadium, the 1988 graduates were in no mood to be "reverent" or "observent" to the significance of the event. Scores of hot, tired students, many already in various states of drunkness and dishevelment, trudged into the center of the football field shouting and whooping. Not understanding the proper order of events, students threw their Carolina Blue caps around and broke out of line while anxious and ill-prepared marshals tried vainly to maintain some sense of order.

Some students stood on their chairs, some were seated, and others maintained a posture somewhere in between. Champagne bottles spewed alcoholic mist all over nearby students as their corks were popped by zealous graduates intent on beginning the festivities as quickly as possible. The Carolina Blue graduation gowns littered the ground as some students forsook the requisite dress for the occasion in favor of shorts and T-shirts. I thought maybe the ceremony was already over or something — but then some brave soul on the platform decided to get up and *start* the introductions. . .

Mostly invisible to any of the students beyond the first few rows, and inaudible to all, the speakers began to waste everyone's time with meaningless drivel murmured into an (obviously) *unplugged* microphone. The party on the green, though, continued, oblivious to any and all occurrences on the official platform. I think Dale Bumpers *did* speak at some point, although this report remains unconfirmed by any of the graduates I have spoken with.

The end of the ceremony? I have no idea when it was, because I left the field along with everyone else around me during some sort of graduate degree ceremony or something. Exiting students not only negated any and all remaining relevance to the event - they started to pilfer the flower arrangements set up up along the aisles. Only the timely intervention of our campus police officers, recently trained on student control methods by the CIA Action Committee, prevented the flower theft from mushrooming into some sort of general looting of the stadium grounds.

Now you may be wondering why I have devoted this column to extolling the virtues of my graduation experience. After all, it certainly doesn't seem as important as Contra Aid or Ballistic Missile Defense.

No, the issue here is of broader socio-cultural significance: what kind of people are we graduating from UNC-Chapel Hill? How do we explain the almost total lack of reverence or seriousness for a commencement event? Just what kind of generation do we have here?

THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS is a hopeful one for those of us interested in promoting individual liberty in all aspects of life. Put simply, today's youth are not the passive kids of the fifties who would honor such an event out of pure tradition. And yet they are also not the flower children of the late sixties who might very well have been passing a joint down the aisles or copulating on the stadium green. No — these young people are determined to *pick and choose* which aspects of tradition or authority to accept and which to reject with ridicule, based on individual self-interest.

CLEARLY THE ADVANTAGES OF A smooth-running commencement exercise were never expounded upon by the organizers of the event — so the graduates (correctly) assumed that these benefits were negligible at best. The event seems only to be a holdover from some past days — in the contemporary UNC, at 20,000+ students, a single ceremony just makes no rational sense. Perhaps a school- or major-oriented ceremony system would suffice.

Conservative traditionalists and other related members of today's Republican/ Libertarian coalition should take note: ideas will not be accepted by today's youth out of sheer inertia. Principles, beliefs, and yes, graduation ceremonies must be justified in terms of *self-interest*, or perhaps they shouldn't be advanced at all. Ω

Let Me Tell You How It Will Be . . .

Student Government issues a new budget, stirs up all the usual controversies – and here we go again

By HARRY BLEATTLER

THIS PAST SEMESTER I HAD THE opportunity to serve as a representative to the Student Congress. While my participation extends year-round, the major responsibility of the Congress during the Spring semester revolves around the budget process. For the uninformed, this is the process by which student fees are distributed to the various student organizations which one may or may not be a part of.

The fees that are distributed are amassed from the fees students pay each semester. *These fees account for 67 percent of the total that a full-time student pays.* Any campus organization is eligible for these funds. A given organization must go through a rigorous application process before the Finance Committee of the Student Congress. Initial and secondary cuts can be, and often are, made. Then the groups that have made it this far are given recommendations from the committee as to the appropriate funding level. These groups must finally come before a full Congress hearing for final cuts, additions, and, ultimately, approval.

On April 17, such a hearing was held. This marathon Sunday session could be likened to the midnight sessions which the U.S. Congress frequently suffers at budget time — with the prospect of an extended vacation on completion. It can be grueling, to say the least. Beginning at 9 a.m. and finishing 12 hours later, one student group tends to blend into the next. However, there were a few highlights worth observing.

The issue at stake for Student Television was their financial accountability. The zinger came when a member of Student Congress moved to defund the organization. According to the member, he simply wanted the opportunity to address a number of problems he saw in STV. I agreed with a number of the issues he brought up. But this hearing was not the place to voice such comments, which could have been taken care of earlier.

During the school year the Campus Y operates its own budget and does not receive Student Congress funding. But during the summer the organization receives minimal support from Congress in order to staff its office during the dormant summer sessions. (A backtrack: all organizations must submit to the judiciary committee a constitution which meets specific guidelines). Over the years the judiciary committee has made an exception for Campus Y, allowing them to continue with their not-quite-acceptable constitution. The clause that was missing was one which gave Student Congress the authority to approve any additional amendments or changes in the constitution of an organization receiving Congress funds. This year, however, the judiciary committee decided to enforce the requirement: the Campus Y would have to amend their constitution in order to comply with the committee — or else receive no funds. Leadership at the Y said that such an amendment could not be hastily made: only a board of directors meeting had the authority to change a constitution that was over 100 years old. Their next meeting was not until after our Sunday meeting. Thus, the Congress defunded the Campus Y. However, Student Body President Kevin Martin, in his presentation of the Executive Branch's budget, requested an additional sum of money in order to make a gift to the Y in order to run their summer office. This issue is likely to return in the fall.

AND FINALLY, WE COME TO THE ANNUAL controversy surrounding the CGLA. Every year it appears that this issue grows larger and larger. Take for example the two major events of the year for each side: a gay rights march through Chapel Hill on one side and a referendum measuring campus concern over CGLA funding on the other. Without going into a lengthy explanation of the debate (which laster 1 hour and 45 minutes; a record?) suffice to say that the argument for defunding the CGLA was based on political motivations and involvements which would, if proven, deny the group student fees. But the debate which followed began to steer away from this argument. The question evolved into the proposition that if the CGLA were defunded for whatever reason, then it might be due to homophobic or discriminatory practices. At this point two members of Congress "came out" and admitted their homosexuality as part of their defense of the organization. While these confessions were painfaul for all present, and some members were visibly moved, the initial question remained glossed over with a veneer of emotional blackmail. And as I argued then, the question over CGLA funding had nothing to do with homosexuality and its often-times painful consequences — but all to do with its political involvement and mobilization. My argument fell on deaf ears as the Congress overwhelmingly voted not to defund the organization. The CGLA is safe for another year. A comment was made by one of the group's representatives that the CGLA came under more careful scrutiny than any of the other organizations brought before Student Congress. He felt it was not fair. He was right. All organizations should come under the same intense examination. And if you're game, run for Student Congress — but if you want changes made, bring a majority with you. Ω

Bleattler, a rising fifth-year senior, wil graduate in time for hi tenth-year high schools reunion.

. . . One for You, Nineteen for Me . . .

Skyrocketing college costs seem to justify yet more government aid — but will it help students afford college or simply line staff pockets?

By JOHN HOOD

GOVERNMENT HELP IS RARELY HELPful. And in the case of American higher education, as administrators and faculty help themselves to billions of dollars in subsidies, government has done its usual "helpful" job of boosting prices and waste beyond reason.

One group that has, naturally, refused to learn this lesson is the higher education lobby. Recently, a panel of four prestigious college presidents and officials made the rounds with the 1988 presidential candidates, exhorting the politicians to "make education a priority" in the next administration. The candidates were all receptive to that position — interpreting it, correctly, as a plea for higher federal spending on grants and student loans — especially George Bush, who says he wants to be known as the "education president," and Michael Dukakis, denizen of the Harvard School of Government. Jesse Jackson jumped on the bandwagon some while ago, pausing only briefly to think up a suitable rhyme. Even more distressing for locals, though, is that occasionably-sensible Bill Friday, former president of the UNC system, was one of those four lobbyists for larger government subisidies. The irony is that, as we shall see, American higher education is hardly hurting for federal funds today — and administrators themselves have made a pretty penny during the last decade of government extravagance.

Since 1980, the cost of going to college has risen twice as fast as the cost of living, rising 57 percent between 1981 and 1986 (unless otherwise attributed, all figures were supplied by the Education Department). The Consumer Price Index went up 26 percent during the same period. On average, a four-year college education now costs more than $25,000 — while at some elite schools like Harvard and Stanford, the bill comes to as much as $70,000. This explosion of college costs has even outpaced the much-decried increase in medical care costs, up 47 percent between 1981 and 1986. During the same period, the cost of all commodities went up 12 percent, while the average cost of all services rose 31 percent. In short, the cause of burgeoning college expenses lies not in the general economy, but in higher education itself.

The burden on families has become critical. From 1981 to 1986, college costs rose 80 percent faster than median family income. Expressed another way, the portion of median family income needed to pay tuition and expenses at a public school went from 11.3 percent to 13.1 percent over that period. For families sending a student to a private institution, costs went from 31.2 percent to 40.1 percent. Has the real value of a college degree increased so much since the beginning of the decade, or are parents simply paying too much for their children's education?

All available evidence points clearly to the latter conclusion. "I think students are getting ripped off," says Robert V. Iosue, president of York College in Pennsylvania. He points out that American colleges and universities have raised prices still further than the gross numbers show by providing less education per dollar paid — trimming the school year, requiring and offering less classes to students, arbitrarily declaring three-credit classes to be four-credit classes, cutting the length of classroom periods, and spending less money on libraries and other educational programs. "It is a concerted effort on the part of faculty to say, 'Hey, we are working too hard; let's pull back a bit,'" Iosue says.

Indeed, tuition increases have not "improved" higher education in any measurable way. Academic standards have remained constant in many areas, or even decreased during the 1980s. This is no surprise, because the extra funds raised by price hikes are going mostly to administration, not instruction. According to the Higher Education General Information Survey, the portion of total funds spent on instruction at American colleges and universities declined over 4 percent between 1975 and 1985, while the administrative portion increased by almost 13 percent during the same period. Another portion of the academic pie getting an increase during the period was "student services" — a dubious category including not only

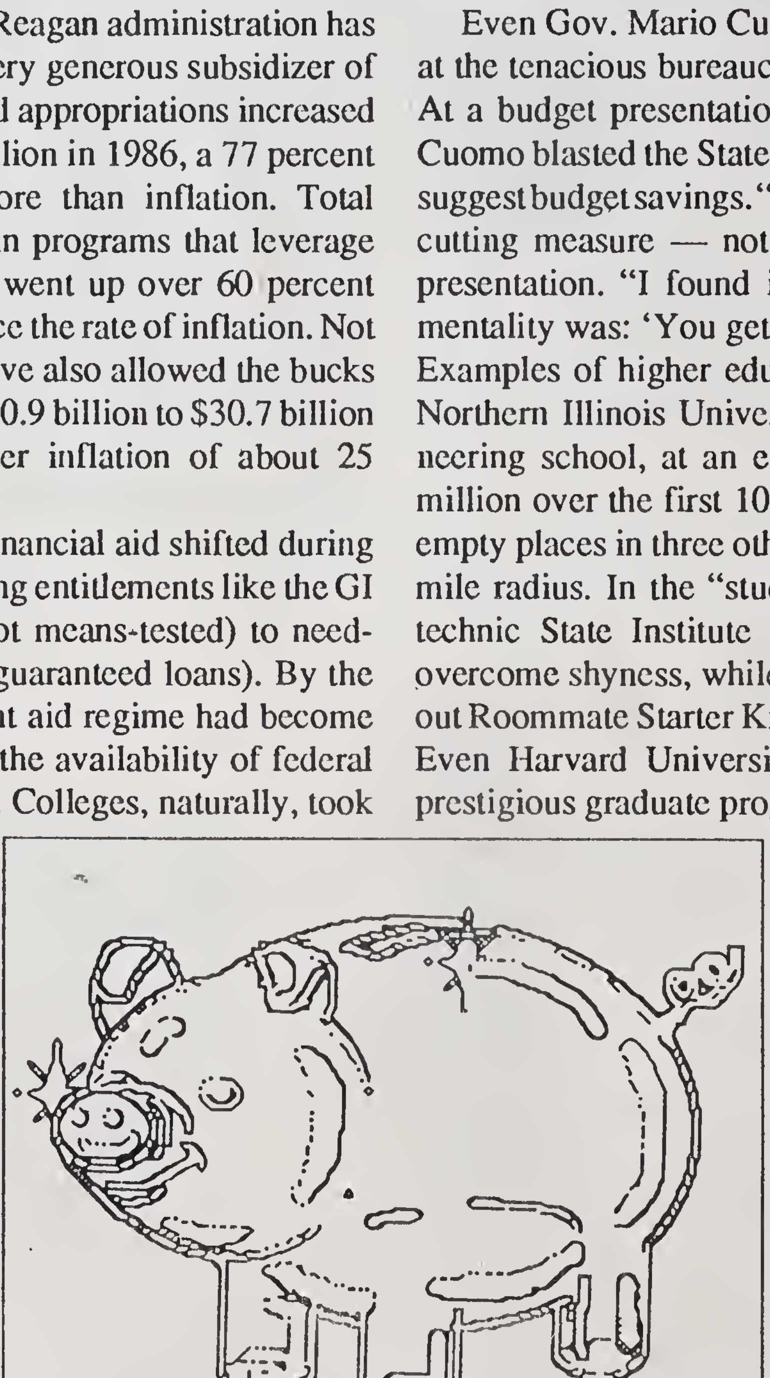
institutional financial aid but everything from "safe sex" kits to college-run counseling services. "Our policy is total Robin Hood," says Eamon M. Kelly, president of Tulane University. "We put our tuition up as high as possible and then put most of the extra money into financial aid." Michael O'Keefe, president of the Consortium for the Advancement of Private Higher Education, puts it this way: "At some colleges, institutional student aid now exceeds total expenditures for the educational program. It makes one wonder what business these colleges are in, higher education or income transfer." Exempting student services and administrative costs, the share of expenditures for almost everything else — research, libraries, instruction, operation, and maintenance — has gone *down* between 1975 and 1985.

> **"The goal of pricing is to get into a pack . . . you want to part of a group, not an aberration."**

TO REGULAR OBSERVERS OF GOVERNMENT AT work, this scenario is far from unique. In so many areas, ranging from telephone service to agriculture to electric power, government "help" in the form of subsidies has allowed firms to jack prices up above the market price, encouraged waste and inefficient "cross-subsidies," and created an ever-increasing need for government expenditures. The higher education market operates in precisely the same manner.

Though President Reagan's foes continue to deny and obscure it, the fact remains that the Reagan administration has the dubious distinction of being a very generous subsidizer of higher education. Federal student aid appropriations increased from $5.1 billion in 1981 to $9.0 billion in 1986, a 77 percent increase and some 50 percent more than inflation. Total available student aid (including loan programs that leverage private funds with federal dollars) went up over 60 percent during the same period, or about twice the rate of inflation. Not to be outdone, state governments have also allowed the bucks to flow: state subsidies went from $20.9 billion to $30.7 billion during the period, an increase after inflation of about 25 percent.

More importantly, the focus of financial aid shifted during the 1970s from merit-based (including entitlements like the GI Bill and Social Security that are not means-tested) to need-based (like federal Pell grants and guaranteed loans). By the beginning of this decade, the student aid regime had become largely predicated on need, linking the availability of federal subsidies to students' ability to pay. Colleges, naturally, took the bait — and made school more expensive to attend, thus boosting their federal dole. This, in turn, fueled the political pressure on government to increase its need-based student aid. A vicious circle began. By the 1985-86 school year, need-based aid accounted for 95 percent of all federal student aid. Only a decade before, such aid accounted for a miniscule portion of federal aid budgets.

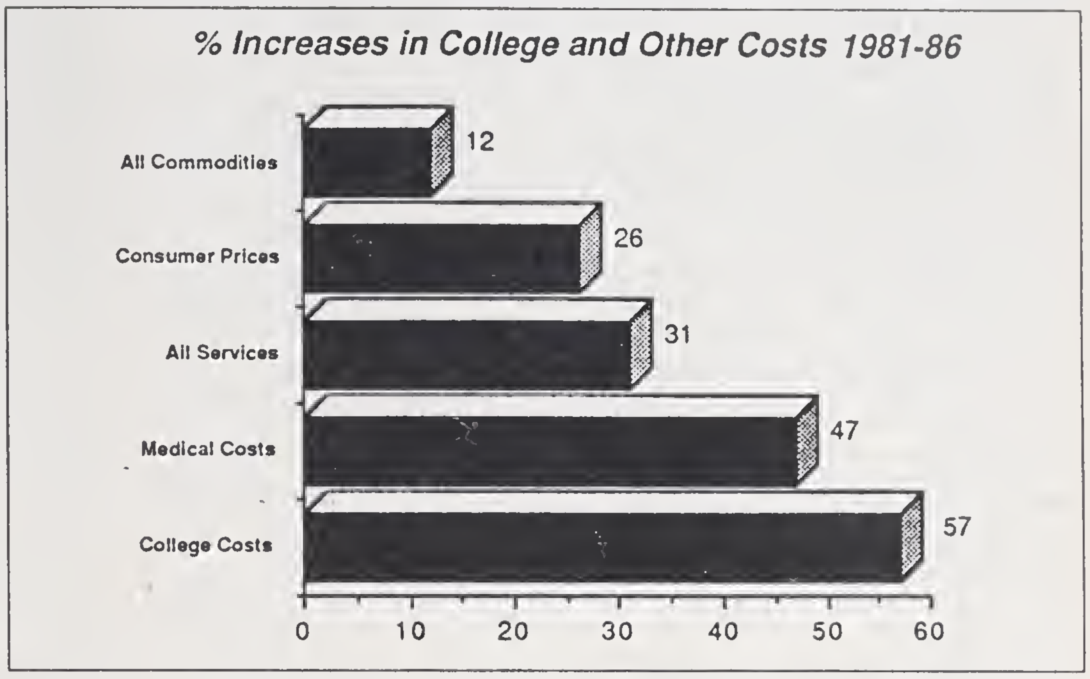


One way to get a better grasp of this process is to consider the difference between an *economic market* and a *political market*. In an economic market, the possibility of making a profit puts a premium on efficiency. In a political market, in which there is no profit incentive, a premium is placed on sheer expenditure — and, to a certain extent, on inefficiency, since evidence that a particular political program is failing is usually grounds not for ending it, as a business might do, but for increasing its funding (to "solve" the problem). These general principles have been discussed at length elsewhere, but their application to higher education is illuminating. Economist Howard Bowen wrote in his 1980 book, *The Costs of Higher Education*, that colleges and universities exhibit the following market behavior: 1) each institution raises all the money it can; 2) each institution spends all it raises; and 3) the cumulative effect is toward ever-increasing expenditures.

Even Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York seems exasperated at the tenacious bureaucratic waste of college administration. At a budget presentation earlier in Albany earlier this year, Cuomo blasted the State University of New York for failing to suggest budget savings. "They couldn't identify a single budget-cutting measure — not one penny's worth," he said at the presentation. "I found it really inexplicable. . . The whole mentality was: 'You get whatever you can for your agency.'" Examples of higher education waste in other states abound. Northern Illinois University recently started up a new engineering school, at an estimated cost of $65 million to $85 million over the first 10 years, even though there were 1,700 empty places in three other engineering programs within a 65-mile radius. In the "student services" area: California Polytechnic State Institute offers a program to help freshmen overcome shyness, while Pennsylvania State University gives out Roommate Starter Kits to ease the dreaded campus trauma. Even Harvard University, which offers some of the most prestigious graduate programs in the world, managed to build a guardhouse for $100,000 that a Boston hotel later duplicated for $5,000.

One factor making costly mistakes and extravagances less suicidal for colleges is the virtual absence of price competition, especially among private schools. "The goal of pricing is to get into a pack," says Christopher Small, vice president of the University of Tulsa. "You want to be part of a group, not an aberration." Though this phenomenon has long been expected in the Ivy League, where attendance has become a luxury good for the very rich or academically gifted, pack pricing — or pricing high to boost prestige — can be found in other areas. At a Washington higher education seminar earlier this year, an administrator at one Michigan college joked that he was considering writing an "honest" tuition-increase letter to parents of his students, saying that the school is maintaining high tuition for prestige rather than, as asserted in previous years, to offset rising operational costs.

In fact, there is an added irony to the higher education market: since colleges seem to be getting away with the steep tuition hikes without losing a significant amount of students, they have come to rely on such hikes to fuel their expenditure binge, while keeping the proceeds of other fundraising activities — like charitable donations and investments — "in reserve." Even as college administrators justified price increases on the grounds that more money was required to meet operating expenses and fund student scholarships, charitable contributions to higher education rose from $4.2 billion in 1981 to $6.3 billion in 1985, an increase of 50 percent (or 22 percent after inflation). Between 1981 and 1986, endowments of higher education institutions grew from $20.9 billion to an estimated $42 billion, a 60 percent increase after inflation. The money was there, but the cushion provided by government subsidies allowed administrators the luxury of raising prices instead.



WHY IS IT THAT COLLEGES HAVE BOOSTED THEIR prices with abandon without losing many buyers? According to the canons of economics, it would seem that charging more than the optimum market price would cause supply to exceed demand. Yet total enrollment has declined only once this decade — in 1984 — despite the fact that the college-age population has shown a marked decline.

This "inelastic demand," as economists term it, can be attributed to many factors. Polls show that a wide majority of Americans think a college education is more important today than it was in the past. Therefore, it appears that (for now) families are willing to pay exorbitant amounts or money, perceiving that the investment is worth it. To be sure, it is obvious that one factor elevating college education to this revered "necessity" status is the availability of government subsidies, especially guaranteed loan programs that delay the real cost of education until later. The phenomenal number of defaults on such loans demonstrate their economic inefficiency, as well as their growing strain on government budgets. According to Education Secretary William Bennett, defaults last year cost taxpayers $1.1 billion, up from $254 million in 1980 and $117 million in 1975.

The high cost of government loan defaults spotlights the most important factor making demand for higher education inelastic: *consumers* of the product are not the same as the *purchasers* of the product. Taxpayers, who may or may not have college-aged children, really foot the education bill. Consider this: nearly half of the students enrolled in college last year received financial aid amounting to $3,813 for the average full-time undergraduate. Again on average, that's about half the cost of a year's stay at college. But since the percentage of total tax dollars that goes to student aid is relatively small per taxpayer, the actual cost of bloated college tuitions is masked. Uwe Reinhardt, professor of economics at Princeton University, asks: "Where is the justice in taxing a young auto mechanic to provide a heavily subsidized education for a friend who will earn three times as much money when he gets out [of college]." *Newsweek* referred to this dilemma as "robbing the poor to pay the soon-to-be rich." Once again, intentions aside, a government program to redistribute wealth and opportunity has become a burden on the very people it was designed to help — the poorer members of society. In this case, government has taken on the rather bizarre role of taxing one group to help another group become educated, who can then turn around and compete with the first group — usually successfully — for jobs and economic opportunities.

One effect of this artificially-sustained demand for college degrees is that it provides administrators with the resources to engage in inefficient *cross-subsidies.* A cross-subsidy is simply the "overcharging" of one customer to subsidize the "undercharging" of another. It is a common practice in various industries. For instance, fast food stores make only small profits on sandwich sales but make enormous profits on soft drinks (a low cost item) to produce revenue. Government intervention, however, frequently distorts its use beyond reasonable limits. Subsidization of general student demand allows colleges the luxury of keeping graduate student tuitions at or near the price of an undergraduate education, even though graduate students cost a lot more to educate than undergraduates. Scholarship programs are also the beneficiaries of cross-subsidies, as high tuitions for all students fund scholarships for a few of the most academically or athletically gifted students. Both types of cross-subsidies help schools in the *competitive* segment of their education marketplace — attracting academic "stars," athletes, and promising doctoral candidates — by overcharging students in the *uncompetitive*, government-protected market for normal undergraduates.

Though some officials have correctly diagnosed that government aid programs are to blame for the college cost crisis — Bill Bennett's Education Department being a notable example — in many cases they have advocated simply replacing "bad" programs with "good" ones. Seizing upon the popularity of individual retirement accounts, some states have come up with plans to set up government pools of funds deposited by parents for their children's education. These "education trusts," run by bureaucrats, would supposedly offer parents a painless, secure way of stockpiling potential tuition payments. but as Peter J. Ferrara recently pointed out in a Heritage Foundation report, education trust plans could cause college costs to rise at an even faster rate than they are now, because substantial new funds would be accumulated which parents would have to spend on higher education within a specific time period — or else suffer heavy taxation or even loss of their funds all together. Funds committed to education in this manner will only serve to cushion colleges still further from market forces.

ANOTHER PROPOSED SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS, an "income contigent loan," is now being tested by Bennett's Education Department on a five-year pilot program. The program would, among other things, spread the burden of repaying loans over a longer period of time, during which the college graduate's income can be expected to increase. In theory, the pilot program is admirable because it will reduce the interest rate subsidy to students, and may be fairer to taxpayers without a college education, says Robert Staaf, economics professor at Clemson University. But he adds that the idea simply doesn't get at the root of the problem — government subsidies. Bennett's goal is the correct one: to cut loan subsidies, thereby providing students with the incentive to reevaluate their return on higher education while pressuring colleges to reduce costs. But, as Staaf concludes, "... this effect is likely to come about only if the government gets out of the loan business."

Only when government steps out of the education funding picture once and for all will the upward pressure on college cost subside, and the burden on students and their families lessen. Which is but one more proof of the axiom coined over 200 years ago by French businessmen in negotiations with their "helpful" government bureaucracy: "If you truly want to help us, *leave us alone.*" Ω

Hood is a senior journalism and philosophy major from Charlotte.

. . . 'Cause I'm the Taxman

The Reagan decade will become known, not for irresponsible tax cuts, but for the merciless creep of local, state, and federal taxation

By Jeff Taylor

WITH THE ANNUAL APRIL TAX ASSESSment still a fresh, painful memory for most Americans, it might not be the best time to evaluate the effect of taxes on the average American family. Currently, however, there is much debate on how government tax policy during the Reagan years has changed the tax burden for Americans.

The Reagan administration has repeatedly claimed that most taxpayers have experienced a tax cut since he gained office. The Democrats in Congress basically accept this view and argue that this supposed tax cut has caused a shortfall in revenues which accounts for the largest federal deficit in history. Not surprisingly, they say that Americans are undertaxed and additional tax increases are needed. Revenues, not spending, they contend, is the problem.

The only way to make sense of these claims and discover if either is in fact correct is to look at the amount of revenues raised by all levels of government in 1987 compared to 1980. Every level of government — federal, state, and local — levies a myriad of taxes on its subjects. A look at these taxes will also tell us if the average family paid more tax in 1987 than in 1980, or less tax.

Once upon a time Americans did enjoy a real tax cut. The 1981 Reagan tax cut did have an effect. First, by indexing taxes to inflation, it rolled back de facto tax increases brought about during the Carter years. Carter's double-digit inflation had forced many families into higher tax brackets. The 1981 package also cut the top rate from 70 percent to 50 percent and personal income taxes were to be cut by 25 percent within three years.

The immediate effect of this was that federal taxes ate up less of the country's Gross National Product as well as less of the average family's income. Since 1981, however, the rising deficit and an unwillingness to curb spending has prompted Congress to pass almost yearly tax increase packages.

According to the Office of Management and Budget, federal taxes as a percentage of GNP first declined when the 198 cut took effect, falling from 20.1 percent in 1981 to 18. percent in 1983. The Tax Foundation, a Washington-based ta policy think tank, computes that by 1983 income taxes claime 9.51 percent of median family income, down from 10.4 percen in 1980.[1] Simply, this means that the federal government' slice of the pie was cut down a little bit.

Almost immediately, though, the new tax increases wer enacted. In 1982 the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Ac increased income and Social Security taxes. The next year sa further Social Security tax hikes and an increased feder gasoline tax. Nineteen eighty-four gave us the Deficit Reduc tion Act, which again raised taxes instead of cutting spending. The 1986 Tax Reform Act did cut tax rates for many Americans, but it also reduced the number of deductions. The 1986 act also increased corporate taxes — which are ultimately paid by consumers (a slightly more indirect tax, but real all the same). Finally, the Tax Foundation estimates that the 1987 Budget Reconciliation Act squeezed taxpayers for another $9.1 billion while the 1988 Continuing Resolution took in another $2.4 billion.

As a result of all this, we've come full circle — federal taxes claimed 19.4 percent of GNP in 1987, the same portion as in 1980. And OMB estimates that federal taxes will be at least 19.3 percent of GNP for 1988.

When we take into account taxes levied by all levels of government, things get worse. According to figures from the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Relations, state and local taxes claimed an additional 12.1 percent of GNP in 1987. In 1980 the figure was 11.3 percent. Government revenues now claim more of U.S. GNP, 31.5 percent of it, than they did in 1980.

To put it in slightly less abstract terms, in 1980 government took in about $4,300 for every person in the U.S. In 1987 government claimed $7,300 for every American.

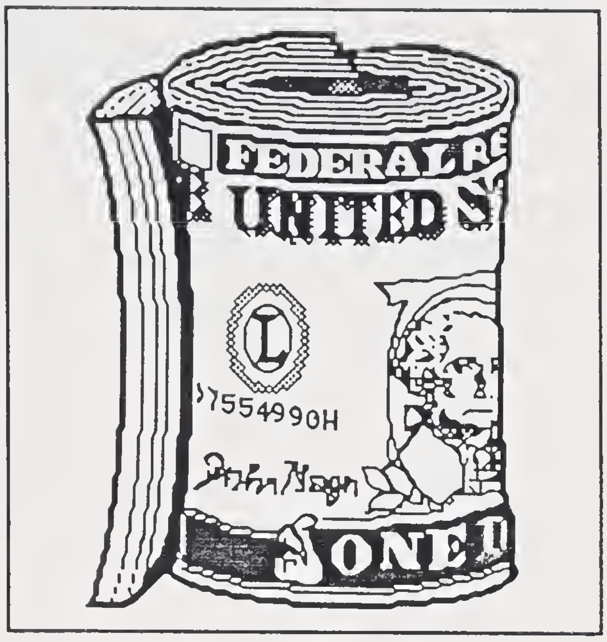
As this suggests, it is simply not the case that revenues have fallen off. Congressional Budget Office figures show that from 1980 to 1987 federal revenues increased by almost 60 percent, from $517.1 billion to $854.1 billion.

In a recent report, American Enterprise Institute economist John Makin concluded that "total revenues measured in current dollars during the Reagan administration were $140 billion higher than they would have been had the average tax rates of the pre-Reagan era been applied. So much for the notion that Reagan-year deficits are a result of Reagan tax cuts."

In addition, during that same period the ACIR, an independent government agency, computes that state and local revenues increased by 55 percent.

Perhaps what is most significant about this is that both federal and state/local revenues have been increasing faster than inflation. OMB figures show that the inflation rate from 1980 to 1987 was "only" 47 percent. Quite clearly there has been no revenue shortfall at *any* level of government. If deficits have been growing it can only be because spending has been increasing faster than revenues.

That is what government took in. What matters to most people is what government leaves them to spend. While pretax median family income has increased about $8,000 since 1980, direct federal taxes now claim a higher percentage of income than in 1980. In that year, the feds received 16.5 percent of median family income. By 1987 the figure had crept to 16.7 percent.



Quite clearly there has been no revenue shortfall at any level of government. If deficits have been growing it can only be because spending has been increasing faster than revenues.

The unhappy fact is that the after-tax income of most American families was higher in 1980 than in 1987.[2] In 1980, after federal income and Social Security taxes were paid, the median income was $23,763 in constant 1987 dollars. The Tax Foundation reports than 1987 median after-tax income had dropped to $23,508. This is a full percentage point drop — while Uncle Sam's income increased by 60 percent.

THE REAL CULPRIT IN THIS DISPARITY IS SOCIAL Security taxation. Computations based on Tax Foundation figures show that the average American family paid 37 percent more in Social Security taxes in 1987 than it did in 1980. Social Security taxes now claim 7.14 percent of median income, compared to 6.13 percent in 1980. And the tax increase that went into effect in January ensures than the portion for 1988 will be yet higher.

Overall, Social Security taxes claimed 6.8 percent of GNP in 1987, up from 5.9 percent in 1980. For 1988 that figure will reach 7.1 percent. In his report Makin points out that Social Security tax revenues were $356 billion higher during the Reagan years than they would have been if previous rates had applied.

This increase has had an especially pernicious effect on the average wage earner. Since Social Security taxes are levied only on the first $45,000 of income for most employees[3] the tax is obviously regressive. The same 7.5 percent is taken out of your paycheck regardless of if you make $35,000 a year or $10,000 a year. And anything you make over that first $45,000 is not taxed.

While Social Security taxes definitely took a bigger chunk of income in 1987, federal income taxes actually ate up a *smaller* percentage of income in 1987 than in 1980. In 1980, the average family paid 10.4 percent of its income to the IRS. By 1987 the percentage was down to 9.57. This is indeed welcome news and perhaps is what administration spokesmen have in mind when they recite the tax-cut party line. But to put this in perspective, from 1983-85 families caring the median family income rendered a smaller percentage of their bucks unto Caesar than they did in 1987. In fact, as recently as 1977 federal income taxes claimed only 9.19 percent of the same family income.

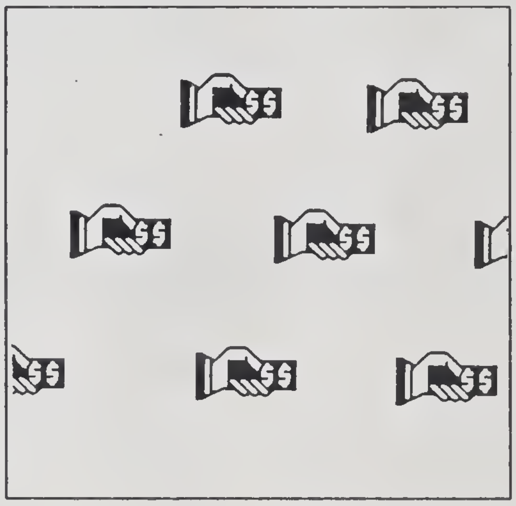
In sum, the federal picture looks like this. Instead of a lasting federal income tax cut, the Reagan administration effected a short term cut followed immediately by several increases and then another marginal rate reduction. At the same time Social Security taxes were steadily increasing. Throw in another levy which just about everyone pays — the federal gasoline tax, which jumped from 4 cents to 9 cents a gallon during the period — and you have a thoroughly ugly picture for the average taxpayer.

BUT THAT IS, LITERALLY, JUST THE HALF OF IT. Since 1980 state and local governments have been increasing their take as well. Those increased state/local revenues had to have come out of someone's pocket, as taxation is still a zero-sum game.

As part of Reagan's New Federalism, the federal government ended revenue sharing and curtailed block grants to states and localities. In 1980 federal grants provided state and local government with 28 percent of their operating revenues, according to ACIR figures. By 1987 that figure had shrunk to 19 percent.

Instead of cutting back services, local authorities chose to raise taxes. By-and-large state legislatures did not raise income tax rates to accomplish this. On average, families earning the national median income still part with about 6 percent of their earnings through state income taxation.

Since 1980 many state individual income tax loopholes have been closed. For example, the ACIR reports that fewer states now allow federal income tax to be deducted from state income tax liability.



That 1986 federal Tax Reform Act has also had an interesting and unfortunate effect on state income taxes. State governments levy their income taxes according to the regular taxable income reported on federal tax forms. Because the act reduced or eliminated many common deductions, many people now show a larger taxable income than before. So for a number of wage earners, unless the state they live in actually cut tax rates (very few did) "tax reform" raised their state income taxes.

Another tool of revenue enhancement has been the state sales tax. In 1980 the U.S. median state sales tax was 4 percent. In 1987 the median was 5 percent, according to ACIR tables. No state decreased its sales tax during that period. Together with the 47 percent inflation rate since 1980, this is an efficient money making scheme.

And the hits just keep coming. The median for state gasoline taxes also increased 38 percent. The average went from 9 to 14.5 cents a gallon. True to form, not a single state reduced it.

Not to be outdone, the final layer of government — local — increased its tax bite. First, the sheer number of local governments which impose income taxes increased about 10 percent since 1980, according to ACIR surveys. Most of these income taxes are clustered in the 2 percent to 3 percent range, but are levied in addition to state and federal income taxes.

Second, the total number of localities which charge sales tax increased by about 19 percent. While these taxes are almost insignificant, about 1 percent on the dollar, the point is that local governments have not been bashful about finding ways to raise funds.

WHEN ALL OF THIS IS TALLIED UP, WHERE DOES the average American family stand? Depending on where they live and their lifestyle, somewhere around one-third of their income goes to government. The Tax Foundation puts it another way: in 1987 it took the earnings from 124 working days to pay off government. In 1988 the foundation estimates it will take 126 days to keep the taxman at bay. Back in 1980 it took "only" 121 days to do the same thing.

Unquestionably the Reagan years have been marked by sporadic, but measurable tax increases for the average family. Admittedly these increases have been less than what many, especially some Democrats in Congress, would have enacted. Also, the state and local increases were obviously beyond the control of the administration. But this makes little difference to the people who must pay the bills.

Those most familiar with the numbers acknowledge that the Reagan era has not been one of shrinking government revenues. "Federal and state revenues now take in more of GNP than they did in 1980," Budget Director James Miller recently remarked. "They'll take in more next year, and more the year after that. We need to decide what kind of society we want."

The truly tragic aspect of all this is that the decisions being made in Congress, in state legislatures, in city halls concern how much taxes should be *increased*. The Senate Finance Committee has approved tax increases for 1989 and continues to entertain further increase proposals. The National Governors' Association expects state and local governments to raise taxes by $900 million next year.

Unless more government leaders and those who foot the bill recognize the fact that government is most emphatically *not* hurting for cash, that revenues are high and that *spending* is the problem, April 1989 is sure to be the cruelest month of the decade for American taxpayers. Ω

Taylor, a 1987 graduate of the University, is a recent graduate of the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C.

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[1] Married couple, one earner, with two dependents filing a joint return.

[2] Individual taxpayers were in similar shape, if not worse off. An individual with the same yearly income as a family pays the same SS taxes while having fewer personal income tax deductions.

[3] Rates differ for self-employed workers.

ESSAYS

'Platoon,' 'Full Metal Jacket' Reviewed

FILMS BEGIN TREND OF VIETNAM DRAMA

By Chris Haines

I WAS BORN IN 1969. I DON'T REMEMBER THE coverage of the last overloaded helicopter that left the roof of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. Needless to say, I don't really remember anything about the Vietnam war. It has seemed like there was a taboo on even the mention of the word Vietnam for a while. This bothered me because I have wanted to understand it. But with no one broaching the subject, "Rambo" and "Apocalypse Now" became the only video guidelines for what this war looked and felt like. During the last several months, however, Vietnam media have taken center stage. First, CBS introduced a Vietnam drama entitled "Tour of Duty," which was, unfortunately for the show's longevity, placed against "The Cosby Show." ABC is now following suit with "China Beach," a show about nurses with a more receptive time slot. And now the videos of two films, "Platoon" and "Full Metal Jacket," are available to home viewers.

These movies began an attempt to bring the war into perspective. And, though at times their accounts miss the mark, at least they are a beginning to a better understanding of what happened.

The influx of the Vietnam genre really began with the 1986 motion picture "Platoon," based on writer-director Oliver Stone's experiences in Vietnam. This movie sets Chris (Charlie Sheen), the narrator, in Stone's place and relates his rite-of-passage from young innocent to warwise grunt. Examples of survival for Chris are two sergeants: Elias (William Defoe) and Barnes (Tom Berenger). These sergeants represent the two ways to survive as a soldier — fighting with scruples and fighting without them. Obviously, this movie is trying to come to grips with the morality or lack thereof about the tactics of the war. One of the most memorable and harrowing experiences in "Platoon" is the marauding of a village by the American soldiers. This one scene exemplifies much of the raging and incomprehesible insanity surrounding those tactics. "Platoon" definitely made an impact on everyone. Having won four Academy Awards, including Best Picture, and being a number-one box-office attraction for many weeks, "Platoon" caused an increase of Vietnam experience stories.

A MORE RECENT (1987) AND VERY DIFFERENT film from "Platoon" is Stanley Kubrick's "Full Metal Jacket." Based on the novel *The Short Timers*, which came out in 1979, "Full Metal Jacket" is almost two movies combined with practically a different set of characters for each. The first part is the training camp sequence with the hard-assed drill instructor (Lee Ermey) putting his "maggots" through their paces. This first 45 minutes is very graphic and yet fascinating. The plot of this part is to show how the Marines turn their recruits into killing machines, but also how this system could work to the extreme. One of the "maggots," dubbed Gomer Pyle (Vincent D'Onofrio) by the drill sergeant, is a slow, overweight bumpkin who is a natural target for the sergeant to antagonize. Eventually, Pyle self-destructs, resulting in the murder/suicide of his two greatest menaces — the sergeant and himself. The second part of the movie follows Joker (Mathew Modine) out of boot camp and into Vietnam as a writer for *Stars and Stripes.* From here on the film becomes episodic with little development of characters and even less of plot. Pauline Kael states in the New Yorker, July 13, 1987: "The book's overriding idea — how these brainwashed men were destroyed from within — gets lost [in the move]." It gets lost in the Vietnam anecdotes, the incredibly detailed sound stage in England, and the lackluster dialogue.

It was a horrible experience both for the people there and the people at home. It was the first war brought to your house every evening in living color. But as a wise man once said, "Those who do not study history are doomed to repeat it." Because this was a part of our history, we must come to an understanding about it. Even if it means a frank and open account of "this is how it was." The new rash of movies, and their TV show progeny, constitute at least a gingerly move in that direction.Ω

Haines is the CRITIC's Duke University correspondent.

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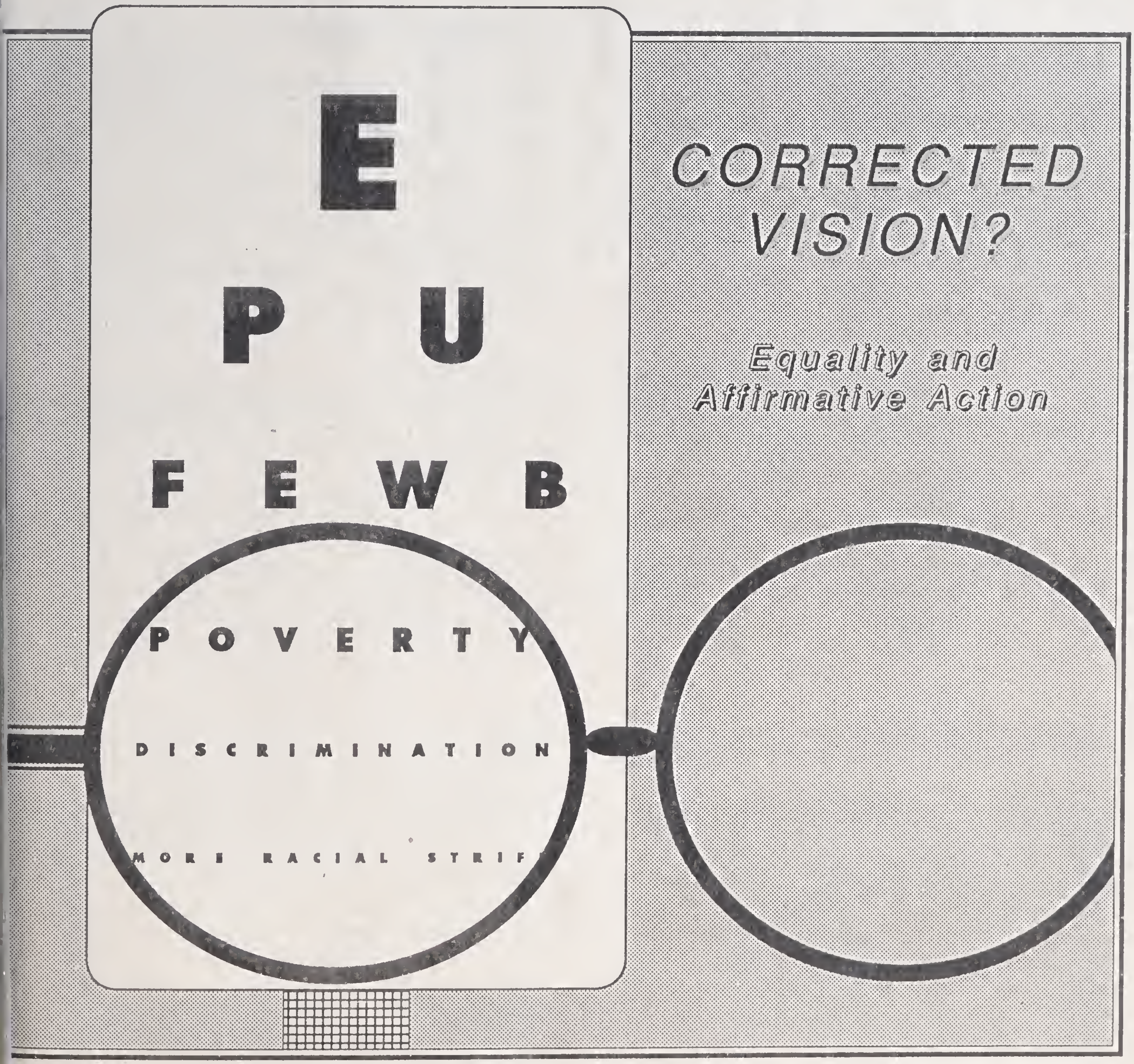
State and Welfare
Critic Forum, Page 3

Vol. 2, No. 1
September 1988

The
CAROLINA CRITIC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P U
F E W B
POVERTY
DISCRIMINATION
MORE RACIAL STRIF

CORRECTED VISION?

Equality and Affirmative Action

OW NOT TO PLUG THE UNC BRAIN DRAIN

TATE EDUCATION REFORM: MERELY MORE OF THE SAME

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of Opinion

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by The Carolina Critic Society and dedicated to the proposition that tyranny withers where debate thrives. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social group, or sex. This is not necessarily by choice. Subscriptions are $10 a year, though some unseemly individuals have been known to receive subscriptions for performing various nefarious tasks. Correspondence, submissions, fan mail, and letter bombs should be sent to:

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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Critic Forum**
Does the government have the legitimate power to administer a welfare system? The moral and practical aspects of the "safety net" are debated by Chris Kremer and Morgan Gurley.

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Cover Story: *Corrected Vision?***
Sandi Hollifield Hood looks at the doctrine of Affirmative Action — and its implications for achievement, poverty, and the dream of equality articulated in the civil rights movement two decades ago.

14 **In the Zoo**
University columnist David Hood examines the case for raising UNC professors' salaries, and awards its a failing grade.

15 **The National Truss**
The current Democratic proposal to establish a federal child care bureaucracy would be unworkable and disasterous, sats Bob Lukewahr, but an alternative plan from George Bush looks promising.

16 **The World Stage**
International affairs columnist Jeff Taylor describes the current negotiations going in to keep U.S. military bases in the Philippines — and the truly celestial stakes involved.

18 **Essays**
Michael Lowrey compares Paul Kennedy's *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* to disco and Guns 'n Roses . . . Buy American Bills in Congress are unneeded pork barrel legislation, and may harm the Altantic Alliance, says Jeff Taylor . . . David Hood reflects on what a college degree means to professors, parents, and society — as well as what it really means . . . The 1988 presidential race live and on stage, with Chris Haines on hand to narrate it all.

23 **Altered State**
North Carolina's Basic Education Program is nothing more than a grab for power and money.

SHOULD THERE BE A WELFARE STATE?

Aye - By Chris Kremer

SOME CONCEPTS HAVE BEEN SO conclusively established as true that to dispute them would be absurd. The Earth is round. Ice cream is delicious. The United States should promote the general Welfare, as the nation states in the preamble of its Constitution. These ideas are universally accepted and taken for granted.

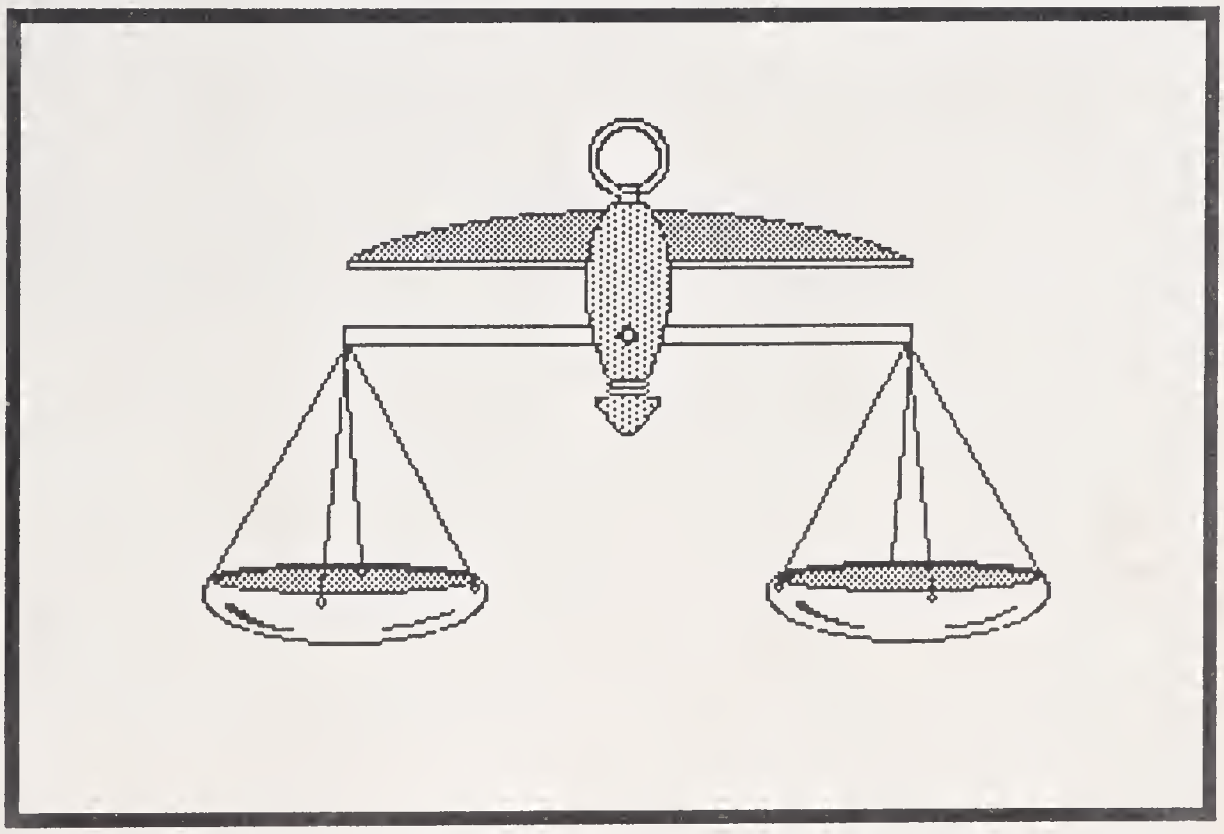
Well, almost. There is a fringe organization known as the Society of Flat Earthers. Certain sissies who gag on ice cream slurp up yogurt. And rich, pampered individuals calling themselves Libertarians believe in abolishing the welfare system so that the poor might eat cake, probably topped off with yogurt for dessert.

Despite their protests to the contrary, there are essentially two types of Libertarians: the old rich and the new rich. Not all of the old rich are old; their numbers include college students from families with old money. The new rich are college grads-turned-executives who have worked hard to amass paper fortunes. The two camps share two beliefs in common: they do not need public charity, and they do not wish anyone else to need it, either.

But need cannot be wished away, and that is why we have a public welfare system. This system in its current form could stand improvement, to cut out waste and to protect against fraud. However, nothing is wrong with the system's philosophical underpinning — to help those who cannot help themselves. Coal miners with tuberculosis, wounded war veterans, textile workers whose mills have closed, and farmers beset by foreclosure all need help. The country which benefitted from their efforts in good times has an obligation to reciprocate with financial aid in bad times.

Libertarians point out that a public dole encourages laziness on the part of individual recipients. This criticism is properly directed to the system in its present imperfect form, not to the ideal of helping the poor. Furthermore, welfare helps not just individuals but families. Since children cannot take jobs as their fathers can, they should not be punished for their fathers' laziness with a cutoff in funding.

An improved welfare system could combat laziness by acting as a giant placement office to find jobs in the private sector for those on its rolls. In the meantime, each welfare recipient could be interviewed and asked



Nay - By Morgan Gurley

IN THE PAST FIFTY YEARS OF SO, many Americans have become desensitized to a great evil. Bombarded by the jargon of the beggar, millions of people have slowly allowed themselves to accept the notion that a society is an organism, comprised not of individuals with individual rights but of cells, whose destiny is to be shaped and guided by government — the "brain" of the organism. This mentality has spawned such policies as the topic of this debate, government welfare programs. And in case you haven't already guessed, my aim is to expose the problems with this way of thinking and prove that state-un systems of wealth redistribution are mmoral, wasteful, and ultimately incapable of attaining their state goal of "uplifting" the unfortunate.

First of all, we shall consider the most mportant aspect of any policy: is it morally defensible? And, my friends, unless you beieve your money is not your own, the policy n question most certainly is not moral. Due to he fact that welfare-bound income is *forcibly* xtracted from everyone who earns money, nd channeled into activities which benefit he "donors" not at all, one can hardly say that hese are acts of compassion (and isn't compassion supposed to be the driving force behind welfare?) Analyzed simply, this is nothing more than the nationalization of a great deal of wealth, which is *de facto* socialism.

Now, in case socialism does not frighten you — in case you are tempted by liberal rhetoric concerning the "right" to be fed, the "right" to medical care, the "right" to good housing, etc. — ponder the words of the great philosopher Ayn Rand when she asked succintly: "At whose expense"?

This profound question points out a frightening aspect of collectivist thinking. It makes one realize that if someone has the right to be supported, then someone else has the duty to support him. It does not require a great thinker to understand that we are discussing slavery, that we are discussing subsidizing those who do not produce, while shackling those who do. We are discussing dispensing with a very real and important right — the freedom to own property and administer it as one sees fit — and replacing it with the incomprehensible idea that the work and time of an individual is owned not by him, but by everyone else.

This leads to my second point, which is that welfare is an incentive-destroyer both for the producer of wealth and the recipient. Most of us are familiar with the old proverb: "Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man to fish and he will eat for a lifetime." But even if you've never heard it, the import is clear: handouts beget handouts, while instruction in self-reliance begets a productive per-his definition of the job best suited for his talents, and then assigned work to perform along those lines. Increased productivity would be rewarded with bonuses in order to prepare the poor for reality in the marketplace. The system could even stipulate that as a condition of public assistance in times of need, each recipient once employed would refund that assistance in installments, turning welfare into a giant revolving loan fund with the potential of near-independence from tax funding.

TODAY THERE ARE PROFESSIONAL welfare cheats who collect public money under numerous aliases. An improved welfare system could reduce cheating to nil by keeping would-be cheaters busy with make-work so that they would have no time to cheat. Technology could provide further safeguards against cheating, i.e. computerized photo-identification banks.

Judging from success stories in other sectors, the federal government has the capacity to be efficient in welfare. Through its Bureau of Land Management, the government manages more real property than any other American landowner. The Internal Revenue Service profitably collects revenue and weeds out fraud. The government now recovers millions of dollars yearly on defaulted college loans, previously considered uncollectable, using collection techniques borrowed from the private sector.

Why should the government be involved in managing welfare in the first place? Could not private charity do as well? Two reasons define the government's role here. First, the poverty problem is so vast and widespread that only the government can feasibly manage a system designed to combat it. Private charity is not equipped to take on millions of welfare cases, nor should it have to. Secondly, support for a public welfare system is obligatory, so that the poor are guaranteed assistance. Support for private charity is voluntary, and there is no guarantee that taxpayers would plough back tax money saved from the dismantling of public welfare. Sadly, human beings tend toward selfishness. We hoard wealth beyond our needs at the expense of the poor.

We hoard wealth beyond our needs at the expense of the poor. An improved welfare system is the only logical method to meet the eternal problem of poverty.

An improved welfare system is the only logical method to meet the eternal problem of poverty. The Libertarians who would abolish public welfare should be dismissed as the loonies they are — along with the Flat-Earthers and the yogurt-slurpers. Ω

Kremer, a UNC alumnus, is a lawyer in Chapel Hill.

---

son. Obviously, welfare benefits to those who never learn pride and productivity teach them that there is no need to work, for there is always the deep pocket of Uncle Sam upon which to rely. There is no need to restrict the size of your family simply because you can't support it — additional babies mean additional benefits. And simultaneously it teaches those who are forced to fund this system that the more they earn, the more the government will steal from them. Can anyone honestly consider this desirable and constructive?

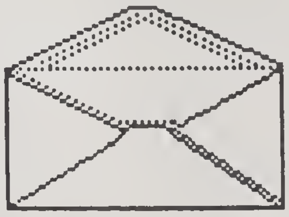
FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO TURN my attention to a point which some might consider a flaw in my argument — the fact that some of the people who receive welfare checks are not bums but decent folks who have genuinely been victims of misfortune beyond their control. Many people have mental images of people banding together to aid those in times of need, of the Christian principle of freely given good will, of farmers donating hay to their drought-stricken colleagues in the Midwest, etc. But the human tradition of helping friends (or even strangers) in need is born of an attitude of *mutual respect*, not *mutual ownership*, and the realization that almost everyone requires assistance at some time in his life. *Private* agencies such as CARE and the Salvation Army were founded on these principles. And in the case of today's federal welfare system, *privatization* is the only logical course.

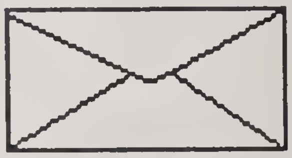
Consider this scenario: government-sponsored welfare is abolished. In its stead, people may establish private groups to administer aid as they wish. This would allow citizens to freely donate money to the organizations of their choice, giving them the ability to control how their money is used and to whom it will go. The horrible waste of the current "welfare monopoly" would be solved by the greatest of administrators — market forces. And the problems apparent in the status quo are solved, i.e. more money would actually get to those who need it, spared from the government's "cut" in red tape and mismanagement. People are able to choose how they assist others, and avoid sanctioning those who would make a living off welfare. We restore the crucial right of property to the millions who are taxed unfairly. And we return the noble idea of helping your fellow man to an act of compassion, not compulsion. Ω

If someone has the right to be supported, then someone else has the duty to support him. It does not require a great thinker to understand that we are discussing slavery.

Gurley, a native of Charlotte, is a student in the UNC Evening College.

JUST IN CASE YOU FORGOT HOW . . .





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— National Review, August 19, 1988

"*I am truly heartened by the knowledge that people like* [Critic staffers] *are going to bring some balance to journalism. . ."*

— John Elvin, Washington Times columnist

"I am struck once again by the extravagances of the irresponsible left, but struck also, and very pleasantly, by your own literary and polemical powers."

— William F. Buckley, Jr.

"*Oh S&@#!"*

— A Campus Trendinista

THE EXPERTS SPEAK

Read the Critic and discover for yourself

The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 1
September 1988

• Poor Gov. Dukakis. He promises plenty of "good jobs at good wages" to government bureaucrats, and everybody thinks he's talking about American workers.

•Fastest way to dry up the Quayle Quagmire: ask members of the press what they were doing during the Viet Nam War. Same is true of Congressional critics (two-thirds of Quayle's peers in both houses ducked military service entirely). What's good for the quayle is good for the gander. Or even Canada geese.

• *The Charlotte Observer* has brought to light strange doings in Gamecock land. Seems USC President Jim Holderman has been giving gifts, exotic trips, and perhaps cushy jobs to student "interns." Holderman says his unique program helps develop leadership, but it sounds more like a crash course on how to squander public money. In his defense, Holderman adds that to avoid any unseemly appearances he only took male interns along on his overnight excursions to intellectual hotbeds like, oh, Hilton Head. On one such trip Holderman offered a male intern a $90 lavender bathrobe. Here's to avoiding unseemly appearances.

• UNC, along with Berkeley, Brown, and UI-Urbana, recently received National Science Foundation grants for Comp Sci research. This puts UNC in some pretty heady company. UNC's five-year grant totals over $2 million. Are we seeing the beginning of a shift in emphasis away from the liberal arts? Let's hope not. UNC shouldn't abandon its tradition *just* because there is a bucket of research money out there. Now, a trough . . .

A Southern Strategy . . .

THE BALLAD OF MIKE DUKAKIS

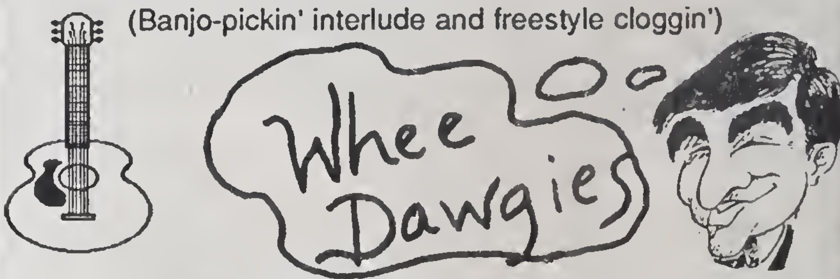
(Sung to the theme of TV's "Beverly Hillbillies" and suitable for hand-clappin', toe-tappin', and foot-stompin')

Now listen to a story 'bout a Gov. named Mike
A rich technocrat lookin' for a tax to hike
But then one term despite all that he could do,
Taxes got cut — the economy grew

Spurt , that is. Massachusetts Miracle. Pentagon Parade

Well, the first thing ya know Mike grinned from ear to ear
So some folks said, "Let's move away from here."
Said, "'Cross the border is the place we oughta be"
So they went off to New Hampshire with extreme alacrity

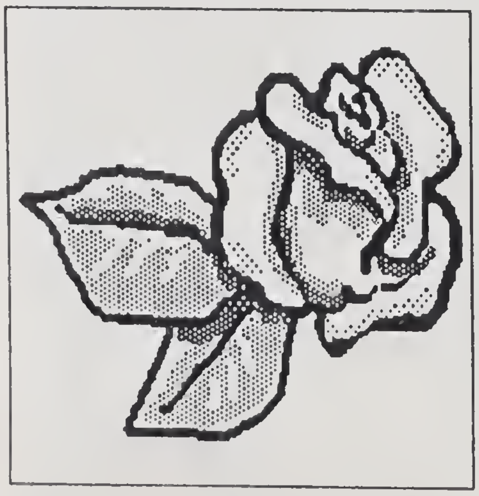
(Banjo-pickin' interlude and freestyle cloggin')



And now it's time to say hello to Mike and men of straw
He really wants to take a shot at managing us all
So all you folks who raced away from Mike's locality
May have another helpin' of his liberality

Get up, Mike. Put your shoes on. Don"t come back now, y'hear?

• The current debate over street vending in Chapel Hill is one of those conflicts, like the Iran-Iraq War, that inspire no respect for either side. Those supporting the little old flower ladies and other vendors are talking, not about economic freedom, but about "enhancing the downtown ambiance." Opponents of street vending — the business community that has to compete with it — complain of vendors "cluttering the sidewalks" and hawking such distasteful wares as "Taiwanese belts." This conflict is terminologically bizarre. The ordinance on vending prohibits all street or sidewalk sales except "groups engaged in charitable or fundraising drives for community purposes"— which means that downtown ambiance is already ruined by progressives on pogo sticks are other incidents of *trendismo*. What is really occuring is a strange alliance of anti-enterprise leftists and anti-competition store owners against their common enemy: poor, scruffy, untrendy people who want to make an honest living by their own efforts. If sidewalks are to be "public property," then they must be accessible to all of the public, not just those with political pull. Allowing street vending is the best anti-poverty program Chapel Hill could ever enact. Which is what the vendors' champions should be saying.



• We had really hoped it would be different this time. But no the construction at Kenan Stadium will not be finished on time Can anyone remember the last time a campus construction project was completed on schedule? (The Dean Dome doesn' count — it was financed privately, hint, hint). Last word was that the University "didn't know" if it was going to fine the construction company, as the contract allows, for missing the deadline. Hell, it's just public money. Why bother? Chalk up another one for the South Building *nomenklatura*.

• However, we are feeling rather Zen this month. After a few harrowing months during which construction was concentrated dangerously on the western part of campus, news came that the Alumni Center in the Big Woods near Teague has been approved. Construction will last until 1991. You see, the world finds its own balance.

• In the last few days word of a horrific massacre has been filtering out of Africa. Western diplomats in the capital of Burundi report that about 5,000 people have been murdered in tribal violence, while 35,000 have fled into neighboring Rwanda. Burundi is rule by the minority Tutsi tribe which is outnumbered by the Hutus 6 to 1. There were even more Hutus back in 1972 — before over 100,000 were slaughtered by the Tutsi. This is yet another grisly example that the gravest danger which faces Africans today is not apartheid or even Soviet expansionism. It is blind, primitive tribalism. It may be unfashionably "ethnocentric" to say so, but it is tribalism which exacerbates natural disasters and leave state treasuries empty. And it will forever be so until individual Africans reject cultures based upon collectivism.

• A lot of people don't like the free market because it reveals what the public really thinks, not what a few *say* the public thinks. Witness the cancellation of "The Bishop Tutu World Peace Concert." The extravaganza, to be held at L.A.'s coliseum Sept. 10, was set to be broadcast across the globe. Certified trendinistas like Paul Simon were to perform *gratis*. The only problem was that ticket sales (no such thing as a free lunch, you know) were embarassingly slow. Concert producer Michael Mitchell doesn't seem to know that just because your music sells doesn't mean that your policies will. Expertise is not, and never has been, transitive.

• Along the same vein, a few weeks ago Bruce Springsteen, famous philanderer and gritted-teeth crooner, played a gig in East Berlin to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Sandinistas takeover in Nicaragua. No word on why the (Party?) Boss decided to honor the bloody regime while playing in a city sundered by a gore-splattered wall. Maybe the symbolism was just too nifty to pass up. To think that this nut represents America's "New Patriotism."

• Common sense tells us that when there's a drought farmers fair poorly. But with government in the farming business even that isn't true. You see, those farmers who participated in one of the federal set aside programs, the zero-92 program, will come out way ahead. The program pays farmers who *don't* plant (Shortages? What shortages?) cash up front for the equivalent of a 92 percent yield at a pre-set, profit-guaranteed price. This year yields aren't running anywhere near that level. Nice work if you can get it. Applications available from the Agriculture subcommittees.

• And while we're at it, this whole $5 billion drought aid

Clipboard

Press as Public Surrogate: In the wake of the feeding frenzy, Gallup found that only 23 percent of its respondents would have a less favorable opinion of Dan Quayle if his family had helped him get into the National Guard. Only *13 percent* felt less favorable because he went into the Guard during Viet Nam.

Tricks of the Trade: *Newsweek* reports that hours after Quayle's selection, TV pundits spoke knowledgably about him — in sentences lifted almost verbatim from *National Journal*'s *Almanac of American Politics*.

Living in the Past: "Until the leadership of Congress pays heed to the economic arguments against government mandates on business — especially the profound case against an increase in the minimum wage — we are bound to repeat the mistakes that have plagued our prosperity in the past" — Rep. Andy Ireland of Florida in *Regulation*.

Thick as a Brick: The *Raleigh News & Observer* recently editorialized hat a Triangle transportation plan might inlude "higher taxes on second and third cars" nd "most importantly, land-use controls."

Poor Cast: "Portraying Dukakis as a frugal guy is like casting Pee Wee Herman to play John Wayne in *Sands of Iwo Jima*" — Haley Barbour, Mississippi delegate to the Southern Leadership Conference.

That Grass Ain't So Green: *Public Opinion* reports that while majorities in several polls rate their personal financial situations as better than a year ago and expect them to improve, respondents were ambivalent or pessimistic about the economy of the country as a whole. Could it possibly be that the American people are experiencing one thing but being *told* another?

— Staff

Military Insignifica

So What Else Is new?: The Royal Navy will lay up the Harrier carrier *Illustrious* for at least two years as, surprise of all surprises, an economy measure. Seems there isn't enough money available in the British budget to refit the carrier (complete way back in 1982) to keep her at sea.

At least one part of the program certainly will not be hard to spot: The estimated price of a B-2 (Stealth Bomber) is a mere $520 million a piece. Planned production run is 132 planes.

Keep Your Eye on the Boat: Remember that U.S. frigate that was mined in the Persian Gulf a while back? Seems the ultimate fate of the U.S.S. *Samuel B. Roberts* is in some dispute. *Jane's Defence Weekly* says she'll be repaired and returned to service while *Der Spiegel* suggests the only thing the *Stark*'s sister ship is fit for is scrap (after being towed to the U.S. so its secret sonar system can be removed, or course). In any case the *Samuel B. Roberts* is riding piggy-back on a special chartered Dutch ship (charter cost: several million bucks) back to Bath, Maine for inspection.

New Meaning to Glasnost: The Soviets recently gave the West German aviation magazine *Flug Revue* an exclusive tour (including a view of flight operations) of the combination carrier/cruiser *Novosibirsk*. Serving in the Soviet Pacific Fleet, the ship is the largest and most powerful Soviet warship in service.

— Michael Lowrey

package recently excreted from Washington smells to high heaven. Even in the depths of the dust bowl years the government provided only low interest loans, not out and out giveaways. Besides, the problem was supposedly *overproduction.* That's why, we're told, billions are spent on price supports and why *79 million acres* were kept out of production last year. You'd think a drought would be welcomed. It makes the corn and soy crops near their "fair" market price — which is set by farm state congressmen at a level sufficient to insure reelection. So now the Feds are spending billions because production is both "too high" and "too low." How long before production will be decreed "just right"? The only way out of this recurring nightmare is to get government out of the farming business and let consumers decide.

- Dale McKinley, Esq. said of his upcoming Honor Court trial on charges of obstructing and interfering with a University guest (the CIA rep) and other transgressions: "I'm not putting up a defense . . . If the Honor Code is to uphold no cheating and no lying, then (the University) allowing the CIA to come on campus is a violation of its own code." So Dale was kinda like *enforcing* the Honor Code on the University? Yeah, that's the ticket. But that kinda makes him like a *cop*. How embarassing.

- Regarding the Conrad spy case: If he's guilty, shoot the bastard.

- True, Pakistan's Mohammad Zia Ul-Haq was a dictator. But he somehow managed to keep Pakistan from being ripped apart from within while it was caught between a real-life rock (Afghanistan) and a hard place (India). Perhaps the greatest measure of Zia's success is the fact that someone found it necessary to remove him from the scene. Southwest Asia is now, if it is possible to imagine, an even more dangerous place.

- Much of that danger is due to the best kept secret of the '80s — Soviet-sponsored terrorism. Recently the State Department quietly made public its report on world terrorism in 1988. Why quietly? Because out of 189 acts of state-sponsored terrorism, 127 were committed by the Afghan government, a.k.a. KGB-Kabul. Pakistan, the most terrorized nation on Earth, was the victim of most of these acts. Hey, but remember: Gorbachev is a new kind of Soviet leader. He smiles and shakes your hand *before* he plunges a knife in your back.

- More than a few commentators were upset at the way NCNB acquired the floundering First Republic Bank. Rep. Fernard St. Germain (D-RI) even called for an investigation into the deal. Germain and others didn't think it was quite kosher for NCNB to invest $210 million for 20 percent ownership and *all* the voting stock while the FDIC coughed up $2 billion. And NCNB received an exclusive right to buy the remaining FDIC shares for the next five years. Many said it was unfair for the FDIC and, ultimately, the American people to pay for megacorporate mergers. But none ventured the obvious solution to this "share-the-debt-bail-out" system — abolish the FDIC. If you are not prepared to make the owners, managers, and, yes, the customers of financial institutions bear the responsibility for ineptitude you are simply going to have to live with the results. Just don't expect NCNB, or any other bank for that matter, to push for a change.

- The Pirates are at it again! ECU professors are hip deep in the controversy over the Confederate raider *Alabama*. The ship was sunk by the USS Kearsarge near Cherbourg in 1864. The wreck has been found in 200 feet of water off the French coast. The French, acting like perfect Americans, want to raise it and make a tourist attraction out of it. England says it owns the *Alabama* because it was built there (?). The US (especially Alabama) want it as a piece of history. William Still and Gordon Watts, co-directors of ECU's maritime history and underwater research, were the only Americans invited by the French to study the wreck. Still made enemies by saying the French should call the shots, though: "The ship went down in French waters. And the French are very interested in the American Civil War." Not t mention American dollars.

- Just checking: is it progressive to be fascinated by th wreck of a Confederate ship It's so confusing sometimes . .

- Memphis has a new belle Evidently getting arreste with Abbie Hoffman wasn' fulfilling enough for Amy Car ter. Or perhaps it was becaus she was in danger of flunkin out (grades are *so* bourgeois) In any case, Amy has decide to leave the Ivy League i favor of something called th Memphis School of the Arts Sounds like the kind of plac

Antagonistic Aphorisms

We must acknowledge once and for all that the purpose of diplomacy is to prolong a crisis.

— *Mr. Spock*

Show me a liberal and I'll show you a racist.

— *Morton Downey, Jr.*

How little it takes to make life unbearable . . . A pebble in the shoe, a cockroach in the spaghetti, a woman's laugh.

— *H.L. Mencken*

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

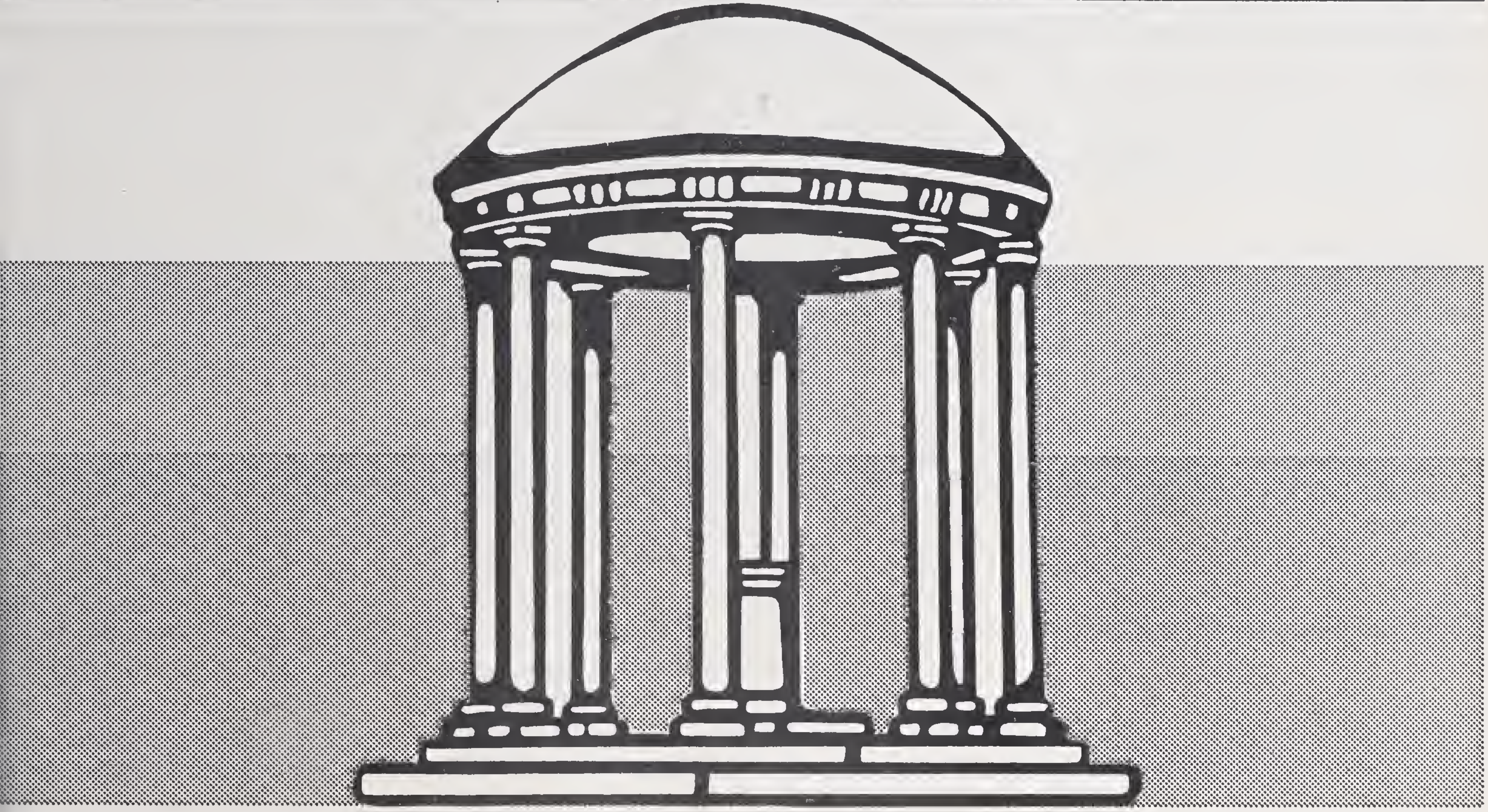
— *G.B. Shaw*

Old people love to give good advice. It compensates them for their inability to set a bad example.

— *La Rouchefoucald*

All art is quite useless.

— *Oscar Wilde*



Michael Stipe would hole up in, doesn't it? No word on whether Amy brought along any of Brown's infamous suicide pills in case it doesn't work out.

• Finally, an enduring legacy for Margaret Thatcher. From 1915 until a few weeks ago, all English pubs had to close down from 3 to 5:30 p.m. The law was designed to keep WWI munitions workers from getting snookered and blowing up the countryside. Why it took so long to get rid of the law is anyone's guess — fear of happy hours perhaps. Now if they'd ust get rid of that damn warm beer they'd be on to something.

Profound wisdom of the month: "Ollie North, American Hero, David Price is a zero," chanted by supporters of North and Tom Fetzer (GOP candidate for Congress from the 4th District).

Meanwhile, the drought has dried up lakes and ponds throughut the Midwest, killing several loathsome strains of weeds, nsects, and algae in the process. Accidental drownings are lso down.

Following in a long Massachusetts tradition, Sen. John Kerry as divorced his wife of 18 years, Julia. Following in an even nger state tradition, Kerry has been rumored to be seeing Morgan Fairchild.

Why declining black numbers?

In recent years the UNC system in general, and UNC in parcular, has come under fire for declining black enrollment at edominantly white institutions. While on the surface there ight be a hint of racial motivation, the facts don't seem to bear this out.

First, it must be said that black applications have been declining as well. Obviously this means fewer blacks will enroll. One could say the UNC system is to blame for the decline in applications by not making blacks aware of opportunities at "white" schools, etc. But this ignores several other factors.

Could it be that some qualified black students simply don't want to attend UNC or N.C. State? To assume that every high school student in N.C. dreams, starry-eyed, for a chance to attend one of those schools is extremely pompous — the sneer of a technocrat. It suggests that black students who put N.C. A&T or N.C. Central University at the top of their lists are settling for second best.

This is certainly not the case. The traditionally black colleges of the UNC system are recognized as some of the finest institutions in the land. It is racist indeed to assume that a black school is a bad school.

And the facts tell us that more black students are choosing to attend predominantly black schools. Applications last year were up 5 percent at Fayetteville State, Winston-Salem State, and A&T; 15 percent at Elizabeth City State; and 38 percent at NCCU. At any given time there is a finite number of blacks (or other groups) applying for college. Applications by black students cannot be expected to increase simultaneously across the UNC system.

It would seem that the sons and daughters of those who first benefitted from the civil rights movement are now reaching college age. They are exercising the choice their parents never had — but are choosing to attend the schools their parents did. A tradition of higher education, of pride in the alma mater, is forming in the burgeoning black middle-class.

How do we know this? At NCCU, for example, 83 percent of students received financial aid during 1983. In 1986 the

Campaign '88

✓ Ignore all the wildly fluctuating presidential polls. They ask the wrong questions of the wrong people. This baby will go down to the wire. So be sure to register and vote!

✓ Is the **Joe Biden** disease spreading? In her speech Democratic keynoter **Ann Richards** quipped that **Ginger Rogers** did everything **Fred Astaire** did — only backwards and in heels. This, of course, was an effort to establish her feminist credentials. But soon word spread that the line had been lifted from TV personality **Linda Ellerbee.** The Democrats are certainly not the party of new ideas. Besides, it's not even a very accurate stolen line. Then again, you can't expect the Dems to know anything about how to lead.

✓ The **Bush** campaign sure picked a strange place to kick off its bid to capture this key Southern state. Rocky Mount, N.C. was chosen chiefly because it is the hometown of higher-ups in the state Bush campaign. This only serves to reinforce the country-club image of Bush Republicans. Also, the city has long been in the center of an ugly debate over school integration in Edgecombe and Nash counties. No national candidate should plunge headlong into such a maelstrom during his first campaign stop in any state. Tally-ho, George!

✓ Unfortunately, those first stops need to be happy, safe images that American voters can easily grasp. You can bet that one of the "progressive" **Dukakis** campaign's first N.C. stops will be Research Triangle, in hopes of acquiring some new ideas by osmosis. Such a stop would certainly project an image of a candidate who is on top of high-tech issues — even at the expense of playing up the techno-weenie label. A visit to **Terry Sanford's** old trudging grounds wouldn't be unexpected, either. But could Durham survive two ostentatious, overrated, Yankee-fied Dukes?

✓ S.C. Gov. **Carroll Campbell** was highly visible at the Republican convention. Many see Campbell as the heir apparent to Sen. **Strom Thurmond** if Thurmond should ever get around to having a heir. Campbell got in some barbs at the Democrats, saying that "the Democrats have a cotton candy platform — a lot of fluff and not much substance." He said that small, rural South Carolina ranked 13th in economic growth last year while the "Miracle" state came in 33rd. What a nice guy. Too bad Campbell couldn't stop the Gamecocks from beating the hell out of the Heels.

✓ Meanwhile, it seemed that N.C. Gov. **Jim Martin** was campaigning harder for an NFL franchise than he was for re-election. All the while **Bob Jordan** keeps shaking hands and giving speeches. Martin needs to remember that **Jim Broyhill** thought he had Terry Sanford by the short hairs in the Senate race a couple of years ago — and look what happened to him.

✓ Aren't you tired of pundits who have been no farther south than the Virginia bank of the Potomac telling the world what the South wants in a presidential candidate? They just don't seem to understand that issues like gun control and the death penalty are important to Southern voters. That's why Bush mentioned these in his acceptance speech. Much of the major media is loathe to admit that Dukakis is simply out of step with Southern voters. Otherwise, **Al Gore** wouldn't have cleaned his clock on Super Tuesday. If George Bush can show voters the Duke's position on these issues, as well as national security, he'll carry the South. And from the looks of it, he has to carry the South.

✓ Why is it that every time a politician identifies a "problem" the solution usually involves a greater expenditure of public money? After calling illegal drugs the biggest problem North Carolina faces (?!), Republican Lt. Gov. candidate **Jim Gardner** said he wanted to create a new state law enforcement agency to fight drugs. Great, just what we need — a mini-DEA to start innumerable turf wars. Gardner says the agency would cost about $20 million a year to run. N.C. already has one specialized state police force, alcohol (a drug, by the way) law enforcement. Ale officers are chiefly skilled at lurking in parking lots outside supermarkets. Imagine our mini-DEA guys sitting in high school parking lots for hours on end waiting to glimpse a drug deal. Meanwhile, real crimes — theft, murder, rape — go on with no specialized police force to stop them. But no matter. Gardner knows that drugs have become the anti-crime issue. In fact, Democratic foe **Tony Rand** will be eager to show he is just as "tough" on drugs.

✓ By the way, **Dan Quayle** is younger than the Rolling Stones' **Keith Richards.** Now that is a relevant voting issue.

-- Jeff Taylor

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number was down to 55 percent. Administrators at NCCU explain this drop by saying that they are receiving growing numbers of applications from the black middle-class.

And it's not unbelievable that UNC, State, et. al. may have priced themselves out of the market for middle-class black families who would not be eligible for much financial aid. It may very well be the case that a degree from UNC is not worth twice as much in the job market as one from NCCU.

If that little secret gets out, the issue won't be declining black enrollment at "white" schools, but skyrocketing white enrollment at "black" schools.

Lawn Fertilizer

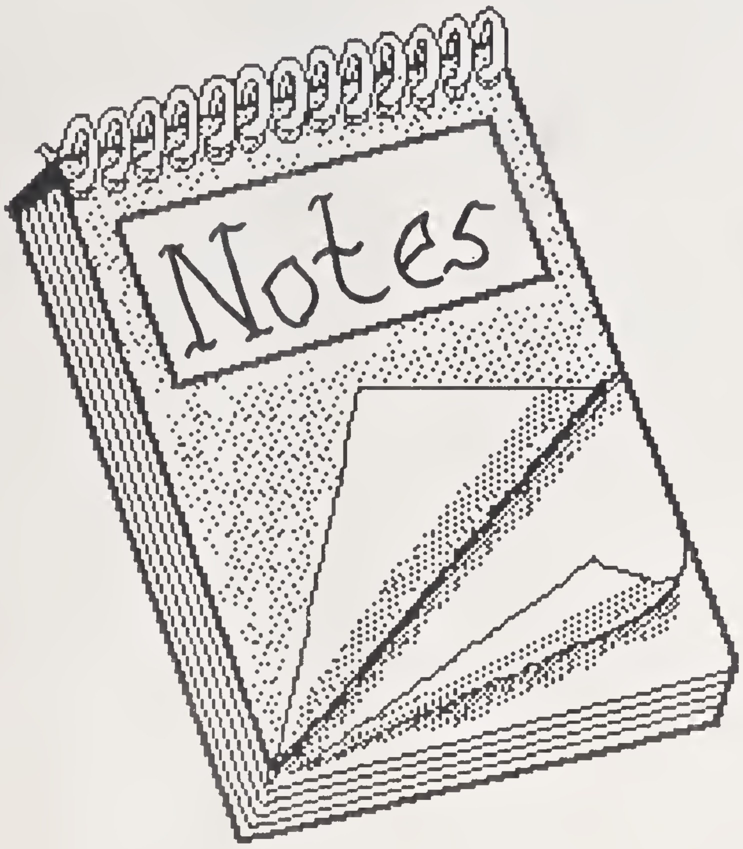
Perhaps it is because of our human nature that we feel the grass is greener on the other side of the fence. In any case, this illusory benefit is again being pursued: a current concept among trendinistas about "economic violence" or the related view of American society as uncaring, with a need for a greater government role to protect and help the unemployed and poor. The model is Western Europe, with its highly centralized government, socialized medicine, and legislated economy.

Yet just as this wave of calls for greater state action comes in this country, growing numbers of Europeans are looking to the U.S. as a model. Greater economic liberalization and decentralization of government decisions are popular concepts there. The underlying reason: the creation of 25 million jobs in the U.S. over the past 15 years, vs. the creation of virtually none in Western Europe (Eastern Europe no longer worries about creating jobs, but rather keeping anyone working at all). In the less-restrictive U.S., the unemployment rate in good times is lower than the seemingly permanent 8 to 10 percent rate found in West Germany, France, and elsewhere.

And then there is the persistent fear in a generation of young Europeans who see few training opportunities for entry level positions and an overabundance of college-educated individuals in almost all fields. For example, one of Western Europe's poorest nations, Spain, has a shortage of doctors.

So while Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson talk of "caring" and the "export of American jobs," just take a look at the the parched lawn on the other side of the Atlantic fence be viewed. It sure ain't green. Ω

COME BE LECTURED TO



During the 1988 Critical Lectures Series

The Carolina Critic Society is presenting a series of monthly addresses by professors, journalists, and policymakers from the Carolinas. Watch the DTH and the CRITIC for dates and times.

CORRECTED VISION?

The dream of a colorblind society has been replaced by a reality of racial quotas, tokenism, hand-outs, and collective guilt

By Sandi Hollifield Hood

NO OTHER ISSUE IN CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS has experienced so little meaningful debate than the area of race relations. Often one's positions are summarily dismissed, without a hearing, because some self-appointed "minority spokesman" pronounces the thesis advanced to be "racist." This anti-rational process has produced an environment in which certain areas of intellectual farmland become grazing areas for "sacred cows" — issues that are off-limits to analysis or discussion.

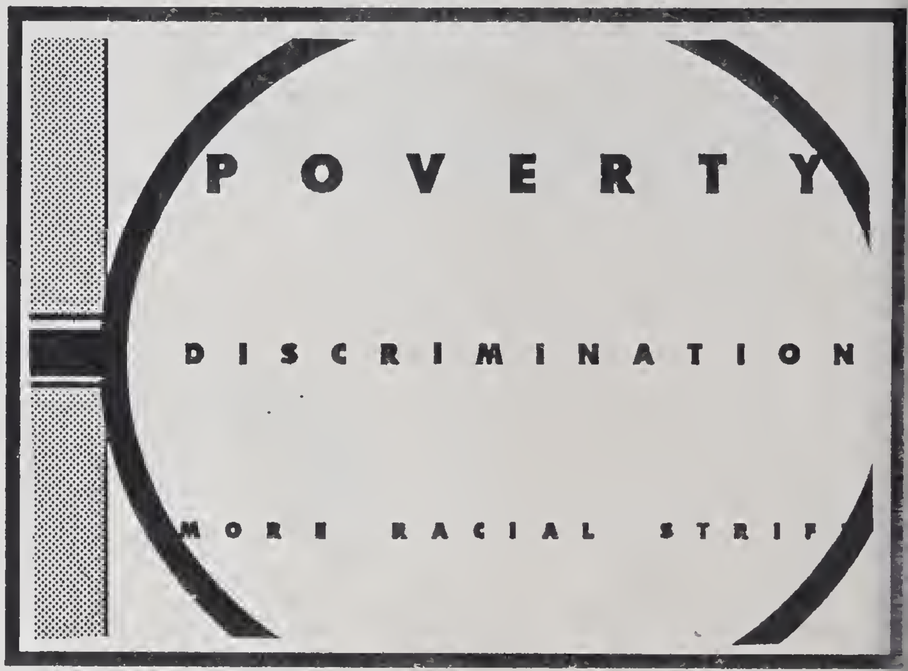
One such animal is Affirmative Action, the process of favoring minorities or women over other groups in such arenas as job placement or college admissions. The practice, begun in the Johnson administration, has become so entrenched now that its presence has become unquestioned in many areas of our society, including UNC. This is quite regrettable, because the justification and efficacy of Affirmative Action are indeed *highly* questionable.

Affirmative Action is wrong on its face. It mandates special consideration for individuals on the basis of race and/or gender, which is exactly what anti-discrimination laws were designed to prevent. In addition, there is growing evidence that Affirmative Action is bad policy for other reasons than fairness. These issues are explored below.

To begin, the practice of Affirmative Action is opposed by a majority of the U.S. public, *including blacks themselves.* According to a 1985 survey in *Public Opinion*, 75% of black Americans polled opposed preferential treatment for blacks in hiring and college admissions. In addition, a whopping *60%* said they had never experienced racial discrimination in job hiring or advancement. Why, then, do so many "leaders" of the black community, as well as government officials, continue to push for such an unpopular program?

The answer is that Affirmative Action is accepted at face value, with no meaningful debate over its tenets or conclusions. Whites are condemned, without a hearing, for racism in job competition and college admissions, and are penalized by special treatment for blacks and other minority groups. In a land which professes to presume innocence rather than guilt, it is a sad irony that individuals are constantly penalized for actions they themselves did not commit. By blaming prospective white students or employees for racist events committed decades before by other people, we deny them the due process rights guaranteed by our 5th Amendment.

The supporters of this nefarious practice point to "equity" as their justification. Unfortunately, they fail to see the true meaning of the word. Equity refers to *equal opportunity and equal treatment before the law* for all members of the republic, not preferential treatment for some citizens over others. Dr. Martin Luther King's dream for Americans to be judged by the "content of their character" rather than the "color of their skins" has been perverted by subsequent leaders, who labor to again make skin color an acceptable method for judging individuals. The legal machinations of these Affirmative Action proponents are supposedly based on President Johnson's Executive Order 11246 — which specifically *forbids* discrimination on the basis of race!



Ironically, the unfairness that results from Affirmativ Action is not confined to those whites who suffer from it. A many commentators have pointed out, preferential hiring an loaded admissions standards tend to devalue the work of black or women who achieve their postions by merit. Virginia Wool and Emily Dickinson would likely be appalled by the notio that their literature is studied simply because they were women All black students at UNC have to face the suspicion that the just got in "on quota" rather than because of their high schoc records and SAT scores. This is clearly unfair, and possibl exacerbates racist attitudes by reinforcing the myth that black cannot really compete with whites.

Fairness is not the only problem area encountered whe dealing with Affirmative Action. Economist Thomas Sowe of the Hoover Institution has documented that Affirmativ Action in hiring only helps those who need help least: the to *20%* of the black population. The threat of lawsuits creates need for employers to recruit only blacks whose qualificatior are very high, since marginally qualified blacks who may n succeed could bring expensive lawsuits to bear on an employ as a result of the Affirmative Action guidlines. So the highly qualified blacks get an unneeded "step up", which may actually reduce their prestige (as argued above), whereas blacks caught in the poverty/welfare cycle are ignored.

Sowell argues that an opposite effect may occur with preferential *admissions* standards. Blacks without the necessary education in elementary/secondary schools are admitted to highly competitive schools under lower standards, then flounder in the tough college curriculum. He argues that instead of going to a slightly less competitive environment, where they could acquire meaningful skills that could lead to a decent job, these black students are eased into "soft subjects" like Afro-American Studies at more difficult schools (see related story), doing these blacks little good in the job market.

The place to rectify the poor education blacks often receive is at the elementary/secondary level, not at a university. As BSM president Kenneth Perry himself has remarked, "Blacks are often playing catch-up when they get here."

There is additional evidence that the improvement in the status of minorities was actually more rapid in the years prior to Affirmative Action. Whereas the 1964 Civil Rights Act significantly improved the chances of minorities by removing government-induced barriers, the post-1971 record of governmental barriers in favor of minorities is far from encouraging. As Sowell points out, the income levels of Puerto Ricans and blacks fell after 1971 from its peak two years before.

Black males with 8 to 11 years education and less than 6 years work experience earned 79% of similar white males in 1967, but only earned 69% as of 1978. At the same time, black males with a college degree rose to 98% of the income of similar whites. This fact could support the above-mentioned thesis about Affirmative Action — that it benefits the most well off while leaving the marginally qualified behind.

Some question the entire justification for the Affirmative Action policy — that racism is to blame for the disadvantaged status of some minority groups, particularly blacks. Sowell and others have pointed out that Chinese immigrants to America have improved their status without, and in fact in spite of, government action to a level. This group has reached a level that is, on average, higher than most white groups. Indeed Chinese minorities in Thailand and Malaysia, where discrimination against them is codified in law, still outperform and outearn the native Thai and Malay populations. Even more applicable to the black experience is the success of West Indian blacks in the U.S., who now outearn their average white counterparts.

A bold analyst, unafraid of being branded "racist", would assert that such evidence points to the cultural/social aspects of a minority population as being more important to economic success than overt or covert racism. Suffice it to say that the above evidence discounts the theory that racism is the *major* hinderance to the success of minority workers and pupils — a key component of the Affirmative Action position.

What do all these arguments have to do with UNC policy? We as an institution should realize that giving "special consideration" to race and gender in hiring and admissions is both an unfair and flawed policy. We should realize that Affirmative Action:

•*Violates due process* by assigning collective rather than individual guilt for past instances of racism.

•*Excerbates racial hostility* by highlighting the differences between races as an acceptable basis for admissions and employment decisions.

•*Breeds dependence* by telling minority individuals they cannot succeed on their own.

In short, UNC should rid itself of injustice and failed policy by phasing out Affirmative Action. In its place we should erect an objective, unbiased meritocratic system for admissions and job hiring in which more importance is placed on what is *inside* a person than what is on the *outside*. Only then can we truly realize the ideals of racial harmony and social justice. Ω

Mrs. Hood is a recent graduate of the University in Journalism. David Hood contributed research assistance to this article.

Afam 40 gets bum rap as 'token' class

Until declared a pre-1700 history perspective, Afro-American Studies 40 was begging for students. That is unfortunate, because the course itself is worthwhile. Perhaps it was the stereotype of an "easy" course for "token black" students that prevented it from being perceived as a real course for real students. Even more unfortunate is what taking the class reveals: how the history of an entire continent has been bypassed in public education.

The pre-1700 history aspect is not what makes Afam 40 outshine other "minority-focused" courses. Unlike Womens Studies 50, this perspective course actually has something meaningful to offer. Also unlike Womens Studies, Afam 40 is presented in a professional, well-balanced manner that allows the students to draw their own conclusions based on a nonpartisan collection of facts.

Indeed it is the misfortune of this department that they must label the course a "pre-1700" perspective to get students to enroll. When I took the course, a little less than one-half of the time was spent on African-American history before 1700. So the course is not exactly what it professes to be. In a sense, the department obscures the truly worthwhile aspects of this course by hiding beneath an academically-crafted umbrella rather than openly trying to dispute notions of a *black course* catering to *black establishment interests* — and for *black students*. Anything that pertains to world history or American history should be applicable to the experiences of all students. That is the nature of knowledge. Yet Afam 40's undeserved reputation as a token course prevents prospective students from recognizing the true merit of the course — just as Affirmative Action prevents people from recognizing the true merits of the individual.

— S.H.

In the Zoo

By David Hood

HOW NOT TO PLUG THE BRAIN DRAIN

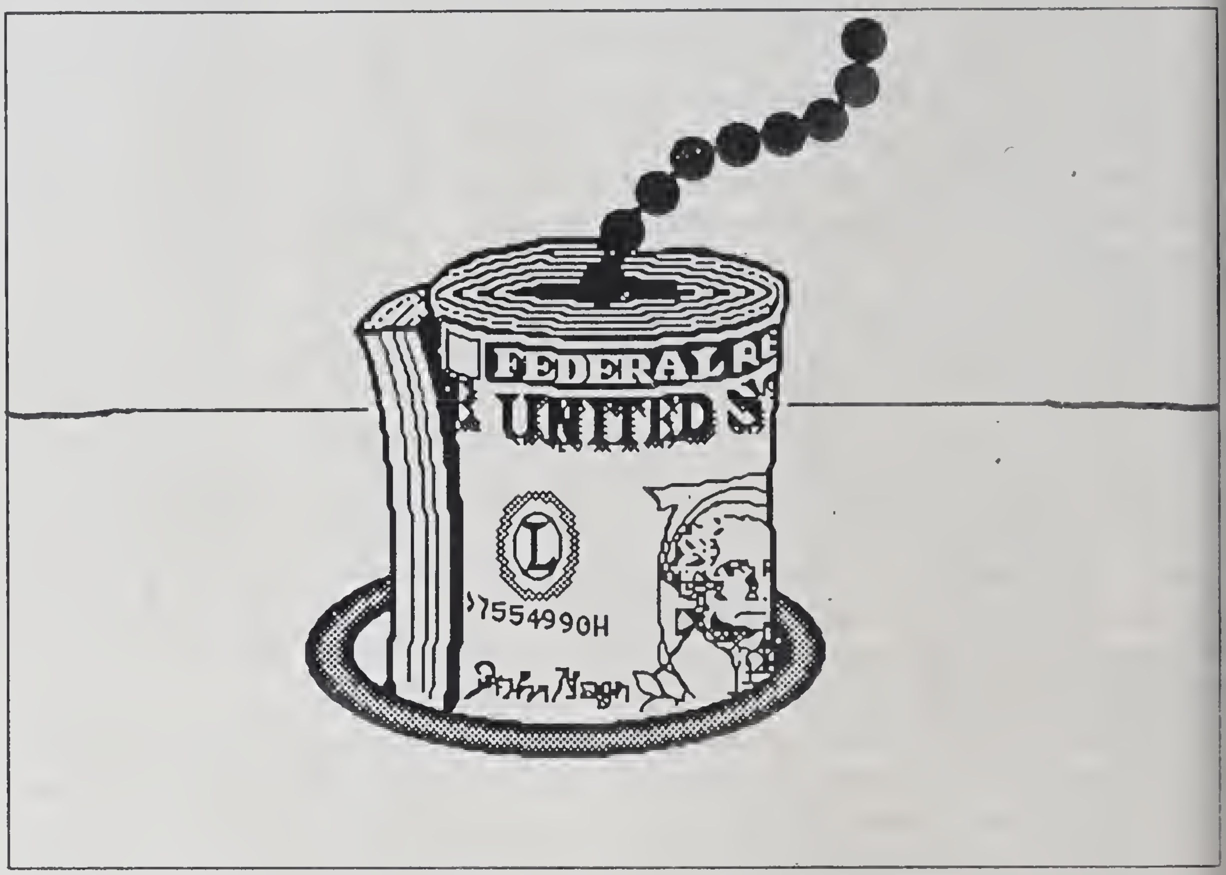
RECENT NEWSPAPER PIECES AND editorials in the Triangle area have injected into the public arena a new "crisis" in higher education — low faculty pay in the UNC system. With emphasis placed primarily on UNC-Chapel Hill, commentators and university reps have chided North Carolina for not compensating its college professors at a level that is competitive with other major national institutions like Harvard, Duke, and the University of Virginia. The *Raleigh News & Observer* has joined the chorus with its August 2 editorial "UNC's bills come due."

Most of this cricism is way off the mark. There are several explanations for the "low" faculty salaries at UNC, as well as compelling reasons to resist calls for a drastic pay hike.

First, though, let's take a look at what all the commotion is about. The main problem in the eyes of most observers is the so-called "brain drain" from the University of North Carolina. Higher pay and better benefits have lured some prominent professors to other universities, or to private industry. This prompts a fear in some quarters that UNC is in danger of "losing its reputation as a top-flight research institution" as was argued in the report of an audit commissioned by the UNC Board of Trustees.

Instead of focusing on UNC's reputation as a "research school," we should remember that the state university's primary mission, according to the North Carolina constitution, is educating the state's youth. But most of the scholars who make up the "brain drain" are researchers, not educators. As a 1988 graduate of UNC I can attest to the fact that the big-name professors have little contact with average students. Instead, my classes were largely taught by graduate students or assistant professors. To hike the pay of full professors who spend most of their time in graduate seminars or writing journal articles does not significantly aid the education of North Carolina youth.

Secondly, it seems criminal to increase the pay of a class of employees who already enjoy substantial benefits and excellent working conditions. Remember that their salaries are based on nine-month work years, not the more rigorous schedules under which most taxpayers labor. Professors also enjoy more free time during the year than the struggling workers or budding entrepreneurs who will be asked to shoulder much of the cost of faculty pay raises. Many faculty members utilize their free time in other educational pursuits, certainly, but they are usually paid for that extra work, whether it be publishing or teaching extra classes.



This raises the whole question of how to accurately assess the value of a professor to their employers and consumers — in this case, North Carolina taxpayers and students. Were they to work in private business, their worth to the firm would be the primary consideration in determining pay scales — not what other firms with different expense situations were paying their employees. Since there is little accountability to the taxpayers about a particular professor's merit, especially teaching skills, raising faculty pay by large amounts may be throwing money at ineffectual teachers rather than to more efficient pursuits. That money could be better used in training growth-inducing entrepreneurs, for example, than funding researchers who output is hard to measure in concrete benefits to taxpayers. And average students are not helped much at all by hefty raises for full-time professors.

EVEN IF IT WERE A GOOD IDEA TO boost faculty pay by a hefty amount, it would be difficult for our state to carry out. There are several reasons for this.

First, UNC's salaries should not be compared to those offered by private institutions like Harvard or Duke. The latter can afford to subsidize their faculty at a higher level. After all, their budgets do not have to trade-off with state projects like the highway system or elementary education. No amount of salary increase for UNC profs in the next few years can hope to match that possible for a private university in the long run. UNC has been academically competitive with the top schools in the nation due to a tradition of excellence dating back to the 18th century, not due to the size of its budget. We should stop ceaselessly comparing our wallet to Duke's — that is about as relevant to the academic situation as comparing Carolina Blue to Blue Devil Blue.

Second, it should be noted that Virginia's higher faculty pay ($62,000 for full professors) is largely due to its 57.6 percent increase in tuition charges since 1981. One important hallmark of the UNC system is its insistence that tuition costs be as low as possible. Indeed that low figure undoubtably results in higher access for disadvantaged minority and rural youth in an era of shrinking financial aid budgets. Raising tuition to keep a professor from moving to California is likely to cut out some potential undergrads — who rarely get access to those big-name profs anyway!

Third, North Carolina as a state is not as well off as its rivals in California or even neighboring Virginia. The state's per capita income is $13,155 — well below the national average. Since Virginia's per capita figure is above the national average, it come as no

(Continued on Page 22)

By Bob Lukefahr

THE ABC's OF DAY CARE

"In brief," the Director summed up, "the parents [used to be] the father and mother." The smut that was really science fell with a crash into the [students] eye-avoiding silence ... "These," he said gravely, "are unpleasant facts; I know it. But then most historical facts are unpleasant."

Aldous Huxley, from *Brave New World*.

SOMETIME DURING THE LAST SEVeral years — no one is certain exactly when — a group of social theorists figured out that access to federally funded day care was the constitutional right of every American child. It seems that this newly found constitutional guarantee was there all along, tucked away in that unwritten constitution we've heard so much about of late. (That's the problem with unwritten constitutions: they're almost impossible to read, at least without a degree from Harvard Law School and a pair of rose-colored glasses, so you never know what's going to turn up in there).

Of course it's not officially part of the unwritten constitution until the Supreme Court recognizes it as such (cf. the previous 127 extrapolations of the Fourteenth Amendment) but you can rest assured that a decision establishing the right to federally funded day care will be forthcoming by the turn of the century. In short, welcome to the age of federal child care.

In the early part of the last decade, then-congressman Walter Mondale sponsored a bill similar to the current Democratic proposal (the Act for Better Child Care) which would have established a federal child care ystem. Fortunately President Nixon vetoed the legislation and Congress failed to override the veto. This time, though, things will be different. Supporters of today's ABC bill will have at least some type of federal day care legislation. They have managed to get 36 Senate and 163 House coponsors for the ABC bill even though it:

- creates a huge federal bureaucracy,
- subsidizes families with annual incomes of well over $30,000,
- penalizes families in which one arent stays home to care for the hildren,
- all but abolishes home-based ay care,
- discourages church-run preschools, and
- comes complete with a host of federal regulations to make it all come true.

All this for a modest $2.5 billion.

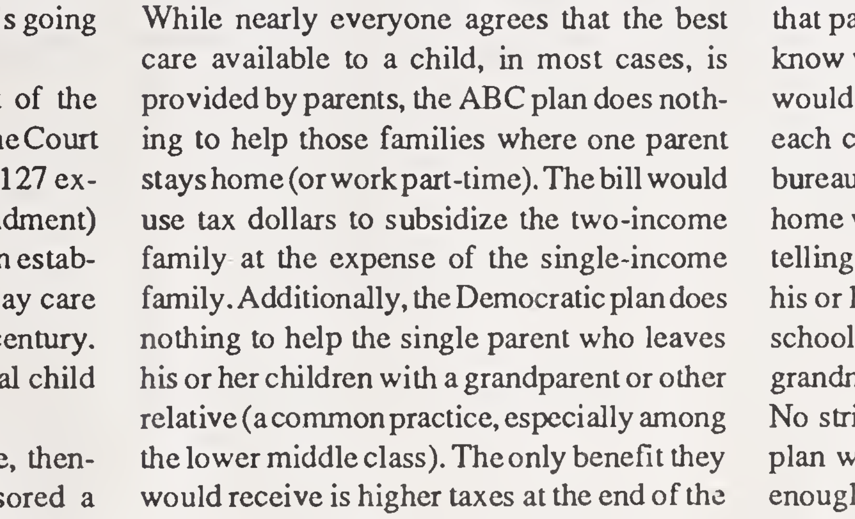
Not surprisingly, the widespread support among legislators is less a reflection of the bill's quality than it is a capitulation to election year politics. Somebody, probably the same person that convinced us our lives would be made simpler by "tax simplification," has managed to persuade the American public that the federal government is uniquely qualified to raise our kids. One wonders whether the government will be able to do for child care what it has done in recent years for education; I hope not. Nevertheless, support for a federal role in child rearing is now a political necessity.

Notably absent from the debate is the question: will it help our children? That is, after all, the goal. Yet the answer is often no. While nearly everyone agrees that the best care available to a child, in most cases, is provided by parents, the ABC plan does nothing to help those families where one parent stays home (or work part-time). The bill would use tax dollars to subsidize the two-income family at the expense of the single-income family. Additionally, the Democratic plan does nothing to help the single parent who leaves his or her children with a grandparent or other relative (a common practice, especially among the lower middle class). The only benefit they would receive is higher taxes at the end of the year. In other words, the ABC plan discourages the most effective child care system (the traditional and extended family) while providing an incentive for a less effective system.

The ABC bill also fails to recognize the single most important aspect of early child care: the transfer of values, especially religious values, from one generation to the next. The federal guidlines that accompany the federal money provided by the ABC bill will ensure that the same kind of artificial moral vacuum present in our public schools is also imposed on the federally subsidized preschools. In addition, thanks to the 1988 Federal Power Expansion Act (alias the Civil Rights Restoration Act) religious child care centers would be prohibited from requiring their teachers to be among the faithful (e.g. a Lutheran church that wished to provide a day care center for its congregation could not require its teachers to be Lutheran or even Christian without losing federal funds). For the wealthy, freedom of choice would remain — but for the working class, the only options would be to continue as they are or send their children to Uncle Sam's waiting arms.

Fortunately there is an alternative to the ABC bill: George Bush's tax subsidy program. This plan is based on the simple idea that parents, and not the federal government, know what is best for their kids. Bush's plan would give poor families $1,000 a year for each child under five years of age. No new bureaucracy, no penalty for parents that stay home with the children, and no federal nanny telling you what to do. If a parent wants to use his or her money to send a child to a religious school, to an employer-run center, or to grandmother's house they are free to do so. No strings attached. Of course, critics of the plan will point out that $1,000 a year is not enough to enroll a child in a day care program, and they're right. The average yearly cost for day care in the U.S. is about $2,200 — which means that if you decide to have children you are expected to pay for a little more than half of their day care expenses.

Estimates for the cost of the Bush plan range from $1.5 billion to $2.2 billion, but when compared with the ABC plan, which will spend an estimated 25 cents of every dollar on administrative costs, it is difficult to imagine a more effective way to get more care for the buck. Naturally the Bush plan isn't perfect, and I believe that there is room for disagreement about whether the scope of the program is sufficient to meet the needs of the poor, but clearly Bush is headed in the right direction. Unless, of course, you would rather start sending Mother's Day cards to your congressmen . . . Ω



The World Stage

By Jeff Taylor

PHILIPPINE DEBASEMENT

NO ONE CAN SAY THAT THIS was unexpected. Unlike other recent foreign policy disputes, the US bid to hang on to its bases in the Philippines has not been full of surprises. The consensus had been that the Aquino government would ask for the Moon — and they have. Washington must now convince Manila that the Moon is not the going rate for irreplaceable military bases.

George Schultz & Co. at the State Department could start by pointing out that the US presence is vital to Philippine security. But foreign minister Raul Manglapus has called Subic Bay and Clark AFB "irrelevant to Philippine defense." Manglapus is evidently convinced that the fragmented Philippine armed forces can keep the New People's Army at bay well into the 21st century without the presence of deterring US forces — and at a lower cost.

Moving on, might the Soviet armada 650 miles away at Cam Ranh Bay convice Filipinos that the US is nice to have around? Manila can counter by saying that the Soviets spend about $1.5 billion a year on aid to Vietnam. Since they are asking for only $1 billion a year in "rent," Manglapus's negotiating team thinks they are giving Uncle Sam a bargain.

The best bet seems to be for the US to show the Philippines that allowing the US to stay after 1991 would be much more profitable than sending America packing. The problem is that the question of bases has become, rightly or wrongly, a matter of national pride in the Philippines.

This is similar to what happened over US F-16 bases in the Philippines' former colonial master, Spain. The Spanish wanted the planes gone because they were somehow a reminder of Franco's rule. It seems that weaponry of any kind remind the Spanish of Franco, and spiffy uniforms send them into an absolute frenzy. The US acquiesced because it found a better spot — Italy.

Because the US has been at Subic Bay since 1898, the bases aren't so closely associated with the Marcos era. But in the wake of the Marcos mess the Filipino people are keen not to be screwed over by anyone again. The Aquino government is acutely aware of this. By dealing tough over the bases, the government hopes to show how it differs from the old regime.

Standing in opposition to such a position are the hardliners and the military. They are convinced that Aquino has been much too soft on the Communist rebels. And, in fact, Aquino's leniency (allowing Communist leaders to leave prison to return to the field) has not caused the rebels to renouce violence — though it has sorely tempted the Army to. As a result, Vice President Salvador Laurel, with whose help Aquino came to power, went so far as to call for Aquino's resignation. Laurel and others believe that Aquino's approach is exactly backwards. The tough talk and threats should be aimed at the NPA, not the USA. The Philippine military knows that if the US were to pull out *they* would have to face the NPA — alone.

Weighing in on Aquino's side is the popular perception in the Philippines that Marcos gave the US a free ride in exchange for overlooking his looting. This is not altogether false. Neither party was ever eager to rock the boat and foul up a good thing.

However, the US presence has not been a burden to the Philippine economy, but a boon. The jobs and commerce generated by the bases pump nearly $600 million a year into the stagnant Philippine economy. Almost all of this would be lost if the US were to pull out.

In addition, the US provided $365 million in direct aid in 1988 alone. Add all this up and we almost reach the magic $1 billion mark. Is Manila really prepared to kiss all this goodbye? Of course not.

NO MATTER HOW INTOXICATING it might be for Filipinos to contemplate giving the big, bad US a serious black eye, they're not insane. Despite Mr. Manglapus's dire warnings, the talks will continue. An agreement will be signed promising more aid (which probably would have been forthcoming to the socially acceptable Aquino government anyway) and saying something about Philippine sovereignty and independence.

The US, official smoke aside, really has no other choice. No combination of Guams and Palaus sit right in the middle of the South China Sea overlooking Soviet subs and Japanese tankers. Also, very few places in the world, especially in the Pacific Rim, can match the large maritime workforce around in the Philippines. Besides, it would cost billions to move and billions more to run currents operations out of different locations.

Scaling back current operations does not seem to be a prudent alternative, either. Despite hints from the Gorbycrats that the Soviets might move to a less aggressive, more coastal naval stance, the US cannot afford to take chances in the Pacific. In the very near future the Far East will become America's major market. Asian trading partners do and will look to the US to provide security for this region.

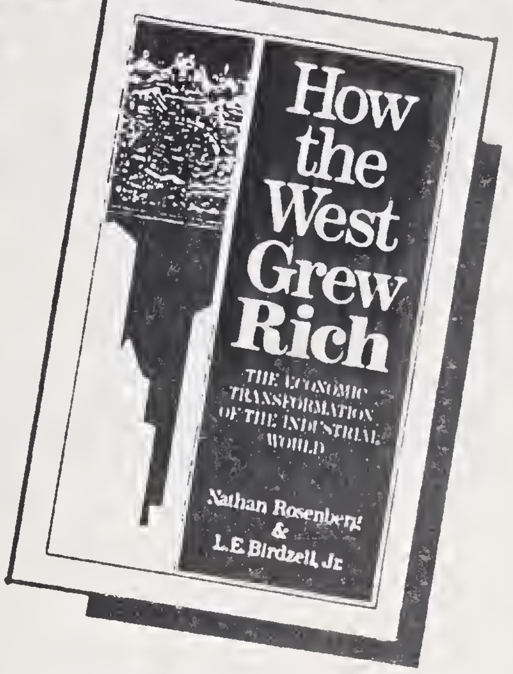
In addition, the newly industrialized nations of the Pacific want the US around to check any latent imperial designs the Japanese might harbor. Imagine how the French would feel if West German children were taught that Germany was forced into WWII. With these factors, a reduction in Amercan activity or effectiveness in the region would send a signal to the protocapitalist countries of Asia that they can never aspire to the relations Europe enjoys with the US. This part of the equation also compels the US to reach an agreement.

The one issue that could throw a huge monkey wrench in the negotiations is that of nuclear weapons. So far it has been a peripheral issue with no strong anti-nuke lobby in the Philippines. There is a tacit understanding that the US would have little use for the bases if they had to announce to the world the weaponry of every plane, ship, and sub that came through the Philippines. So there seems to be little chance that Manila will pull a New Zealand. Then again, no one expected "people power" either.

But you *can* expect the coming weeks to show the US trying to bring the Philippines' asking price a little closer to Earth. Uncle Sam may not give up the Moon, but don't be surprised if he loses an arm and a leg.

Taylor is a graduate of the University in philosophy and political science.

PROSPERITY IS NO ACCIDENT


How the West Grew Rich
THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD
Nathan Rosenberg & L.E. Birdzell, Jr.

"How The West Grew Rich" is a sweeping history of the economic growth of Europe, the United States and Canada that adds a whole new dimension to the case for capitalism and freedom.

It explains *why* and *how* the West escaped from grinding poverty and misery while other societies and cultures have not. A central theme is the steady decline of centralized political and religious authority over economic action, allowing innovation and experimentation to flourish.

Along the way, authors Rosenberg and Birdzell demolish prevailing pseudo-explanations of how the West became economically dominant. The reasons for Western prosperity are *not* a fortunate abundance of natural resources, or reliance on such evils as colonialism, exploitation, and slavery, or even a vaguely-defined "spirit of capitalism." Instead, Western prosperity can be traced directly to the development of market-oriented organizations and institutions that succeeded to the degree that centralized authority got out of their way.

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Essays

BOOK REVIEW

GREAT POWERS AND BAD HISTORY

By Michael Lowrey

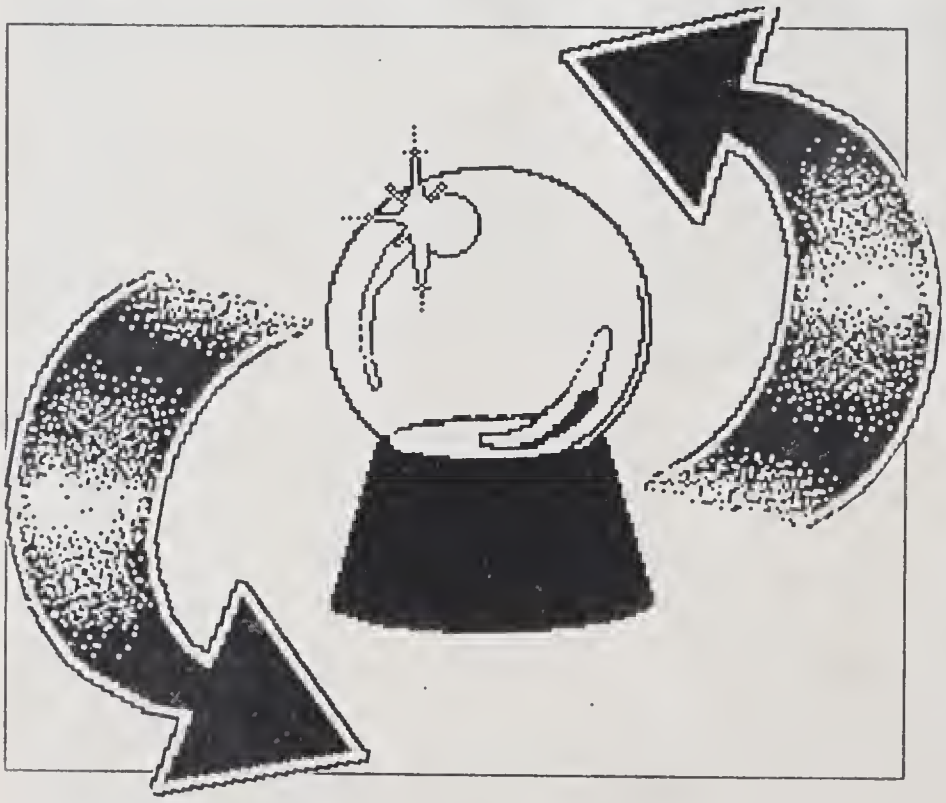
THERE ARE SOME THINGS WHICH IN SPITE OF themselves become quite popular. Much as disco was and Guns and Roses is, Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* is a vastly overrated work, overly long, tedious, and without merit.

Subtitled "Economic Change and Military Conflict From 1500 to 2000," Kennedy's work attempts to explain why the various Great Powers have risen and fallen and what the future holds.

The theme is, as the subtitle implies, that economic strength plus technical innovation approximately equals military strength and "power." In the Kennedy *Weltanschauung*, other considerations such as morale, leadership, and geography are of secondary importance.

If this sounds simplistic, it is — because Kennedy's work is. Most of the book is wasted on a drawn-out analysis of the past 500 years, offering much superficial analysis without concrete foundation.

Unfortunately, Kennedy chooses a middle-ground approach in writing *Rise and Fall*, going on the assumption that the reader has a very deep *and* broad understanding of history. Those who don't know about Philip II or the Locarno Treaty (to mention but a couple) will find this book incomprehensible. However, for those who do have such an understanding, it soon becomes evident that Kennedy's "analysis" of the past offers nothing that is new or original.



And of course, all those rises and declines happen in cycles. Kennedy is an historicist, with all that emplies. In his view, the U.S. is now in relative decline and the *best* we can do is control our skid. The Asians will inevitably grow and become prosperous and "powerful," whether Japan rearms or not.

TIED IN WITH THIS IS THE KENNEDY SYSTEM OF pseudoeconomics. In *Rise and Fall*, economics is reduced to doing one of three things with national income: consuming it, spending it on defense, or investing it. All other economic thought and theory is irrelevant. So for example, the Soviet Union is having economic problems because it spends too much on defense, not because Martist/Leninist policies preclude consumer demand effecting supply and disallow incentives.

For those of the America-in-decline ilk, the book may be a Bible of Self-Fulfilling Prophecy. However, those who are not fatalists or pseudoeconomists will find Kennedy's book about as useful as a bad History 12 textbook. Ω

Lowrey, being a citizen of West Germany, really understands those foreign words he throws out, and is therefore somewhat less snooty than other writers with the same affectation.

WORLD POLITICS

FREE WORLD DIVIDED OVER PORK BALLS

By Jeff Taylor

CONGRESS LOSES ITS BEARINGS OVER EUROPE. It takes no great feat of erudition to see that seldom are alliances perfectly harmonious relationships. Nor is it startling to conclude that as the number of partners increase, the chances of dissention increase exponentially.

Despite this, NATO has managed to do it job — deter war in Europe — for 40 years. Internal squabbles have been kept to manageable levels through a keen sensivity to each nation's domestic political and economic situation. Or, in non-Foggy Bottomspeak, the U.S. hasn't rammed everything down the Europeans' throats.

But the U.S. Congress, perpetually blind to a good thing when it has one, is prepared to deal a serious blow to NATO relations in pursuit of a bizarre "Buy America" plan.

You see, Congress has discovered that the U.S. depends on European sources for many high-tech military components. Shrewdly noting Europe's proximity to the Soviet Bloc, Congress says that those European factories make inviting and

ulnerable targets. Their solution has been to introduce a spate f bills that require some key components, like silicon chips nd ball bearings, to be made in the U.S.

Several times during the introduction of these bills, refernces have been made to the lessons we learned from World Var II. Didn't we bring Nazi Germany to its knees by bombing ey industries? Aren't we similarly vulnerable now, they ask?

First, comparing a conventional NATO-Warsaw Pact tangle the Second World War is instantly and thoroughly ludicrous. modern-day conventional war in Europe would not drag on or years. Whether the U.S. and friends could step up producon of war materiel is irrelevant. The U.S. would have to fight e Soviets with whatever it already had in hand — in Europe. ven resupply from the U.S. (where some congressmen would resumably keep all those ball bearings and such) across a eavily contested Atlantic is not a given.

None of this is meant to suggest that we should not be oncerned about the vulnerability of European defense fronts. n the contrary, we should be very concerned. But what the onsors of these "Buy American" bills have forgotten to tell s is how such targets are likely to be attacked. Relatively soft rgets like factories would probably be hit by Spetnaz or other oviet special operations troops. The attack would be timed to incide with the beginning of hostilities.

It is routinely assumed by defense specialists that such boteurs are already in place throughout Europe, and, yes, en in the United States. This is one of the prices of freedom, u know. So manufacturing crucial components in the U.S. no means guarantees that they are invulnerable to attack.

Besides, do we really want to encourage an already strong ejudice towards home-grown technology and weapon sysms within the Western Alliance? If the bills before Congress come law you can bet that the Europeans will rightly take nbrage (despite Congressional platitudes to the contrary) and ss similar legislation. This would be the first step in a trade war over items which must be shared in order for NATO to function.

We really need to call a spade a spade. These silly "domestic content" bills are nothing more than huge barrels, nay *vats* of pork. Rep. John Spratt (D-SC), co-chair of the Congressional Bearing Caucus (?!), thinks the bills are great. Of course Congress doesn't want the Pentagon to contract with Europeans to make defense items — Europeans don't vote for U.S. Congress members! If members can't promise lucrative defense contracts to Big Business in their districts, how are they supposed to get their votes?

And I do not believe that anyone who seriously reflects on the question would decide that it is a good idea to make it law that the U.S. *must* throw X amount of dollars towards such upstanding corporate citizens as Hughes, McDonell-Douglass, or GTE.

The Europeans may talk funny, but at least *they* seem to be honest with us. Ω

Taylor reads too many military technology journals from the Continent.

REFRACTIONS

WHY ARE WE HERE? AT COLLEGE, ANYWAY

By David Hood

SINCE I AM A "COLLEGE GRADUATE" NOW, I CAN sit back and be a little more philosophical about the whole thing. After all, college is a very significant part of one's life —

you learn to be independent from parents, to budget time, and to put off everything until the week before exams.

But just what is the "college experience" all about? Why do we spend four years of our life in a little town like Chapel Hill, with all its built-in silliness and unreality?

The answer to that question depends greatly upon the source. There are usually three different explanations given as to why college is important (well, actually there are four, but for our purposes we can leave out "to give Dean Smith a place to coach basketball.")

Professors. In the world of academia, people still operate under the delusion that universities exist to transmit knowledge to students. This is the reason students at UNC are burdened with a myriad of "perspective" requirements in all sorts of academic disciplines — as well as in sociology. The point of all this is to expose students to the thought processes of many fields of study, enhancing their understanding of the world as a whole. Unfortunately, most students are not interested in studying such esoteric subjects, and therefore get little out of the process. Except a healthy contempt for sociology.

Parents. Most kids come to school on their parents' money, so it is only fair to find out what moms and dads themselves expect college to do for them. The main explanation given from this camp is that a college degree is a "status symbol." Everyone who is anyone has a college degree (except a few millionaires) and parents certainly want their kids to "be someone."

The problem with this view is that almost everyone gets sent to college because of it. No longer is a degree exclusive and able to command instant societal respect. Now a student would have to obtain a Ph.D. before they secured the same status that an undergraduate would have received fifty years ago. Fifty years from now, everyone will have a Ph.D., so frantic efforts will commence to invent a new level of smarts.

Students. This leads us to the last answer to the riddle of college's value, the one given by students themselves. Contrary to conventional wisdom, young people do not flock to the Hill in search of Animal House-like parties or oceans of beer (well, not exclusively, anyway). For the most part, Biff and Bunny are after jobs. Parents or professors notwithstanding, UNC is primarily a *vocational school* in the minds of its students. After all, this is the '80s. Our self-centered generation wants money, not merely knowledge or even a good time.

For the most part, Biff and Bunny are after jobs. Parents or professors notwithstanding, UNC is primarily a vocational school in the minds of its students. After all, this is the '80s. Our self-centered generation wants money, not merely knowledge or even a good time.

But the ability of universities like UNC to guarantee its students a job is tenuous at best. Although some majors will have a job waiting for students when they get out, this is hardly true for most in the liberal arts (Carolina's traditional strong suit.) For many grads, their chosen field of study may have little congruence with their eventual field of work. I know of at least Political Science major who will go on to become a waiter in a restaurant rathe than a political scientist (whatever that entails . . .)

What is my point in all of this? If college isn't a transmitter of cultural knowledge, isn't a status symbol, and isn't a job machine, then what is it?

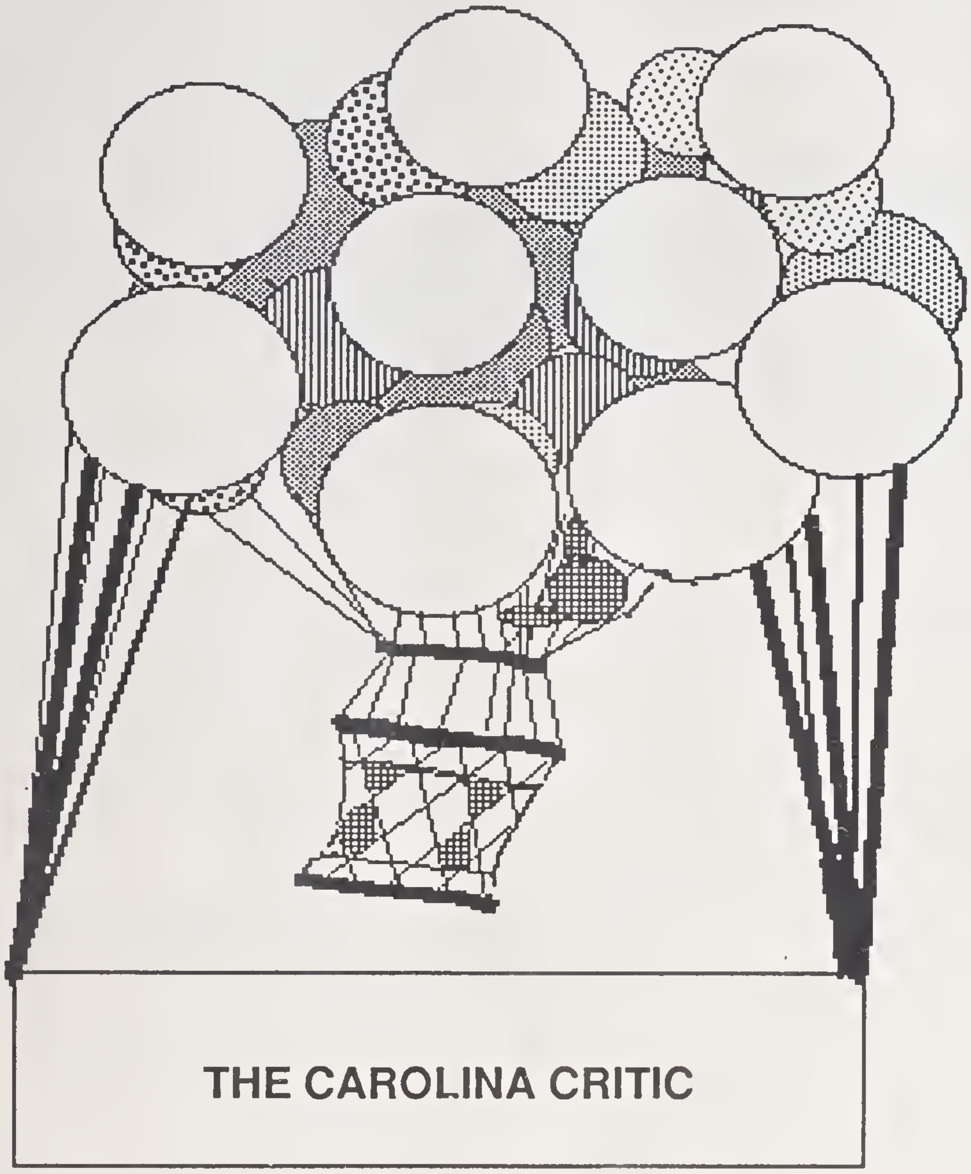
WELL, ALL OF THOSE FORCES ARE AT LEAST partially present in the "college experience," but the outcome is somewhat different. College teaches us how to think. It's that simple, or that complex, depending upon how you think about it. Students learn how to approach problems, how to think through them, and how to come put with solutions (or seat-of-the-pants dodges). Of course this is a useful skill in the jo market, but it has little to do with the actual degree involved

It's no coincidence that I am writing this piece in ou September issue. With another school year beginning, it important for us to consider just what we're doing. Freshmen your primary responsibility this year is not to English 1 or Eco 10, but to learn how to live on your own and to discipline yourselves. Sophomores and juniors need to begin to plan thei schedules around summer internships. And seniors need t begin to put together their resumes and think about graduat school, if necessary, to provide a focus for the future.

And don't forget your most important responsibility whil in college — the pick up your copy of The Carolina Criti every months and read it cover to cover. Ω

Hood majored in speech communications and political science, and is therefore prepared for an exciting career i demagoguery.

We're on the up and up . . .



. . .Care to come aboard?

The Carolina Critic Society needs writers, assistant editors, business staff, and dogmatic grunts to help with its campus magazine, newspaper column service, lectures, and other projects. Interested students are invited to attend an organizational meeting Sept. 14 at 7 p.m in the Student Union. Even liberals are cordially invited (we may run out of hot air).

THE PLAY'S THE THING — IF IT ENDS WELL

By Chris Haines

"ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE . . ." WROTE A BRILLIANT man once. I believe his profession was really political science. There could be no grander stage than politics and no more accomplished actors than politicians.

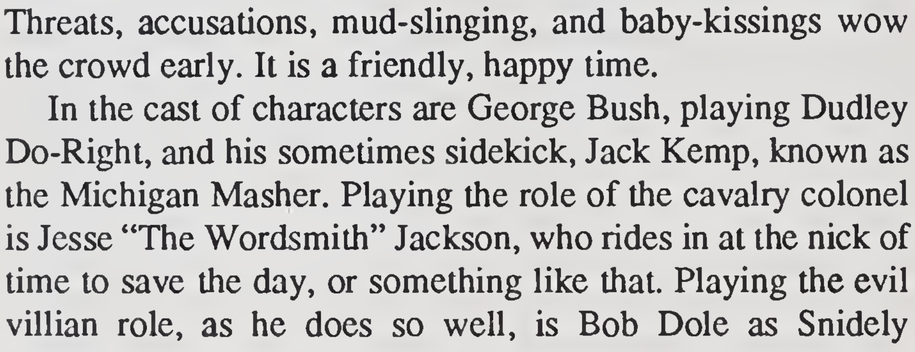
In this year of 1988, which also happens to be an election year, four men have stepped apart from the crowd. Four thesbians vying for the coveted Master Thespian titles, also known as the presidency and vice presidency, in our gala Election Year Traveling Campaign Show.

Let us now adjourn to our private box overlooking the national stage. And who better to be your host and humble narrator than me — a Duke drama student, of course! We begin with Act One.

The scene begins back in early spring during the primaries. The flowers bloom and the birds twitter anxiously in the trees. There is the very slight hint of slander and libel in the hot air. Threats, accusations, mud-slinging, and baby-kissings wow the crowd early. It is a friendly, happy time.

In the cast of characters are George Bush, playing Dudley Do-Right, and his sometimes sidekick, Jack Kemp, known as the Michigan Masher. Playing the role of the cavalry colonel is Jesse "The Wordsmith" Jackson, who rides in at the nick of time to save the day, or something like that. Playing the evil villian role, as he does so well, is Bob Dole as Snidely Whiplash, trying to foreclose on Bush and take the nomination for himself (evil laughter from the wings). Next is Michael "Will Wonders Never Cease" Dukakis playing Zorba the Greek, dancing with flair and verve, impressing everyone, but not really contributing to the plot of this act. Lastly, Gary Hart makes a cameo appearance, but makes no excuses. There are others in the cast, but this is sort of a shortened Hollywood version of the play. It's pure melodrama, except that someone deftly took out all of the dialogue cards from the reel — leaving the frantic action intact.

Back to the stage. Here we are at Act Two. This is the part where there is a show within a show. Yes, that's right, it's the National Convention Scene. All decked out with Busby Berkeley dance routines, songs, and the like. This is also the point where some characters get into contract disputes and walk off the stage, replaced by scabs. In part of the action, Jack Kemp dies with a knife plunged mercilessly in his back. To prove his machismo, Bush kicks Dole in the seat of his pants. Also, Jackson causes a huge scare near the end of the act — the terrified audience screams — but then is elevated to a much loftier position (with less lines). New characters to the cast are: Lloyd Bentsen at Tex and Dan Quayle as Opie. Also, Ronald Reagan has a cameo as the Master Thespian. "'Tis act-ing" he confides in his would-be successors. The curtain brings a close to Act Two.



As we resume (after an intermission of some gastronomical alleviation) only four remain for the final act. Unfortunately for the audience, this act is unfinished at present and we can only speculate about the outcome of the tragicomedy.

Whatever the resolution, I must commend the performance given so far by our thesbians. Who knows? Perhaps next time, new politican Clint Eastwood can play Master Thespian.Wouldn't that just make your day? Ω

Haines is the Critic's *Duke University correspondent.*

NO FACULTY PAY HIKES

(Continued from page 14)

surprise that its faculty are paid better. UNC does well in the current market, given North Carolina's standing as sixth in the Southeast region on a per capital basis. UNC's average full professor makes $55,800, topping every public school in the East or Southeast except Virginia. Indeed, UNC's saraies rank sixth nationally for public institutions. We should be proud, not defensive, that the people of North Carolina and its university have excelled as much as they have considering our lower economic base. But it is just plain silly to compare us to the University of California system and conclude that our salaries are too low.

UNC should pay its faculty enough to fulfill the educationa mission of a state institution, and this may necessitate a modes pay raise. But we should not try to outdo Berkeley or Harvard in financial investment. Of course research and regular sabbaticals are crucial in supporting the educational process — bu blindly trying to match the coffers of private colleges or more prosperous state university systems is the wrong approach.

At some point we have to realize that we are a public university in a state with many competing needs and priorities Having a national reputation of excellence is certainly icing on the cake, but it should not be able to dictate the ingredients of the cake itself. Our primary emphasis should be on *teaching North Carolina students*, not trying to join the Ivy League. Ω

Hood is a first-year UNC law student from Charlotte.

By John Hood

EFORM THE OLD–FASHIONED WAY

THE EDUCATION REFORM CRAZE s hit it big in North Carolina. But it's hardly evolution of new ideas. It's merely a transsion of momentum to the tired, bankrupt lution of the past: tax and spend.

The Basic Education Program (BEP), proved by the General Assembly in 1985, is incredible power grab. By 1993, when the EP is fully implemented, the state education reaucracy will have wrested control of rriculum, construction planning, and most ier decision making from local school boards while spending over $758 million in the ocess.

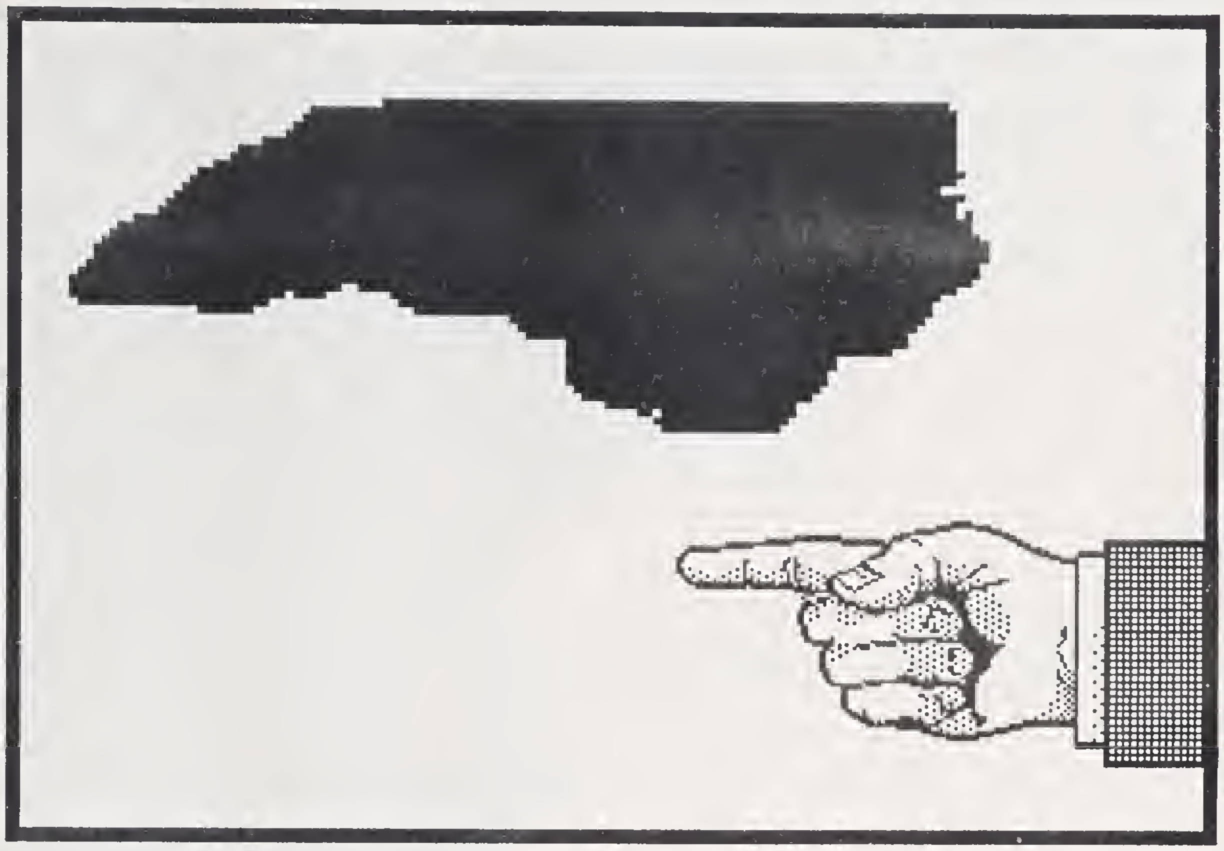
The Department of Public Instruction says it the BEP's goal is to guarantee a basic ucation to every student in the state, regards of whether that student lives in a large tropolitan area or in a remote rural area of state. But this objective in secondary. The l goal of the program is to *increase educan spending*, in the sincere belief that more ney will lead to more learning.

First, the theory. It is a basic tenet of itical economics that if you want to up the blic dole, power must be centralized, not persed. Local decision makers have incenes to economize. It's difficult for a local trict to raise money for a costly new proj, because the burden on each local taxpayer uite heavy. But spread the burden over a ole state and the burden per voter is tiny, sing less outcry.

Besides, local decision makers are closer he people they serve. Citizens can put ssure on a local board, because it's easier those citizens to know what's going on in r hometown. But a taxpayer in Greens) will have a hard time monitoring what state is doing with his or her money in mington. Therefore, public pressure and rsight on policymakers in Raleigh is slight vhile the incentive to make special interest ips happy with more spending is strong.

The state claims that its plan increases *untability* by enforcing uniform standards ss North Carolina. But it is accountability e people, not education bureaucrats, that ally needed.

o how do these education bureaucrats to spend their new allowance? One major is reducing *teacher-student ratios* across tate, which requires hiring a lot of new ters and administrators. In the 1988-89 ol year alone, 3,164 new employees will red.



But besides making teachers' jobs a little easier, there's no evidence that smaller classes significantly improve learning. Since 1940, average students per teacher fell nationwide from 29 to 18 kids, yet by virtually all measures educational achievement has *worsened.* A recent study by the U.S. Department of Education found that reducing class size is "a waste of money and effort" because the learing gains are "minimal." In Japan, the average class size is 40 — twice the U.S. level — but Japanese students outperform their American counterparts in almost every subject.

Yet this is the "historic reform" our education bureaucracy promises us.

ANOTHER QUESTIONABLE PART of the BEP agenda is stricter teacher certification requirements. While maintaining a qualified teaching force is a laudable goal, rules about how many pyschobabble education courses a teacher must have in order to work in the public schools are counterproductive. As states like New Jersey have demonstrated, loosening certification standards allows individuals of another profession to begin teaching as a second or supplememtal career. They are in many cases better in the classroom than Education School graduates because they have a wealth of personal experiences to draw upon. A former businessman can probably teach economics more effectively to high school students than someone who merely took it as a subject in college. The same is true in science, vocational education, social studies, and other disciplines. Strict certification frequently protects mediocrity at the expense of variety.

BY FAR THE MOST DISTRESSING impact of the Basic Education Program, however, is the eclipse of local control. Many education experts now say schools should be like entrepreneurs, looking for innovative ways to meet the needs of their local communities. An example of this spirit of enterprise was found in the recent motion picture *Stand and Deliver*, a true story about a no-nonsense Hispanic teacher in poverty-stricken east Los Angeles whose students regularly pass Advanced Placement tests. Countless examples of similar achievement in poor urban and rural schools across the country were documented in the Education Department's *James Madison High School* study.

Money is not the common denominator in these successes. Accountability is. *Real* accountability — to students, parents, and the local community. Only local control, or better yet, a voucher system that puts market power in the hands of parents themselves, can effect genuine education reform. The Basic Education Program is simply a mechanism for throwing money at the problem — while ignoring where it lands. Ω

Hood is a senior journalism major from Charlotte.

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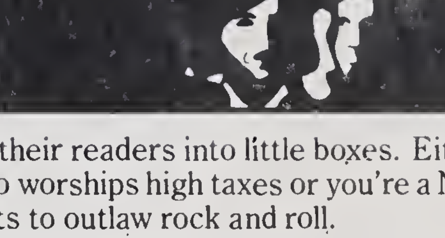

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Pledge in Schools
Critic Forum, Page 3

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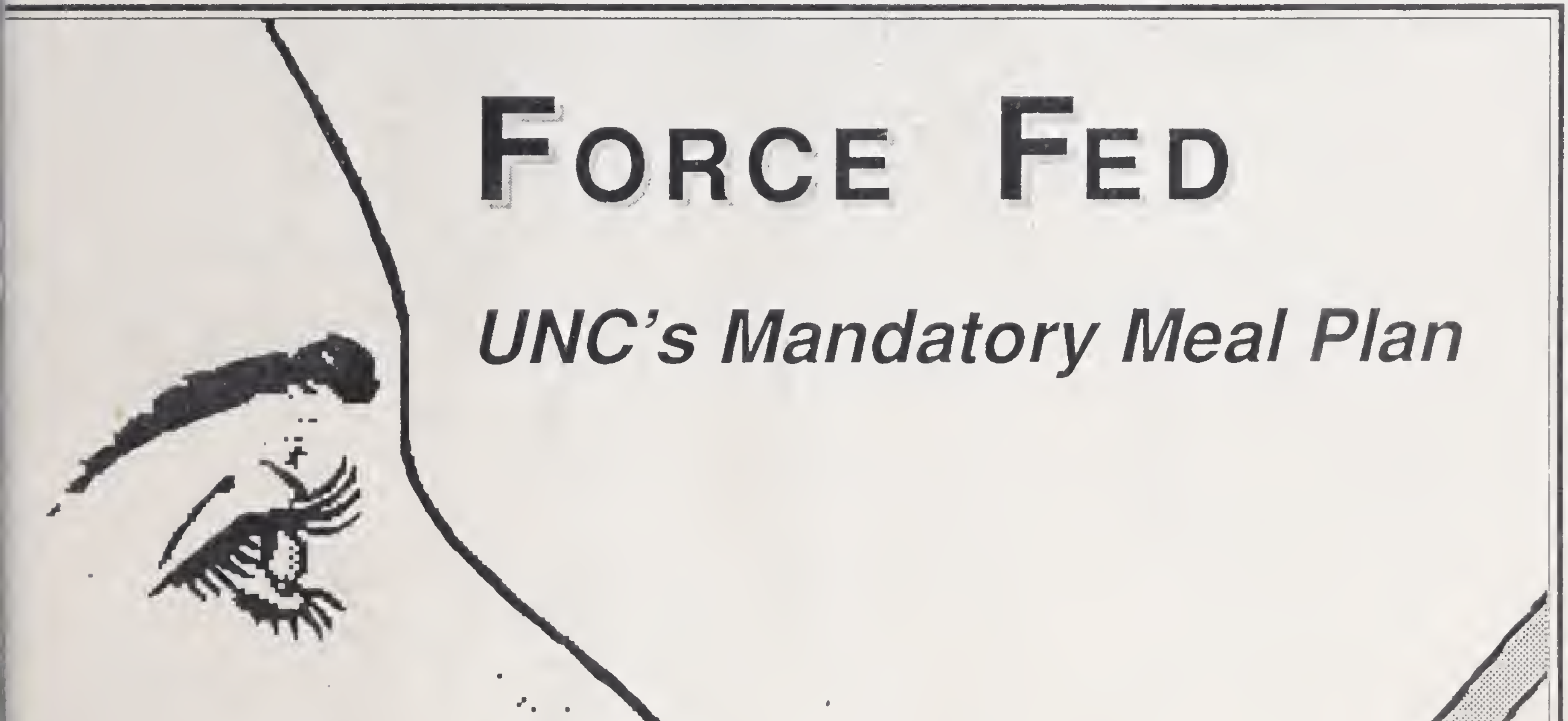

FORCE FED

UNC's Mandatory Meal Plan

IO FREE RIDE FOR SOUTH CAMPUS

OW NORTH CAROLINA MAY VOTE IN NOVEMBER

The
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A Student Journal of Opinion

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The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 604 Tinkerbell Road, Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514, (919) 967-7608. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social (or sociable) group, or cult. Really. Subscriptions are $10 a year, which comes to about $.00002 a joke. Manuscripts and racy letters are welcome.
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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Critic Forum**: *The Pledge of Allegiance*
Charles Balan and Michael Grubb discuss laws requiring teachers to lead their classes in the pledge every day.

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Cover Story**: *The Mandatory Meal Plan*
John Jaynes examines the campus dining services monopoly, arguing that rules forcing on-campus students to purchase meal cards are inefficient, immoral, and perhaps a violation of federal law.

14 **In the Zoo**: *Free Shuttle Buses*
Plans to tax the student body for the benefit of a few South Campus bus riders is but another instance of student fee tyranny, says University columnist David Hood.

15 **The National Truss**: *Fetal Tissue Research*
National affairs columnist Bob Lukefahr argues that the growing practice of using fetal tissue in medical treatments and research sacrifices morality for medical expediency.

16 **The World Stage**: *Chemical Killing*
The use of ghastly chemical warfare against whole villages in war zones can be ended only by extension of the Reagan Doctrine, says Mark LaFever.

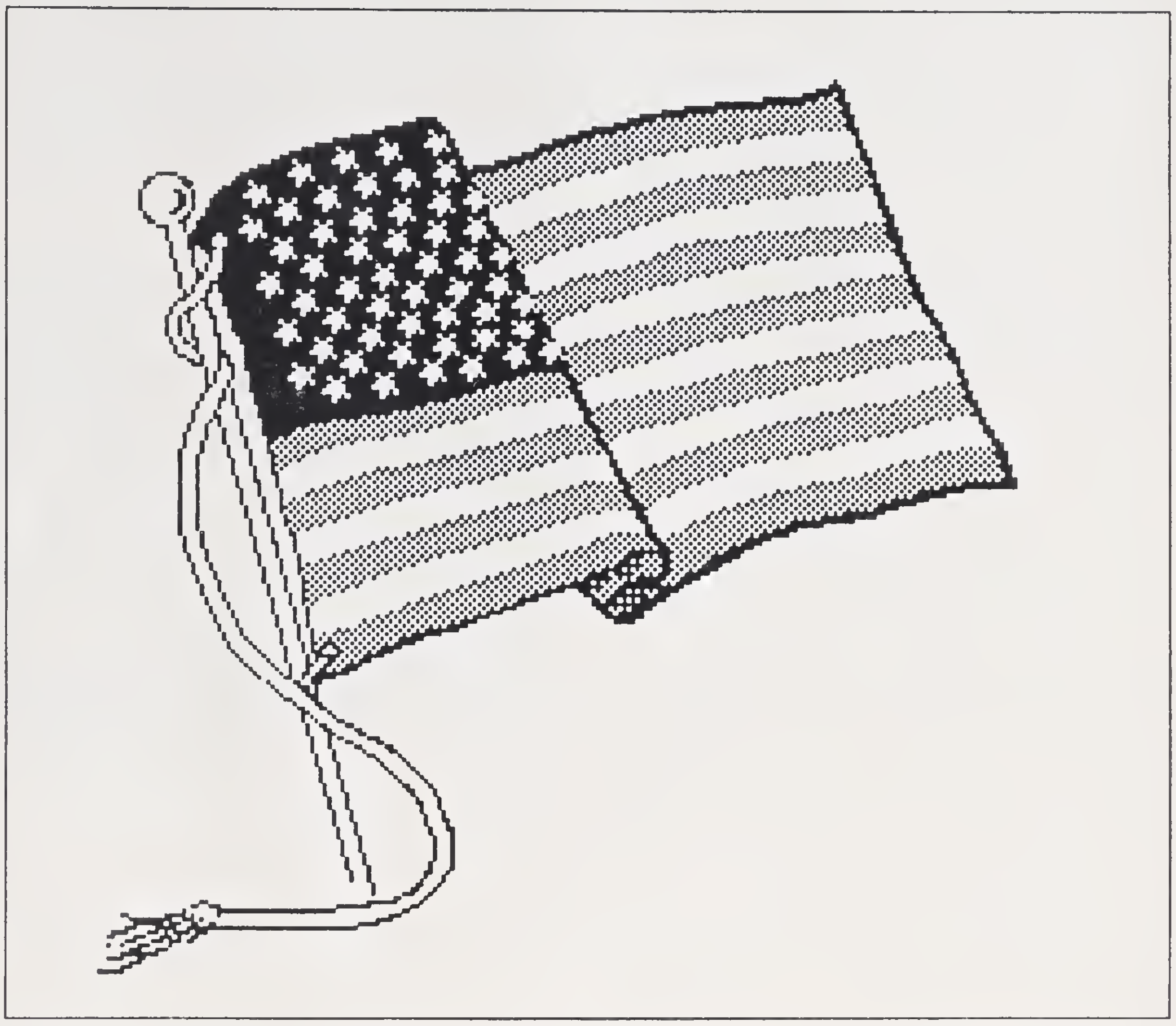
18 **Essays**
Michael Lowrey expects a sedative, but finds an interesting book on economics . . . Chris Osborn argues the case for discrimination . . . Religion and politics should never mix, says Victor Knight . . . American politics is only played between the 40-yard lines, say Jason Kelly and Erik Sandstedt . . . Connie Smith reviews new albums from Robert Cray, Fishbone, and Jane's Addiction . . . The 'Voice for the Voiceless' concert mixed message with a real bargain, reports Paige Dembicks.

23 **Altered State**: *The '88 Vote*
What the polls say and don't say about Tarheel voters.

TWO VIEWS ON THE PLEDGE ISSUE

Ve asked two staffers to debate the issue Vice resident George Bush has used to great ffect against Michael Dukakis: whether the atter should have vetoed a popular bill in assachusetts requiring teachers to lead tudents in the Pledge of Allegiance. After ome reflection, both students concluded that orce was inappropriate in this context—but greed on little else. Here is that spirited iscussion.

—Ed.



LEDGE TEACHERS CHILDREN ATRIOTISM, HONOR

y Charles Balan

IN THE CONCOCTED DEBATE OVER ne Pledge of Allegiance, too often each side as bent over backward trying either to extol ne virtues of patriotism or to worship the in- rrancy of Supreme Court decisions, while of- en the actual issue is ignored or at least buried eeply within the epithets of political debate nd mudslinging. I shall discuss what I think re two parts of the Pledge debate. One, hould our children be taught the Pledge and, vo, should its recitation be required in public chools?

Yes, the Pledge should definitely be taught our children —without exception. It can elp children define what exactly this geo- raphical and political entity, the United tates of America, is all about. It may help em learn (heaven forbid!) patriotism and yalty to their country. It may even give them mething to ponder when they think about ne nation, under God(?), indivisible, with iberty and Justice for All(?)" Maybe they ill grow up to be politically active because ey'll see the foundations of American emocracy, which they learned from the edge and our National Anthem, being ipped away by leftist, socialist legislation. ow could it be harmful in any way for a child grow up learning the Pledge? He or she uld become socially aware and cautious of yone or anything that would threaten the epublic" and the flag to which he or she has edged allegiance. Engendering pride in e's country should be encouraged, not dis- uraged. This doesn't mean ethnocentrism, even Ramboism, but teaching our children be grateful to live in the U.S. We are not a perfect country and we have problems to overcome, but our freedom and opportunities are unequaled elsewhere on this small planet.

But should we require all students to recite the Pledge? This point can cause division even among those who agree that the Pledge is a good thing. But requiring people to recite an oath against their will is, regardless of rhetoric to the contrary, unethical and unconstitutional. Usually among children in public schools there are parents of some religious persuasions who disallow their offspring to take oaths. In these cases, it is only fair and equitable that these children not be required to recite against their will or that of their parents. But the vast majority of parents have no such ideological complaint and don't mind if their children recite the Pledge.

There are other oaths at which some people could also take offense. In the U.S., there are anti-communist oaths that are required at citizenship hearings and on some international travel forms. If you refuse to sign these, then the consequences could be drastic. Nevertheless, these oaths are essential to our nation's security.

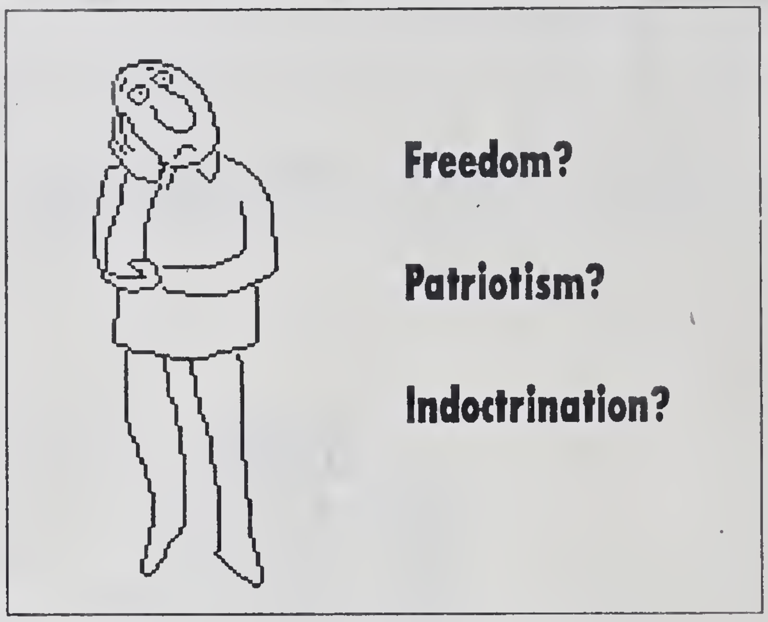
So then, I think one can make the assertion that the Pledge is a good thing in itself and should be encouraged, taught, and recited. But no one should require that the oath be declared against their will, any more than one could be required to pray against one's will. But, if it isn't against your creed or religion, then declare it with pride and confidently teach it to your children. Ω

Balan is a senior interdisciplinary studies major.

PUBLIC INDOCTRINATION BELIES AMERICAN VALUES

By Michael Grubb

ASSUMING, FOR THE SAKE OF ARgument, that the public school system as it is in place is something we want to keep around, we can consider a policy question that has recently come to national attention. The questioning of forcing teachers to lead the Pledge of Allegiance is different from that of forcing students to say it, certainly, but the policy objective is essentially the same. Teachers obviously aren't intended to lead the Pledge in a vacuum; they are to lead the students in reciting it. The difference is that with the requirement placed on the teachers, the constitutional rights of students will not be violated. Although the constitutional rights issue would probably not apply to the teachers, required Pledge-leading would exclude from public teaching Jehovah's Witnesses and others who religiously object to bowing down to graven images. We might question whether such teachers are worth excluding on that basis.


Freedom?
Patriotism?
Indoctrination?

However, it really is the kids who are the focus of this measure. Through the Pledge of Allegiance, proponents seek to promote certain values which they hide with terms such as "patriotism" or "Americanism." These values, their names notwithstanding, are far removed from what America is all about.

First of all, the Pledge is a statement about the Flag — a devotion to blind nationalism that follows the government wherever it may lead. How un-American! We have a longstanding and, I think, honorable tradition of questioning and disagreement, from the most esoteric to the most fundamental of issues. Not since the late '30s have schoolchildren saluted the Flag Nazi-style as they recited the Pledge, but the resemblance is still there. Blind nationalism leads to war — of the conventional, "cold," or nuclear kinds — and justifiably went out with Joe McCarthy.

AND SPEAKING OF MCCARTHY, IT was 1953 when the phrase "under God" was added to the Pledge, as a sort of reaction to godless Communists, I suppose, but where is the benefit to be gained from having millions of youngsters mouth obeisance to a nation somehow "under" an empty concept of "God"? The propagation of religions is not properly the business of our government.

In 1892, when Francis Bellamy penned the original Pledge of Allegiance for the magazine *Youth's Companion*, the memory of the Civil War was still fresh, and so the Pledge proclaims our republic to be "indivisible," which in that context carried the message that those who would be different will be squashed by the Union. Today, we have broader ideas of diversity than in 1892 or 1953, or at least we like to think we do.

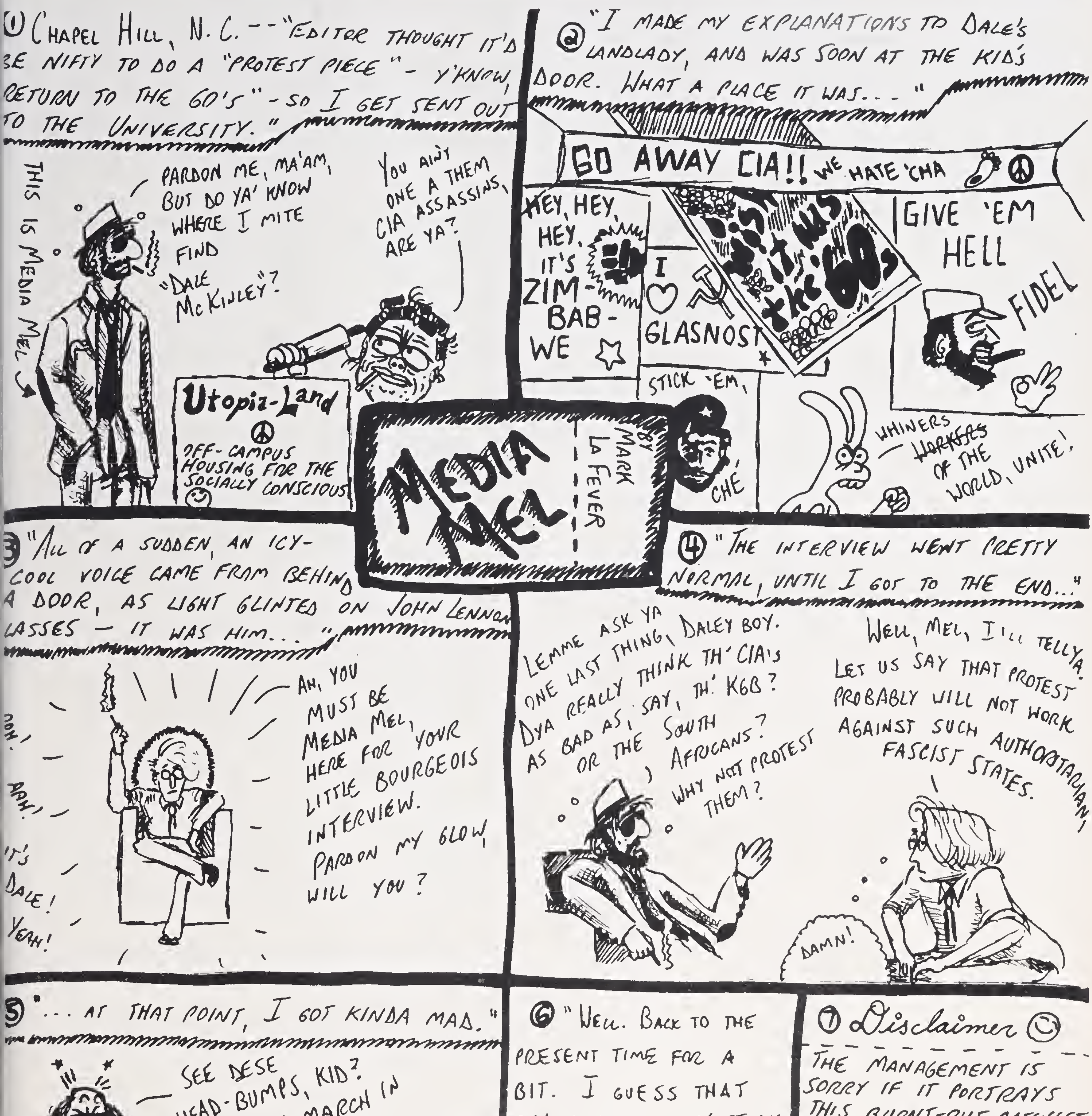
Striking the objectionable parts, we are left with a Pledge to a "republic . . . with liberty and justice for all," which indeed would be something worth saying. But even at that, would it be worth indoctrinating our children with? Public education, public indoctrination — whatever you call it, the sort of recitation embodied in the Pledge is quite effective at instilling attitudes before they can be questioned. It belies our American values of liberty, independence, and justice for us to force-feed them down the throats of schoolchildren. Ω

Michael Grubb is a first-year law student.

LATER THIS MONTH: *THE CAROLINA CRITIC'S* CRITICAL LECTURE #2

PRIVATIZATION
IN THE UNITED STATES:
A PROGRESS REPORT

Phil Fixler, director of the Reason Foundation's Local Government Center, will discuss various ways governments across the country are transferring services to the private sector. Watch the DTH or Union bulletin boards for time and place.


① CHAPEL HILL, N.C. -- "EDITOR THOUGHT IT'D
E NIFTY TO DO A "PROTEST PIECE" - Y'KNOW,
ETURN TO THE 60'S" - SO I GET SENT OUT
TO THE UNIVERSITY."
THIS IS MEDIA MEL
PARDON ME, MA'AM, BUT DO YA' KNOW WHERE I MITE FIND "DALE McKINLEY"?
YOU AIN'T ONE A THEM CIA ASSASSINS, ARE YA?
Utopia-Land
☮
OFF-CAMPUS HOUSING FOR THE SOCIALLY CONSCIOUS
② "I MADE MY EXPLANATIONS TO DALE'S LANDLADY, AND WAS SOON AT THE KID'S DOOR. WHAT A PLACE IT WAS..."
GO AWAY CIA!! WE HATE 'CHA ☮
HEY, HEY, HEY, IT'S ZIM-BAB-WE
I ♡ GLASNOST
BUT IT WAS THE 60s
GIVE 'EM HELL FIDEL
STICK 'EM, CHE
WHINERS ~~WORKERS~~ OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
MEDIA MEL
BY MARK LA FEVER
3 "ALL OF A SUDDEN, AN ICY-
COOL VOICE CAME FROM BEHIND
A DOOR, AS LIGHT GLINTED ON JOHN LENNON
LASSES — IT WAS HIM..."
OOH!
AHH!
IT'S DALE!
YEAH!
AH, YOU MUST BE MEDIA MEL, HERE FOR YOUR LITTLE BOURGEOIS INTERVIEW. PARDON MY BLOW, WILL YOU?
④ "THE INTERVIEW WENT PRETTY NORMAL, UNTIL I GOT TO THE END..."
LEMME ASK YA ONE LAST THING, DALEY BOY. DYA REALLY THINK TH' CIA'S AS BAD AS, SAY, TH' KGB? OR THE SOUTH AFRICANS? WHY NOT PROTEST THEM?
WELL, MEL, I'LL TELL YA. LET US SAY THAT PROTEST PROBABLY WILL NOT WORK AGAINST SUCH AUTHORITARIAN, FASCIST STATES.
DAMN!
5 "... AT THAT POINT, I GOT KINDA MAD."
SEE DESE HEAD-BUMPS, KID? GOT 'EM ON A MARCH IN SELMA! SEE DIS BELLY-SCAR, KID? GOT IT IN CHICAGO, BACK IN '68!
ULP!
⑥ "WELL. BACK TO THE PRESENT TIME FOR A BIT. I GUESS THAT TH' MORAL O' TH' STORY IS THAT 'GRIPE DON'T GET GOOSE 'LESS YA GOT GUTS.'
LATER, KIDS."
⑦ Disclaimer ☺
THE MANAGEMENT IS SORRY IF IT PORTRAYS THIS BURNT-OUT ACTIVIST (MEL) AS SOME KIND OF HERO.
THE POINT IS THAT PROTESTERS WHO RISK LITTLE SHOULD, IDEALLY, HAVE LITTLE EMOTIONAL IMPACT. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS IS NOT THE CASE.
ALSO, IT - AH, NEVER MIND - OUT OF SPACE...

The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 2
October 1988

• The East Germans shot a man who swam the Elbe to escape their workers' paradise. Don't worry though, we're one step closer to world peace because we're running, jumping, *and* swimming with the Soviet Bloc in Seoul.

• Bush flip-flopped on the minimum wage. He now supports a higher one. But he's still no match for the Duke of the Keebler Tree, who advocates even better ways — mandatory health benefits, plant closing laws, etc. — to create unemployment.

• Hostage taker Eddie Hatcher said the Feds had used "gestapo tactics" when they ordered him back to jail for fear he would run off and become a fugitive. Which he did. Since Mr. Hatcher is such a good student of Nazi tactics, he is no doubt familiar with the "Big Lie." Keep talking, Eddie — you haven't convinced us yet.

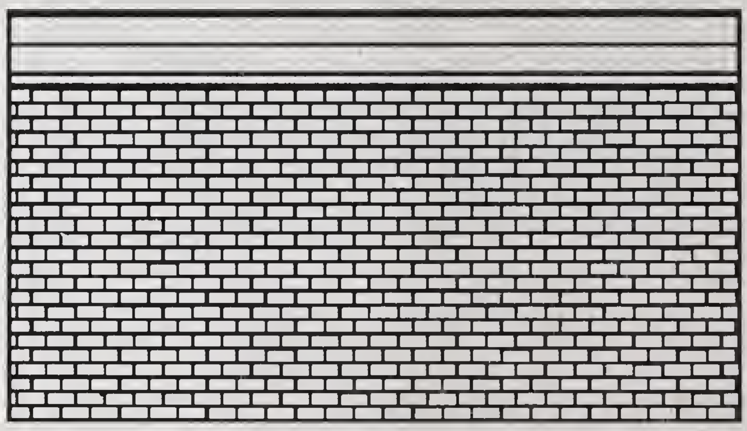
• Let's make it perfectly clear. We are totally opposed to an in-state tuition hike. Even if UNC were strapped for dough (it isn't) there's no guarantee that the increase would find its way back to UNC after being divied up in Raleigh (as the DTH admirably reported). And if part of the increase is to be set aside for need-based scholarships (again, assuming UNC has any control over the funds) why raise it in the first place? There is no reason — unless you simply want to redistribute income in the *guise* of providing higher education.

• How's this for a role reversal: It's the State Department that, in the wake of Sandinista internal surpression and expulsion of the U.S. ambassador from Nicaragua, wants to close our embassy there. It's the CIA (you've heard of them, right?) who wants to keep it open. The agency argues that maintaining the embassy is the only way to gather information about what Ortega & Co. are doing. But what good is proof of Sandinista transgressions if no one really seems to care?

• Oh gosh, wait a minute. We almost forgot. According to House Speaker Jim "Loose Lips" Wright, it's the CIA that *causes* Sandinista thuggery in the first place. If we close our embassy, then the CIA will no longer have a base from which to cause disruption in the peaceful, progressive workers' paradise of Nicaragua. So *that's* why the State Department wants it closed.

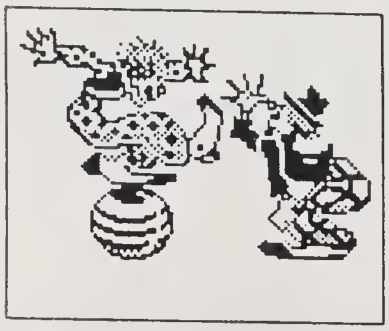
The Best in Swimming
Climbing
Sprinting
Handgliding
Riflery

The Berlin Wall Games 1988



Long after the Olympics are over
the Berlin Games go on . . .

A TED TURNER PRODUCTION

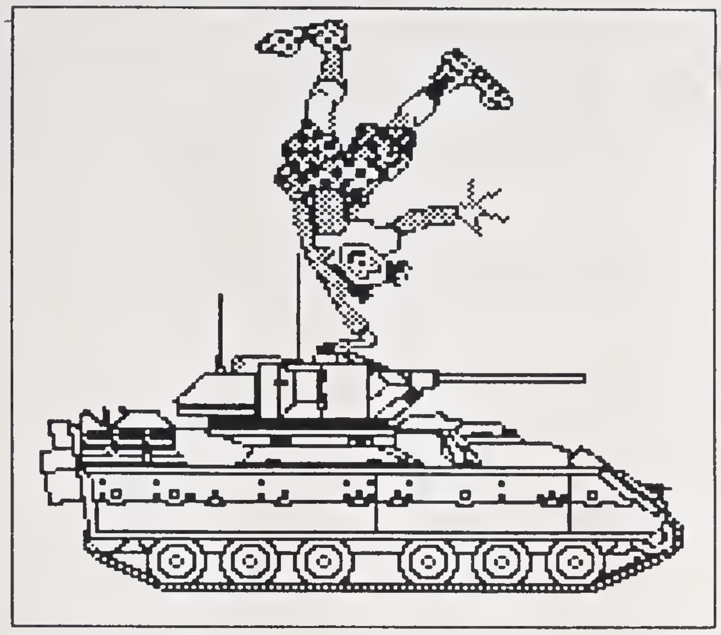


• Meanwhile, those CIA nasties are coming back to Chapel Hill, and boy are McKinley and Co. peeved. It seems that according to McKinley's law the CIA is a "criminal organization" (after all, it says so right here on this KGB warrant . . .) Anyway, the protest pantheon has vowed not to rest until recruiters are permanently barred from the county. Apparently in their version of the Constitution, freedom of assembly and association is limited to members of the revolutionary vanguard. Ah, democracy (of the "People's Tribunal" variety) at work.

• Some interesting data: A) the 1988 budget deficit is expected to be about $146.7 billion, or 3.1 percent of our Gross National Product. In 1980 (a Carter year) it was $73.8 billion, or 2.8 percent of GNP. Next year's deficit is expected to drop to 2.6 percent of GNP. B) The 1988 deficit will amount to 16.1 percent of total government receipts, far too high but well below the 1976 level when it was 24.7 percent. It was 14.3 percent in 1980. Moral: we need a balanced budget, but the world isn't ending and we aren't about to become insolvent. Bet you don't see this on CBS.

• The pilot of Delta Flight 1141, which crashed in Dallas las month, says that "only God" kept the death toll from being much higher. No word on who was responsible for the crash though.

• No-nonsense New Jersey high school principal Joe Clark spoke at a NAACP banquet in Charlotte a few weeks ago. Clark said that "liberals (he said it, not us) have eroded discipline" and that parents must take responsibility for their children's performance in school. It all makes sense. That's why the education establishment says Clark is out of step.



• Last month Michael Dukakis attempted to metamorphasize from a dove into a hawk by flapping his right wing (thus continuing to circulate his hot air). He "reaffirmed" his belief in a strong defense as he cruised in an M-1 tank. Yeah, right. In a related story, William F. Buckley was spotted in a small Oregon town walking down the street hand-in-hand with the Bagwhan Shree Rajneesh. The former "Firing Line" gadfly sported sandals, love beads, and a nifty ponytail. When pressed by reporters for a comment on SDI, he replied: "It ain't nuthin' but a thang. Me 'n' Georgie Will will be takin' hits from his bitchin' stash whether there's whatchamacallits in the sky or not." He then moonwalked away from a throng of reporters crooning, "I - I ain't gonna play Sun City."

• Do not attempt to adjust this magazine. We control the horizontal. We control the vertical.

• So Chapel Hill is trying to find a sister city in the Soviet Union? Funny, we always thought we were already in the People's Republic of Orange County. Word is that finding a Soviet town with less than 50,000 people that has both a university and a hospital is pretty tough. You'd think this would be eye-opening, but . . .

• It gets worse. One town *was* recently suggested by board members: Tartu, a university town in the Baltic republic of Estonia. "We've been told there are a number of similarities," one member said. But also one important difference: North Carolina is not an independent nation forcibly annexed by, and now rioting for independence from, its federal government. Estonia was last seized by the USSR during Stalin's alliance with Adolph Hitler.

• The administration of Boston University has, oh the inhumanity of it all, prohibited its dorm residents from having

Clipboard

Code of Silence Broken: "To the press, Dan Quayle still seems a dim ulb. Reporters couldn't say this directly, so hey went after Quayle on the National Guard issue" — *Newsweek's* Conventional-Wisdom Watch.

Shoot the Gift Horse: "Administrators and faculties [who receive onations from business and foundations] all oo often look with scarcely disguised revulsion at the American enterprise system that as producted the wealth on which they are eeding" — former Treasury Sec. William E. Simon in *Organization Trends*.

Talk Is Cheap: "Concerned politicians talk a lot about family policy nd the workplace. But if they really cared bout giving women more control over their ives, .they wouldn't bitch about part-time ork — as they do with pathological predictaility" — Virginia Postrel in *Reason*.

A Useful Little Document: "If Congress obeys its constitutional andate, our federal budget would fall by ne-half to two-thirds of its current level" — yndicated columnist Walter Williams.

What Was That Question, Again?: A survey by the National pinion Research Center found that while 42 percent of respondents say the U.S. "spends too much money" on *welfare*, 68 percent said the U.S. "spends too little" on *assistance to the poor*.

Say Again?: In a *Los Angeles Times* survey, 75 percent agree that "poor people hardly get by on what the government gives them" but 59 percent also agree that "conditions for poor people in this country — like education, housing, job opportunities, and health care — are good."

Special Order:"One of the main ways that politicians learn what they think is through listening to what they say" — Herbert Stein in *Presidential Economics*.

— *Staff*

Military Insignifica

Back on High Seas Again I: on October 22, the Wisconsin, the last of the four World War II battleships the Navy is modernizing, will be recommissioned. The last time it was on active duty? 1984.

Back on the High Seas Again II: The Stark, the U.S. frigate hit by an Iraqi missile in May 1987, has been repaired and is back in action. Cost of repairs: $90 million, $50 million less than expected.

Pact Perestroika: The Soviet's powerful MiG-29 fighter, the star of the Farnborough Air Show in Britain, has entered service with the East German air force, *Jane's Defense Weekly* reports. This makes it the first non-Soviet Warsaw Pact force so equipped.

Cost in Space: With all the press on the Space Shuttle, overlooked have been two important unmanned space launch dates. The first launches of the Martin Marietta *Titan IV* and McDonald Douglas *Delta II* are due this month. These systems are two of three rockets on which U.S. military and commercial customers will depend on for satellite launch in the 1990s.

Lend/Lease 1988: The U.S. and Pakistan are discussing a deal under which the Pakistani Navy would lease (initially for five years) eight Garcia/Brooke class frigates. The ships would otherwise be mothballed over the next two years as a result of cuts in the Pentagon budget. Pakistan wants the ships to counter a growing Indian naval presence in throughout the Indian Ocean.

— *Michael Lowrey*

Antagonistic Aphorisms

A man always remembers his first love with special tenderness. But after that he tends to bunch them.

— *H.L. Mencken*

Read much, but not many books.

— *Ben Franklin*

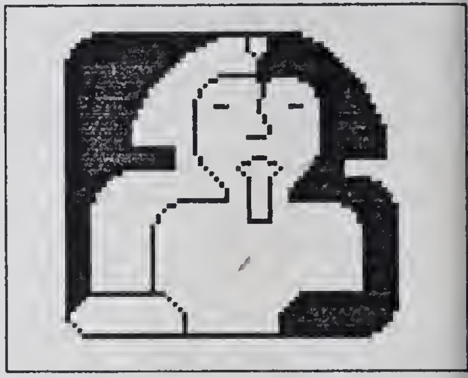
No man can be a pure specialist without being in the strict sense an idiot.

— *G.B. Shaw*

Impiety, n. Your irreverence towards my deity.

— *Ambrose Bierce*

overnight guests of the opposite sex. BU's vice president of student affairs of the Student Union called the new rules a "violation of personal and moral freedom." Our own DTH editorial writer, Sandy Dimsdale, warns that BU president John Silber is "turning [BU] into something more like a correctional institution than an educational one." But never fear, we have a solution for this dilemma. BU should simply offer its students a choice (a common Critic theme, as if you haven't noticed). When the annual housing application is sent out it should not only allow students to choose all-male, all-female, or co-ed dorms, but *philandering* and *non-philandering* as well. That way those students who are tired of seeing an "occupied" sign on their door won't, while those seeking Dimsdale's version of "educational environment" can find it.



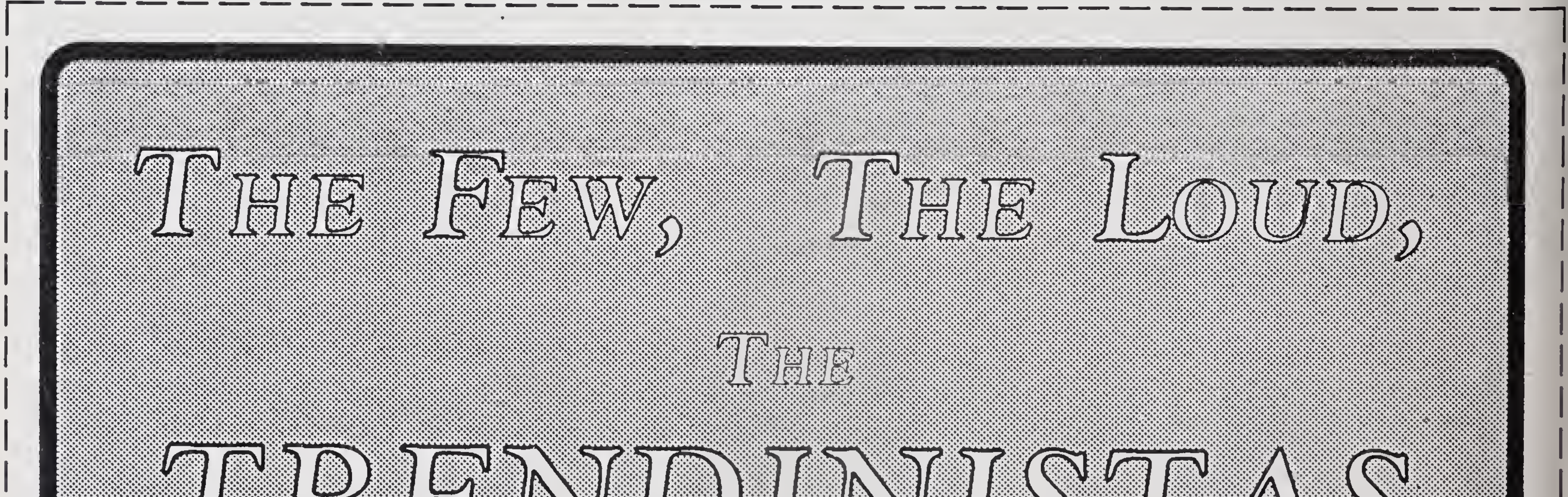
• A few weeks ago the long-awaited and over-hyped Ramesses art exhibit finally came to Charlotte. But when the Mint Museum went to set up a 30-foot statue of the Pharoh, the Mint's celing proved to be too low. Guess it's too much to expect artsy-fartsy types to know what a tape measure is.

• In an interview with Tom Wicker (UNC '48) our own Chancellor Paul Hardin said he disagreed with any attempt to "elevate one culture above another." So there's nothing wrong with the ritual mutilation of young girls' genitals? Would he mind if we chopped an ox in half in the Pit, then? Or would he like to join us in eating some funky mushrooms and talking to our deities? It seems that our new chancellor is just another pointy head who believes that there are no absolutes — except, of course, the absolute that there are no absolutes.

• The decline-of-America people may be right. As shown by Lt. Gov. Bob Jordan's proposal that those under 18 who drop out of high school be barred from having driver's licenses, most American politicians are slowly sinking back towards adolescence.

• How to find the cloud in a silver lining: the *News & Observer* reported, not once but twice, the results of a Southern Labor Institute study of the North Carolina economy. The theme of both stories was how low "working conditions" are in the state. But one story, headlined "Work Study Pans NC," totally omitted — and another confined to a couple of terse sentences — North Carolina's rating on the most important concern of workers: whether or not they have a job. The state ranked fifth nationally in job growth, and first in the South! Furthermore,

Pseudo-Bumper Sticker # 1



Across the Bows

s is usually the case, the *Daily Tar Heel*'s ditorial pages have been filled with half-aked ideas, leftist propaganda, and a lethora of factoids. Here are some of my avorites:

The DTH warns that it would be "impossible" to fill the 30 million ew jobs created by a Bush administration. sn't it nice to be worried about having too nany jobs for a change? Nevertheless, if it eally bothers you I suppose you can vote for ikey. May I suggest the bumper sticker: Stop Bush, *Before* he employs again."

The DTH notes that the "menacing recession of 1982" has been "long orgotten." Rest assured it has not — Carter sn't going to get off that easily.

Daniel Conover writes that "for Democrats, [national defense] is an conomic issue. Republicans have done their est to make it an emotional issue." Mr. onover is in a much better position to speak or Democrats than I, but for the record: epublicans consider decisions about the size and makeup of our armed forces a *military* issue. It only becomes an emotional issue when you-know-who talks about unilateral disarmament.

Shame on you, Dave Hall, calling our vice president "Herr Bush." We don't call the governor "Comrade Dukakis."

Quick, someone call the Pentagon. The DTH has devised a new military strategy: "a smaller, better trained, better led force is superior to a largely, poorly led force . . ." Fortunately the Soviets didn't believe that during World War II. If they had our vice president really would be Herr somebody. Incidently the choice isn't between size and readiness. We can do both if we can simply have *continuity* in the defense budget. But forgive me; I get so emotional about this kind of thing.

Okay, so one edition of the DTH contained the following caveat from editor Jean Lutes: "We do not print publicity letters, which we define as letters written to call attention to specific campus events." The next day, a column by Tom Rudin said, in part, "Amnesty International held its initial meeting of the year last night, Sept. 12. The next meeting will be held Monday night, Oct. 3 at 8 p.m. at the Newman Center, across from the Carolina Inn. All are invited to attend." You figure it out.

You don't suppose that just maybe the idea that Bush might win has a few good people at the DTH a little paranoid, do you? Try this experiment: walk up behind your favorite DTH editorial writer and whisper the words "Reagan Democrat" softly in his or her ear. If they drop their copy of *Pravda* and head for cover, they are definitely paranoid.

From the Truth in Advertising Dept.: In case you missed it, on Sept. 12 the DTH ran the following quote at the bottom of the front page, "If you can't convince them, confuse them — Harry S Truman." The editorial page makes much more sense to us in light of this new information.

— *Bob Lukefahr*

he state's overall rankings in the study improved from 43rd in 986 to 28th this year. And per capita income of Tarheel vorkers grew faster in 1987 than in the rest of the nation. Why id the paper misrepresent the study's findings and downplay he economy's improvement during Gov. Jim Martin's tenure? Vy didn't the *N&O* headline the story "Study Shows NC Job rowth, Improved Conditions"? Either 1) the editors are anti-artin, or 2) they are incompetent. Take your pick.

That fellow that predicted the Rapture for Sept. 13 was a ormer NASA scientist. This revelation could explain a great eal.

Larry Hartsell, pastor of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, aid about critics of *The Last Temptation of Christ:* "I object to eople making protests against something they haven't seen." oes this mean that his church plans to end Good Friday ervices?

In his new book Willie Nelson recounts the time he smoked ot and drank beer on the White House roof. At the time he was guest of Rosalyn and Jimmy. Poor litle Amy never had a hance . . .

n a fit of marital bliss, Bruce Springsteen once wrote a song r his wife entitled "Everything I Have Is Yours." Now she has ed for divorce. Life imitates art.

HIGHWAYS: WHY NOT LOCAL?

While the campaigning in North Carolina seems to get more spiteful by the minute, it might be good to know that there is still bipartisan consensus on what should be done about the future of roads here.

Unfortunately, that consensus is utterly wrong.

Both parties believe that the answer to solving the state's road needs lies with increased spending by Raleigh. Gov. Jim Martin favors a massive bond program to fund the increase. Democratic Lt. Gov. candidate Tony Rand has proposed an even larger package of new bonds — $1 billion worth. It would take $106 million a year in new taxes *each year for the next 20 years* to pay off Rand's bonds.

Members of the legislative branch also favor new taxes. Sen. Bill Goldston (D–Eden), co–chair of a legislative commission on highways, plans to introduce legislation in 1989 that would double the state's road construction budget in five years. To accomplish this, $500 million in new state taxes would have to be levied *per year*. Lt. Gov. Bob Jordan, who opposes Martin's bond program, seems to favor a pay-as-you-go approach similiar to Goldston's.

The biggest problem with this tax orgy is that there is already millions of dollars across N.C. which could be used to build roads. That money comes from cities and counties across the state, but they are prevented by law from using it. In 1987

Campaign '88

✓ Both **George Bush** and **Michael Dukakis** did what they wanted to do in the Sept. 25 presidential debate at Wake Forest: Dukakis wanted to look smooth and confident, establishing his presidential stature. Bush wanted to look disjointed and folksy, establishing his "common man" stature. All this talk of stature, though, is surely not in the Duke's best interest.

✓ Winston-Salem must be pushing for the title "City of Debates." It will also host the first and only debate between Gov. **Jim Martin** and challenger **Bob Jordan.** The Oct. 29 event is sure to be a boon to video rental stores. The very late date of the debate means that the large pool of lukewarm voters observing this race could switch sides with a shoddy performance by either guy. Mark your calendars now, if only to reserve a place in line down at North American Video.

✓ Guess N.C. Democratic Party Executive Director **Ken Eudy** thought he was being real inventive when he called Martin "Geritol Jim." Evidently, Eudy thought he was taking Martin to task for a supposed weakness on issues of concern to the elderly. But Eudy's remark shows more of his flippant attitude towards senior citizens as well as an extremely unfunny sense of humor. But at least Eudy was trying to use his own material. Last summer he said that "Jim Martin is a friend to education like Col. Sanders is a friend to chickens." Eudy, a former reporter for *The Charlotte Observer* (surprise!), copped that line from **Jim Hunt,** who used it against **Jesse Helms** back in '84.

✓ While it was shrewd to send **Lloyd Bentsen** and **Al Gore** to Greenville, N.C. to soften the arrival of the Duke, it may have backfired a little. Those conservative Down East Dems gave Bentsen and Gore a hearty welcome, to be sure, but more than a few wished that one of their visitors was at the top of the ticket. Too bad for Dukakis that voters don't much care who is on the second and third team.

✓ Speaking of the third team, one of **Jesse Jackson's** PUSH cronies was recently given a high post in the Dukakis campaign. This is part of a deal cut at the Dem convention, but it is rumored the Duke will resist speaking in rhymed couplets.

✓ Has anyone heard from **Elizabeth Dole** lately? The Bush folks should have her on TV and radio across the state. Evidently the Quayle selection, et. al. has caused a rift between the Bush camp and the Salisbury native. What else could explain her invisibility?

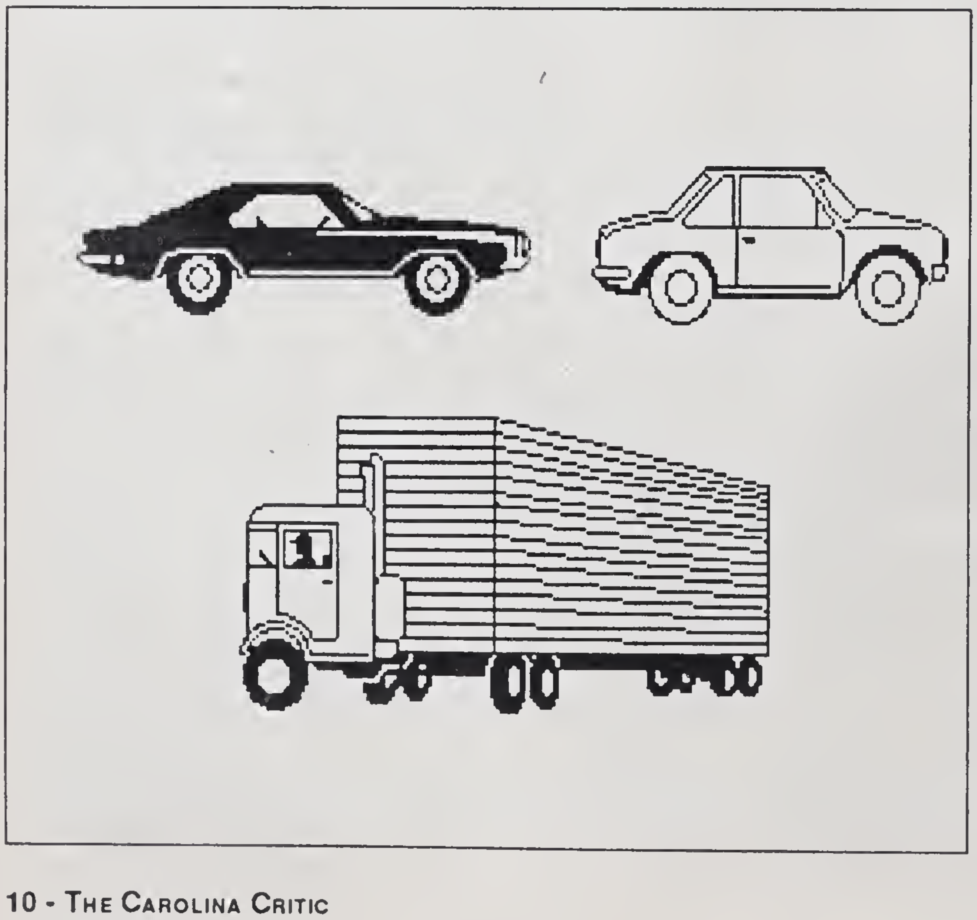
—*Jeff Taylor*

---

the General Assembly passed House Bill 1211 which forbids localities to pay for improvements to or construction of state roads.

In August a meeting of traffic engineers and experts at the N.C. Conference on Traffic Congestion identified House Bill 1211 as one of the biggest stumbling blocks to an improved road system for the state.

The bill was passed by rural legislators who were afraid urban areas would get most of the state road money if cities were free to initiate projects. This fear seems totally unwarranted considering only $90 million of the state's $400 million road budget went to urban areas last year. Besides, shouldn't urban areas need more road money, given their high growth rates in North Carolina as well as their heavier, hence more destructive, traffic flows?



More to the point, this urban/rural dichotomy is fast becoming a false one. For example, a recent study by the Transportation Task Force of Carolina Counties found that the number of commuters to Mecklenburg County increased by 180% from 1980 to 1986. These commuters live in the 13 counties which surround Mecklenburg — some of which are rural counties. Unquestionably, rural residents across the state benefit from better roads in the "urban" areas in which they work and shop, but the representatives they send to Raleigh seem to have forgotten this. These lawmakers are saying to their constituents, in effect, "Sure the folks of Mecklenburg or Wake County are willing to build their own outer belt, but wouldn't you rather pay a few dollars more for a set of tires or a nickel more for a gallon of gas so they can't?"

All the urban/rural rhetoric aside, what exactly is wrong with letting the people who need and use roads build them? The very best user fees are local ones which tax the drivers who use the local road network. Why is it better to tax someone in Eden to pay for a road in Boone?

It's better only if your goal is to maintain or increase the state government's power. Only then would you champion a centralized system that is less efficient and not as equitable as local control over road projects. In this light it is not surprising that members of both parties, Raleigh operatives all, are for a greater state role.

North Carolina needs more and better roads to be sure. But sending ever-growing chunks of revenue to Raleigh is not a solution. Much better would be the repeal of House Bill 1211 so that local communities, not cement contractors with the ear of a lawmaker, can decide where and how roads are built. Ω

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The Search for We The Living, *by R. W. Bradford*

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◆

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FORCE FED

The University's mandatory meal plan is inefficient, unfair, immoral – and possibly illegal.

By John Jaynes

ONCE UPON A TIME AT UNC-CHAPEL HILL, STUDENTS were free to choose how they would spend their food money. They could buy a year's or semester's meal plan; they could learn to cook their own; they could patronize restaurants; or they could chow down on potato chips, beer (back then, you could drink if you could vote), cookies, take-out burgers and pizza. Unless their parents chose to present them with a year's supply of Card Meals (tastier than the card and much more nutritious!) instead of food funds, students made their own decisions — for better or worse.

Sadly, that time is past. Dormitory dwellers are still allowed to allocate part of their food budget, but $100 a semester now belongs to the University Food Service — payable in advance. With the coming of the University's latest choice for a commercial food-service operator, Mariott, the era of free choice for on-campus students ended.

Why?

The short answer is "because the University said so." The University inarguably has the power to make and enforce such rules, but one might hope for a more satisfactory answer, and for some actual benefit to students.

Alas, hope is sometimes in vain. The long answer is also "because the University said so" — to Mariott officials, who were apparently promised the mandatory meal plan as an inducement to do business here. With this policy, there is in effect a guarantee by the University of a minimum level of demand, or more correctly, of revenue. Every dorm resident either buys $100 of food-service food (service food?) a semester, or pays for it anyway. Since the dormitories, when full, house around 6,000 students, this ensures the food-service operator will rake in at least $1.2 million a year under these conditions.

Now, revenue is not profit, and profit is not guaranteed. The operator can still lose money by making bad decisions; and profits from just the mandatory purchases of meal-plan food could be much lower than from selling *more* food at lower prices and higher quality. Still, the operator is guaranteed a minimum level of student spending, regardless of the price or desirability of its food vs. its competitors'; and as long as it can charge more for food than food costs, a guaranteed minimum revenue can deliver a guaranteed profit. The operator can always fall back on making money off its captive customers. One can understand why a company would be happier to operate in such an atmosphere than where *nobody* is obligated to spend one dime.

Such as, say, just about every restaurant in America.

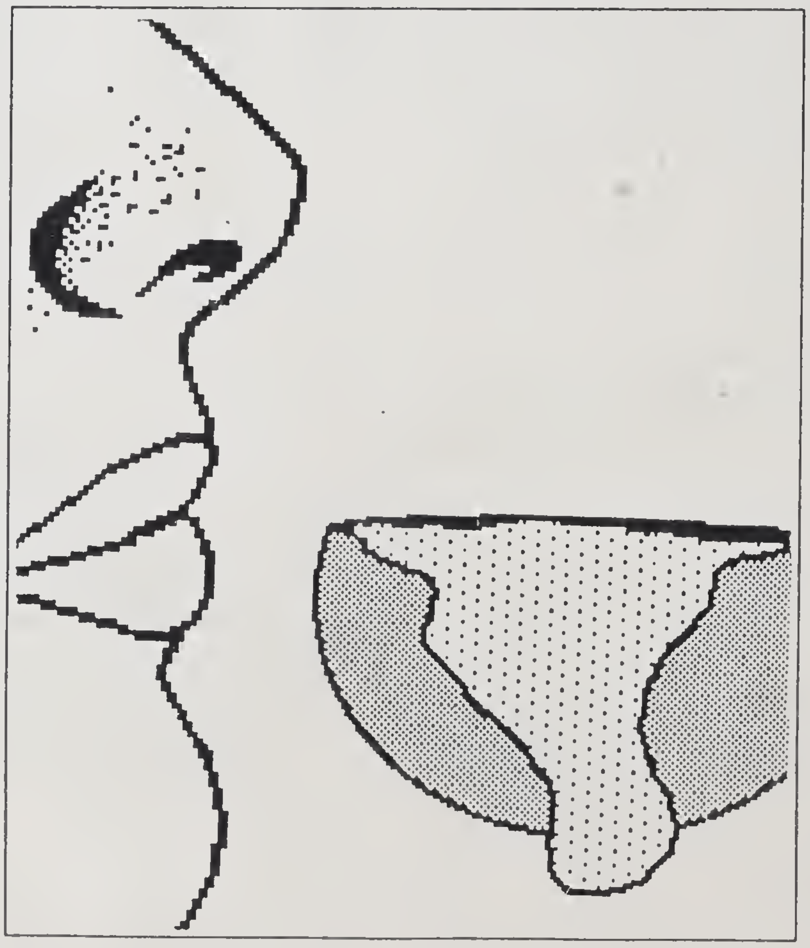
The mandatory meal plan certainly benefits Mariott, but what about students?

The direct effects are nothing to cheer about: at best, the plan does nothing. Someone who would have bought $100 or more a semester of meal-plan food is unaffected, while someone who would have bought less must now purchase enough more to bring the total up to $100, and is thus forced to replace something he wants more with something he wants less. (If the service food were more desirable, the student would have bought it without coercion.) According to both economic theory and common sense, this is not a benefit!

A female freshman, to be alliterative about it, who can buy and cook food more cheaply is forced to substitute $100 worth of meal-plan food for her own (less expensive) cooking. A seasoned senior fellow who would have bought what he contends is better-tasting restaurant food now faces the choice of buying meal-plan food or donating $100 to the food-service operator. Even the person who intends to buy $100 of service food — but for cash — is deprived of something; now he or she can't later decide to buy elsewhere, because the unused meal credits magically disappear – poof! – at the end of the year.

There is a way around some of these ill effects, but we'll save that for later.

Any indirect benefits? Perhaps a (financially) healthier food-service operation can provide a wider range of products, better



atmosphere for dining, even better food. Being able to buy better-tasting food in greater variety, right here on campus, is a benefit to students; for on-campus and off-campus students, faculty, even visitors. But only on-campus students carry the burden of the mandatory meal plan; they subsidize everyone else. It might be more equitable to add a $50 meal plan for off-campus students and a $30 one for professors (perish the thought!) or just raise prices across the board (you eat, you pay to keep the place here.)

But notice: without "mandatory" and "right here on campus," the same arguments apply to other Chapel Hill/Carrboro restaurants and food stores. Nobody gives them revenue guarantees, and money taken from unwilling students by the meal plan often comes out of their revenues. The town businesses are improved by higher sales just as the food service is: "you eat, you pay to keep the place here" still works in the real restaurant business. It is not clear whether, overall, the mandatory meal plan increases or decreases the availability and range of food choices for students.

Meanwhile, for the businesses themselves there are direct effects — and they are not good ones.

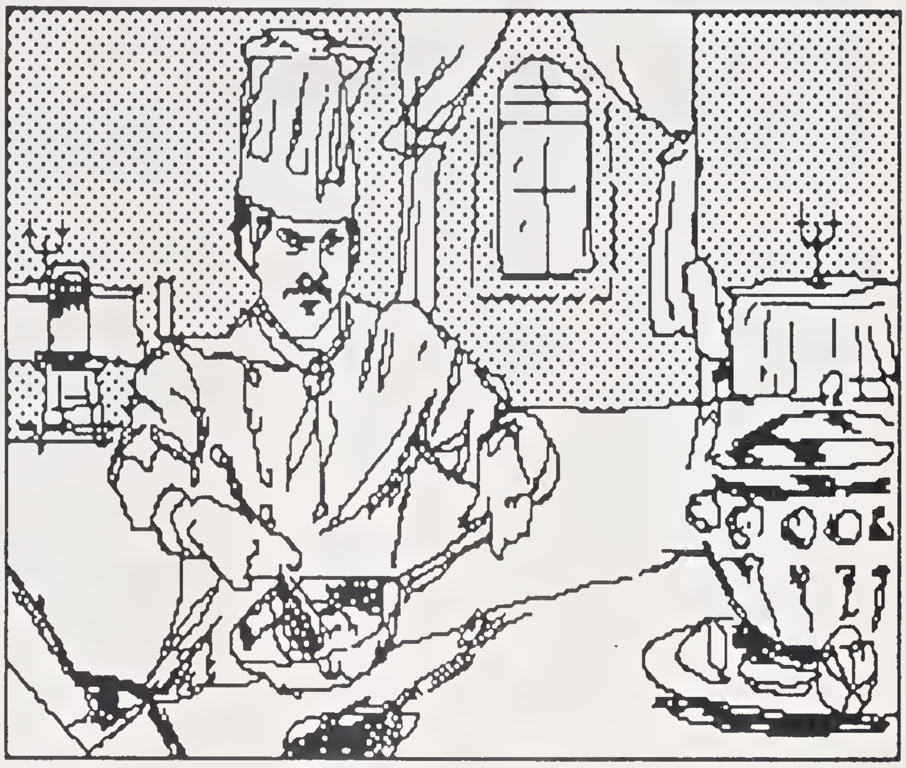
Since the mandatory meal plan directly benefits the food-service operator (Mariott, an interstate corporation) by guaranteed and probably higher revenue, and directly hurts other businesses from probably lower revenue, it may, according to at least one lawyer, be in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. That's right, illegal. Stay tuned, folks.

SOME WOULD ARGUE THAT THE UNC FOOD SERVice is or should be more than just another restaurant. Students with limited financial means — for that matter, all students — would benefit from having good, cheap, nourishing food provided by the University (or even have a "right" to "nourishing, affordable food") and if a mandatory meal plan helps, so be it. This sounds wonderful, but how is it to be accomplished? If it can be done at a profit, why isn't somebody doing it now? And if it can't, who foots the bill? (Evidently not the students, given the "food-as-right" plea.)

Is service food cheaper? Properly, we should make up a list of typical student meals and compare prices at the University's eateries and the towns'. Your writer has not done this (the CRITIC's large full-time research staff was attending a convenion in Tahiti) but our informal customer survey says that food-ervice prices are roughly competitive with other sources, and quality is sometimes competitive and sometimes — uh — mediocre. Whether or not the food service should be more "affordable" than other food sources, it doesn't seem to be now.

What about my "way around some of these ill effects" mentioned above? Anyone trained in the "economics perspecve" or even blessed with a devious mind may have guessed it y now: a black market in meal plan cards.

For example: the cook we met before paid $100 for a meal ard which, to her, is worth much less. She meets another erson, who buys $600 of meal plan food a year, and sells her ard for $99. They are now both better off; the meal-plan fan gets for $99 what would have cost her $100, and the cook gets all but $1 of her money back, to spend for groceries or other



"real food." In practice, our sources assure us, the real black market works very much this way; genders must match because the cards carry names — "William Jennings" might have trouble posing as "Beth Hapsburg" at the cash register — but there are no I.D. checks. The discount varies: it is large at the end of the year when meal-card balances are about to go "poof!" and sellers are desperate. "Black market" may be a misnomer, since our sources didn't seem to have noticed if the University prohibits meal-card trading, but whether "gray" or "black," the market in meal cards helps many students.

This trading reduces profit for the meal-plan operator, since students who would otherwise eat $100 worth of service food eat none at all, and others who wouldn't eat the stuff after a week in the wilderness don't donate $100 in exchange for nothing; but none of the lost profits would have existed anyway in a free food market. However, every student must still buy $100 in meal-plan credits from the operator, so the $1.2 million a year *revenue guarantee* still works. Now my "at best, it does nothing" stricture applies to the dormitory population as a whole rather than individuals. If people would have bought enough meal-plan food to satisfy the quota anyway, buyers of meal cards outnumber sellers and everyone is happy. If not, sellers outnumber buyers and students will be stuck with unwanted service food or with large losses in selling their cards.

By now, the picture is clear. The mandatory meal plan only makes students worse off — to the benefit of the meal-plan operator. Free trade in meal cards can sometimes undo this harm, but as it does, it removes the excess revenues/profits for the operator. Free trade will occur — and this applies to more than meal cards! — only if both parties are made better off by the transaction, and unless "market imperfections" spoil the result, free trade will produce a situation in which no one can be made better off without making someone else worse off. This remarkable result requires no central coordination or planning, only the combined effect of many individual decisions, and is the basis for the classical liberal's love of free markets. Intervention to keep students from buying meal-plan

(Continued on page 22)

In the Zoo — By David Hood

NO FARE IS NO FAIR

A LOT OF THE THINGS I BELIEVE IN begin with the word "free." Take, for example, the "Free Market." Or Free Will, Free Speech, Free Love (scratch that — I'm married now). But I definitely draw the line when it comes to "Free Shutle Bus."

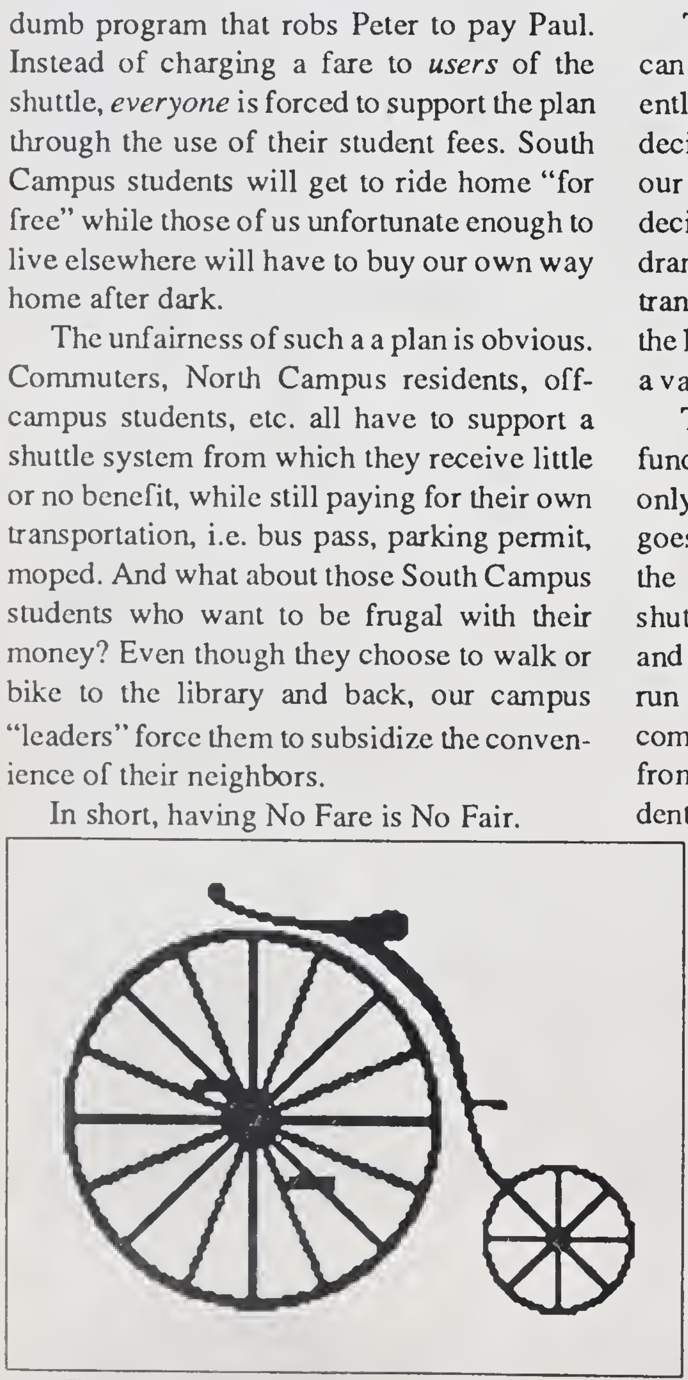
When former Student Body President Brian Bailey first proposed the idea of a "free" late-night shuttle bus running from North to South Campus, I really thought he was joking. His argument was that South Campus students shouldn't have to pay that quarter themselves when they caught the bus home from the library. Instead, he would make it "free" by abolishing the fare, and funding a late-night shuttle through Student Government in some manner. Somehow this was supposed to make it "free" for students.

Right. I guess Student Government funds just grow on trees.

Clearly what he was talking about, and what we are now stuck with this fall, is another dumb program that robs Peter to pay Paul. Instead of charging a fare to *users* of the shuttle, *everyone* is forced to support the plan through the use of their student fees. South Campus students will get to ride home "for free" while those of us unfortunate enough to live elsewhere will have to buy our own way home after dark.

The unfairness of such a a plan is obvious. Commuters, North Campus residents, off-campus students, etc. all have to support a shuttle system from which they receive little or no benefit, while still paying for their own transportation, i.e. bus pass, parking permit, moped. And what about those South Campus students who want to be frugal with their money? Even though they choose to walk or bike to the library and back, our campus "leaders" force them to subsidize the convenience of their neighbors.

In short, having No Fare is No Fair.



Now I am not suggesting that a 25¢ fare even begins to cover the costs of running a shuttle, but at least it is a start. Under our wonderful fare-free service now, there is absolutely no consideration of each individual's use or non-use of the South Campus shuttle. We pay or else.

There is certainly nothing new about our student "leaders'" disregard for the individual wants or needs of students at UNC. The institution of student fees itself constitutes a rejection of the principle of individual choice. Instead of a student making his own decision about how to spend his limited funds, Student Congress tells him what to do with that money. Every dollar seized in student fees to pay for the Union movies equals one less dollar you can spend on a movie at the Varsity or Ram theaters. Every quarter taxed away to pay for the *Daily Tar Heel* constitutes one less quarter you can use to buy the *Raleigh News and Observer*.

This list just goes on and on. And now we can add that Free Shuttle to the pile. Apparently our enlightened student "leaders" have decided that they know better how to spend our money than we ourselves do. *They* will decide which parties we help put on, which drama groups we will support, which mode of transportation we will use. Somewhere along the line it was decided that free choice was not a value worthy of consideration.

The use of student fees (read "taxes") to fund things like "free" shuttle systems not only goes against freedom of choice, it also goes against basic economic sense. Witness the current controversy surrounding the shuttle. Apparently the Student Government and Residence Hall Association funds will run out soon, so there is a mad scramble to come up with money to pay for the shuttle from other tax sources, like a so–called "student transportation fee."

What we have here is a product in search of a market. Instead of trying to create a captive market by taxing students, our "leaders" should try to find out if there is a legitimate market for the shuttle among South Campus residents. If the system is worthwhile to these prospective users (i.e., the costs of running it are outweighed by the benefits to the riders) then they will pay for it themselves, by getting in the bus and dropping change into that little orange box. If they are not willing, in sufficient numbers, to pay for a shuttle system designed to serve them, then Student Government should not shove it down their throats.

The principle is actually very simple. After all, that is the way all other goods and services are bought and sold in a free society. Economists almost uniformly champion the market as the best determinant of the value of a product, not a central planner sitting in Suite C or anywhere else. Student leaders should take this to heart, not just in the case of the shuttle system, but for all student fees in general. The best thing we could do would be simply to refund each student's fees and let individuals decide for themselves which movies to watch or newspapers to read.

Think of the benefits to such a plan:

1. *Fairness*. Under a free choice model there would be much less injustice in how the money was spent. Those who prefer to study or work rather than go to the all-campus parties can do so without losing any money; those who would rather walk than ride the bus are free to do so; and those who pay their own fare to Carrboro won't have to pay someone else's fare to Hinton James.

2. *Efficiency*. Freedom of choice will allow the market to allocate resources toward those activities which students actually want, not those foisted upon the students by elitist student "leaders." This will doom projects for which there is no legitimate market, like the South Campus Shuttle, while supporting those projects which the students actually want or need. Those projects presently funded which are in competition with off-campus projects would now have to face the music and produce a better product, or else close up shop.

3. *Autonomy*. The value of free choice is one of the strongest threads in the social fabric of the United States. Indeed, our country itself was founded on the principles of individual autonomy and personal freedom, and the belief that given the right to his own decisions, a human being is free to rise to the highest heights possible. By affirming free choice in the form of the abolition of coercive student fees, the university community could strike a blow against those modern-day King Georges who purport to make all our decisions for us, and rob us of our inheritance of liberty.

After all, the United States of America is the "Land of the Free," not the "Land of the Free Shuttle." Ω

Hood is a first-year law student from Charlotte.

SAVING LIVES, SACRIFICING MORALS

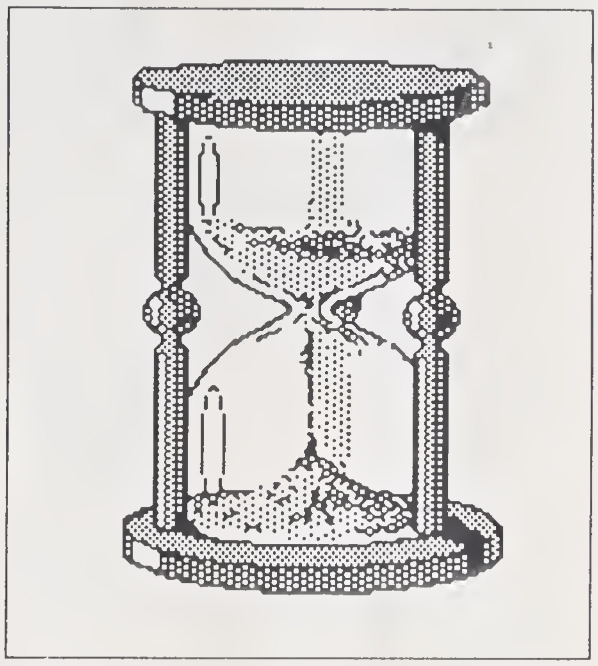
A DECADE AND A HALF AFTER THE Supreme Court decided the case of *Roe v. Wade,* abortion remains one of the most powerful and divisive forces in American politics. Far from "settling" the issue, the Court's ruling has mobilized an army of opposition whose influence is felt at every level of government. Yet even as the political battle has raged, a quiet revolution among the medical and scientific community has reduced the status of the unborn child to something less than that of a laboratory rat.

Within much of the medical community the belief that the fetus has constitutional and, indeed, human rights seems as alien as the idea that a tonsil or an appendix has rights. As a result, in America today not only are abortions performed for such trivial reasons as protecting the mother (sic) from stretch marks, but once aborted the fetus often finds ts way into somebody's laboratory as the subject of a medical experiment. It is this atter practice which promises to be the catayst for the next national confrontation over abortion.

Fetal tissue is currently being used in a variety of research projects to combat everyhing from AIDS to Parkinson's disease, and with some encouraging results. Last month esearchers at Stanford University succeded in creating a human-type immune system in aboratory mice by using tissue from aborted etuses (considering a crucial step in finding a ure for AIDS). The technique of transplanting fetal brain tissue into the victims of arkinson's disease is also having considerble success, and has been characterized in the media as "one of the most promising new medical technologies."

Unfortunately, good results are often the product of bad policy. The question before us not can we do this, but rather should we. he ever present danger is that we will become a people primarily concerned with effiacy instead of morality. We despise Nazi medical experiments not because they were effectual, but because they were WRONG. When considering the merits of fetal research is must remain foremost in our minds.

It probably goes without saying that the ea of using fetal tissue in this way inevitably fends those of us who oppose abortion as a atter of principle, just as the idea of using the davers of executed prisoners for medical periments would offend those people opposed to capital punishment. It confers a degree of legitimacy upon what we regard as a fundamentally illegitimate act, and serves to further decrease the value of the fetus.



What is surprising is the large number of pro-abortion groups that support this research. The traditional argument of "pro-choice" advocates has not been that the fetus has no rights, merely that the rights of the pregnant woman outweigh those of the fetus. It is a reasonable position about which good and honest people may differ. It is also irrelevant. The argument doesn't apply to the fetal research issue. There are no constitutional concerns about the mother's right to privacy here, only the argument of the efficacy of the research vs. moral and ethical concerns. Clearly a person can be solidly pro-choice and still oppose fetal research.

For those who do support the research, a moral defense is difficult. They must maintain that the *possibility* that lives *might* be saved by doing this research justifies the use of unborn children in medical experiments. It is a tenuous argument at best, and once you have taken this position you have also taken a giant step toward reducing the value of the fetus to that of an appendix.

Should such a position prevail, the potential for abuse will be enormous. It is not difficult to envision a situation in which a young woman who is pregnant and considering her alternatives will be swayed toward abortion by the notion that what she is doing is more like donating a kidney than ending a life. Nor is it difficult to imagine a wealthy old man suffering from Parkinson's disease attempting to buy, or contract out for, a fetus that will match his brain tissue type. Certainly the idea that his daughter would become pregnant and then have an abortion so her father might be treated is not inconceivable. And what if we find ourselves capable of growing fetuses outside the womb? Technology already allows us to fertilize an egg in the laboratory. Modern medical techniques have enabled premature babies to survive after spending as little as twenty-one weeks in the mother. It is not unimaginable that sometime in the future we will be able to grow fetuses in the laboratory and harvest their tissue for spare parts to service an aging population.

If history is any indication, it is almost certain that abuses will occur unless restrictions are placed on the use of fetal tissue.

First, any form of compensation to the mother should be absolutely prohibited. Buying and selling of fetuses cannot be allowed under any circumstances. Secondly, the mother should not be allowed to designate who will be the recipient of her child's tissue. Thirdly, a reasonable attempt must be made to gain permission for the use of the fetus from both the father and the mother. And finally, use should be limited to fetuses resulting from miscarriages and those abortions performed for the sake of the mother's health.

BY ADOPTING THESE GUIDELINES, we will firmly establish the principle that there is a qualitative difference between a laboratory rat and an unborn child. We will also recognize that the fetus has a constitutional right to exist — even if, as pro-choice proponents claim, its right to exist is secondary to the mother's right to privacy. We will acknowledge that it, too, has been endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights. In short, we will finally recognize that though not fully developed, the fetus remains fundamentally human.

In the process we will also, unfortunately, severely curtail the research currently in progress and delay any potential benefits it might yield. Nevertheless, these restrictions are absolutely necessary if we are to avoid the practice of "harvesting" fetuses for medical purposes. It is not a question of efficacy, but of morality. For what would it profit us to gain a few lives only to lose our nation's soul? Ω

Bob Lukefahr is a junior political science major and served in the U.S. Air Force.

The World Stage

By Mark LaFever

AVERTING CHEMICAL CARNAGE

CHECK OUT THE SEPTEMBER 19 issue of *Time*. You'll find yet another report of Iraq's continuing use of chemical weapons against a largely defenseless population — civilians of Butia and other Kurdish villages. This recurrent chemical bullying of the Kurds — a group ethnically distinct from other Iraqis — seems to have two motives: revenge for past collaboration with the Iranians, and discouragement from trying it again. The existence of a microscopic Kurdish rebel movement provides a good excuse for the Iraqis' raids, which killed about 6,000 people.

Why the renewed attacks, especially now, with a cease–fire operating in the Gulf? Baghdad is in the process of reestablishing control over lost territory, and with the threat from without — Iran — temporarily abated, it is free to turn attention to potential internal dangers, like the ever–rebellious Kurds.

The almost exclusive targeting of civilians as victims might be expected; armed Kurdish rebels, cut off even from halfhearted Iranian support, must rely totally upon their ethnic kinsmen. The fighters themselves are hard to find, let alone defeat, so what does the stability–conscious Iraqi do? He destroys the rebels' support network — in other words, he hits a few villages with chemical weapons.

Most of us in TV-land were probably shocked last March when dinner was spoiled by pictures from Halabja, Iraq, complete with blistered corpses strewn chaotically about the village; we shouldn't have been. The use of chemical weapons is cheap, both in economic and military terms, and a government chronically in danger of overthrow will have few scruples about such deadly measures where its survival is concerned.

Being a sometime ally of the Soviet Union doesn't do much for the humanity of Iraq's policies, either. As Soviet dominance wanes in many areas, ever–dirtier tactics — such as chemical–weapons attacks — are used to keep subject populations in line. The Kremlin's allies have been involved in chemical massacres across the globe: United Nations observers in Angola have compiled scientific evidence testifying to the use of new and more deadly mixtures of gas by Cuban troops in that country's thirteen–year civil war. As in Iraq, the objective of the Cubans is primarily the isolation of anti–government forces from supporting populations, and civilians have once again borne the brunt of death by gas. Vietnam and Ethiopia stand accused of similar actions, while proof exists that the Soviets themselves wiped out whole villages in Afghanistan with this tactic.

The USSR has also prepared extensively for the use of chemicals in conventional combat; it is recognized by many experts that Soviet forces are years ahead of NATO in the development of chemical strategy.

At this point, it seems fitting to ask, "what can be done?" about the Soviets, the Iraqis, and chemical weapons. Unfortunately, this question seems most often answered by irrational protests, naive recourse to international "law," and other similarly idealistic, ineffectual and generally counterproductive actions.

We're not about to stop chemical massacres by hitting Saddam Hussein or Fidel Castro over the head with the "guilt hammer," so it only follows that the use of chemical weapons must be discouraged by concrete, material means. Iraq, Cuba and other nations using chemicals in warfare must be made to realize the costs of their actions. In a phrase, the use of "war gas" must be made more expensive.

How can this be done? Some recommendations call for some form of arms limitation talks, in which the Soviets might be induced to give up chemical weapons if the West sacrificed various components of its nuclear deterrent. This plan is poorly conceived and fraught with bad judgement; in effect, it would endanger the West, as our strategic position would decline relative to that of the Soviets, while Moscow's clients might simply resort to outright bombing of troublesome villages. No purpose would be served through this measure but that of the Soviets and their allies.

It would seem that the proper course toward the abolition of chemical arms involves the afflicted areas more directly. The use of gas in wars of insurgency stems not only from the economy of its manufacture; it owes just as much to the character of guerrilla warfare. Rebels with limited supplies are tied to sources of food, weapons, etc. They usually must have either a safe area from which to operate (i.e., across a national boundary), or a supportive population, or both. It is because of their support for rebel movements that civilian populations are systematically gassed.

It follows that, if one could divorce the guerrillas from the population, another village might last another year or two. The guerrillas would have to have their logistical needs satisfied without recourse to popular support; in other words, they must be supplied from external sources. The Iraqis, Cubans, and the rest would end their massacres if they ceased to yield the desired result — they have proven their ruthlessness, but an important part of ruthlessness is intelligence.

NOW COMES THE PART SOME OF you out there won't like. How can we bring about the neat sitution imagined above? Th answer is simple, and for some almost a distasteful as chemical warfare.

The only way to effectively protect civilian villages from chemical death is to aid directly and militarily, the rebel movement in the affected areas. Only by so doing will w free the insurgents from their tragic ties t vulnerable centers of population.

Of course, the old trick of appealing t "world opinion" can be tried, as well; but onl if it is astronomically intensified will it hav any significant effect — remember, we ar not dealing with Sweden, the Netherlands, c any other enlightened model of modern civ lization. We are dealing with tyrannica Third–World despots of the Idi Amin variet — Oops! Except Gorbachev. I completel forgot about him.

Judging from past instances, howeve only an emphasis on the military side woul seem to bode well for the abolition of chem cal warfare. This problem must be a proached rationally, and with little recour to emotion; a workout for the tear ducts mig be nice for an hour or two, but that wou mean nothing to the next Kurdish village c Baghdad's list.

LaFever is a freshman international studi major from Raleigh.

Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

Thomas Sowell is at it again.

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So different are these two visions that often people from one camp cannot even understand what those from another are talking about. But that hasn't stopped them from threatening to tear apart societies and egging on the world to potential disaster.

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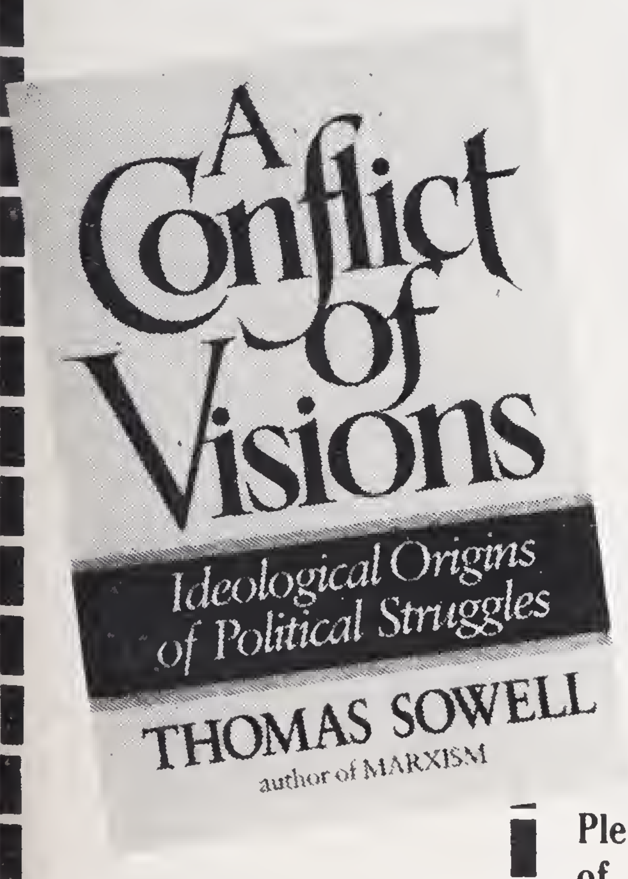

- ***Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?***

- *Can these differences ever be resolved?*
- *Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?*
- *What makes some people undergo radical conversions?*
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Essays

BOOK REVIEW

THE DISMAL SCIENCE MADE READABLE

By Michael Lowrey

IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT ECONOMICS IS OFTEN called "the dismal science." The very word economics brings to mind unintelligible terms such as "stagflation," externalities, and monopoly — as well as a myriad of abbreviations (CPI, PRI, GDP, M1, etc.). Even the understandable terms, such as inflation, recession, and deficit, are not exactly exciting or encouraging ideas to dwell upon. Yet in spite of the nature of the subject, Herbert Stein's *Presidential Economics* manages to present an analysis of recent American economic policy in an understandable manner.

Stein's work presents a history of the attempts of administrations from Hoover to Reagan to achieve high employment and economic growth while keeping inflation under control. From the Great Depression, which no existing economic pattern short of Marxism or fascism could explain, to Keynesian manipulation of fiscal (taxing and spending) policy and more recent innovations like supply-side, Stein crisply lays out the underlying theories for all to understand.

However, as Stein makes perfectly clear, these programs are *political* acts. While he argues (less than convincingly, perhaps) that theory doesn't matter to the American people, presidents have been called to account for less than healthy economies by the same public. The ease of proposing new ideas, no matter how silly or unlikely to succeed, is also made clear. The economic positions of the Republican party in the late 1970s — especially the rise of the Laffer curve — is an example of Stein's insight that advances in a new view, not yet tested and often wrong, generate much more excitement than the standard orthodoxy.

Nor does Stein resort to the gloom and doom name calling prevalent in discussing government policy (defense spending, social programs, or deficit reduction). The down side of the budget deficit is clearly shown through the crowding out of private savings, which reduces investment and makes us all worse off in the future.

If there exists a gap in Herbert Stein's credibility in *Presidential Economics*, it centers on his role as a member and later head of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisors during the wage and price controls of the early 1970s. Not well explained are Stein's role in the whole ineffective and counterproductive affair and what brought Nixon, a conservative Republican, to make such a move. This reduces Stein's impact when he discusses wage and price controls in other contexts.

Notwithstanding this, *Presidential Economics* is an excellent history of the basic economic policies of the past 60 years or so. It gives both clear and understandable insights into the economic theories themselves and the political realities that shape their use. A highly recommended work for those even marginally interested in political economy. Ω

Lowrey is a budding dismal scientist from Charlotte — but we let him contribute anyway.

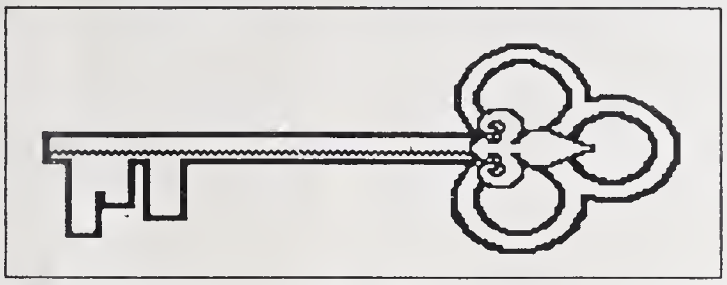
REFRACTIONS

MAKING THE CASE FOR DISCRIMINATION

By Chris Osborn

THE TYPICAL CIVIC–MINDED TRENDINISTA WHO reads the title of this essay will probably shake his well–coiffed head in outrage as with one deft motion he flips through his address book to find the phone number of the A.C.L.U.; in his free hand he grasps his precious link chain with which he intends to chain himself to my word processor in a valiant effort to silence yet another racist. However, I will assure all readers that I am by no means a racist or bigot, for I do not judge people according to creed, skin color, or sex. But I do believe that quality choices must be made when people are hired for jobs, admitted to universities, selected for promotions, and given scholarships. The problem which would induce said trendinista to consult a road map to determine the best route by which to run me out of town lies in a corrupted public interpretation of the word "discrimination" and in the tendency of some minority groups to blame all their problems on unfairness.

The word "discriminate" means "to make or see a difference or distinction" or simply "to choose." People have to discriminate. When Joe Employer has a job opening to fill in his proprietorship or corporation, he should not be forced to choose only from a pool of applicants who meet certain arbitrary criteria. Rather, he should be allowed to weigh pertinent, quality–related data and to meet the candidates in order to decide which one is best qualified to efficiently handle the job. Unfortunately, some people, on the basis of honor, character, intellect, or aptitude, are less qualified for certain jobs. If such a person who is passed over for employment or promotion happens to be a member of a racial minority, a female, or one with an alternative sexual lifestyle, society has conditioned him or her to claim that he or she was rejected based on that distinguishing characteristic.



Similarly, when minority children in many public schools are singled out for discipline by a white teacher, they have been conditioned to cry "Racism!" and "Discrimination!" However, these two terms do not have the same meaning. Yes, discrimination may have occurred, but the teacher has the right "to distinguish between" the well–behaved students and the disruptive ones so that the class might proceed with a stable learning environment. On significantly disrupting a class a child should promptly be disciplined or removed, regardless of his or her skin color.

The same principle applies to crime and punishment; a white man and a black man who each have been sentenced to the electric chair should each get the electric chair (once charred, both will be an indistinct color anyway). If it happens that black people commit a majority of the capital offenses or disturb a classroom more often, it is not the fault of a bigoted system when more blacks are executed, or disciplined by a teacher.

Another problem arises with the fact that standardized tests and uniform standards of approval are also labeled "discriminatory." The NAACP claims that it is unfair to base college acceptance on the SAT because blacks do not score as well as whites; therefore it is racially biased. First of all, universities consider other criteria besides the SAT in the admissions process. The SAT is used as a method of comparing the aptitudes of students who otherwise appear equally qualified. Secondly, it is inherently idiotic for an association for the "advancement" of a race to claim that its race is unintelligent and herefore deserves special preferential treatment or exemption rom uniform standards. What is it that makes the equation "2x + 3 = 7" easier for white people? Is the test printed with magic ink which is revealed only to male caucasians? Or re there no "3"'s and "x"'s in "Black Culture?" (On the contrary, with the proliferation of reading selections dealing with black culture, it could almost be argued that the test is iased in the opposite direction.) I see no bias or attempt at racism. However, discrimination is involved; the SAT distinuishes between the most and least qualified students (hardly an injustice), but a lower score does not mean that one is a orthless human being.

I HAVE DEALT MOSTLY WITH RACIAL DISCRIMIation, which is now legal if the person discriminated against is white (see last month's *Critic* for a discussion of affirmative action). Women today complain more about exploitation (small wonder, with such upstanding champions of the female cause as Jessica Hahn, Donna Rice, Fawn Hall, and Tammy Bakker in the national limelight) than sexual discrimination (notice that the modifier is necessary!). As far as discrimination on the basis of sexual preference goes, that is a moral issue which merits another entire essay (probably not from me). My point is that we have allowed an innocent word to be corrupted into a bitter, lawsuit–inspiring term. It is necessary that the right to choose, to discriminate in the true sense of the word, be restored to those whose careers involve decision–making. Of course there must be reasonable safeguards to insure that this right is not abused, but it is not the answer to assume that everyone is racially biased or prejudiced and therefore will not make justified hiring or admission decisions, for this undermines the idea of freedom to hire or accept the best in order to be competitive. The youth of today must be educated to know and develop their own strengths and to discern and correct their weaknesses, but to use nothing — race, creed, physical appearance, or national origin — as a crutch. Ω

Osborn is a freshman and member of the UNC Debate Team.

POLITICS, RELIGION A DANGEROUS MIX

By Victor H. Knight, Jr.

DISCUSSION OF CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS IS USUally accompanied by a fair amount of juvenile name–calling and infantile rhetoric; however, no topics that I know of provoke more nonproductive silliness than the concepts of politics and religion. One of the most frightening topics of discussion is the idea of politics and religion functioning as one. Should religion play a major role in politics, and would an evangelist or reverend be able to function in a political office? Perhaps an efficient and revealing common ground to explore will be that of morality and its connection to these two aspects of any functional society.

Religion is considered by many to be the all–governing factor in the development of a society's morality. This, quite simply, is not true. Morality is able to stand apart and separate from religion on very firm philosophical ground. If morality were tied in a basic way with a religion, there would not exist any kind of international unity or peace between nations each consisting largely of a particular faith or denomination, since there would be no, or at best very little, common moral ground. In fact, as will be explored later, there would be no possibility for a unifying government such as ours, or for a uniform set of laws. This is strong evidence of morality's independence from religion.

What of religion's role in shaping morality? Obviously, religion plays a major role in the development of morality, but the converse is also true: developing morality affects religious beliefs and practices. Consider the increasing involvement of women in the clergy of not only the Catholic church, but other faiths as well. This is quite a different state of affairs from 100 or even 50 years ago. Going back a bit farther, consider one seemingly small difference between the Old and the New Testaments; the Old Testament tells us, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," but the New Testament tells us, "Turn the other cheek." This is a radical difference in moral beliefs about how to deal with "…those who trespass against us." The point of all this is to show that religion does not have a monopoly on defining and shaping moral standards. In fact, religion is accountable to current trends in morality — if a religion doesn't or isn't able to adjust in this regard, it will quickly fade out and vanish. Current trends can be caused by other sectors of the culture such as science, the political world (zoo), and even other religions. Religion has the same accountabilities as the other societal components, accountabilities which arise from the pressures and interrelationships between the components; for one sector to dominate the others in determining morality would severely imbalance the existing structure.

POLITICS, TOO, IS AN IMPORTANT SECTOR OF THE culture, as mentioned above. Political antics influence our lives continuously and in important ways. Politics is also amenable to the constraints of morality. The political system, through its laws and enforcement of these laws, is largely responsible for preserving the most basic of our current moral imperatives. Too, though transgressions occur often, political players and their plays should conform to current moral standards.

Therefore religion and politics, if separate, exert different yet vital forces on morality. One can imagine what would happen if the two functioned as one — our dynamic society itself would quickly become stale from the sluggish response of an important cultural element. Morality would become distorted by the heavily biased and powerful influence which a union of politics and religion would produce.

Other questions one might ponder concern the goals of politics and religion, and their means of fulfilling these goals. Religious consciousness stems directly from contemplation about man's proper place and purpose in the universe–at–large; religions attempt to ease distress about identity with the universe by hailing the existence of an Ultimate Absolute or prime motivator. Religious goals are those of continued faith and, ultimately, salvation or one–ness with the prime motivator. However, differing religions commonly are of the opinion that their road to salvation is the one true road — certainly religious leaders of the various denominations would prefer for people to follow their religious doctrines.

The political structure exists chiefly to maintain an orderly society in which all members of the society are able to pursue what they feel is a morally and rationally justifiable life, as long as this life falls within the limits of the laws, which in turn are created by fundamental moral consensus. It seems to me to be of utmost importance for all political leaders to be of open and *critical* mind regarding not only matters related to moral questions, but all decisions faced while in public service. The goal of the political structure, then, is to create and maintain a society with the aforementioned qualities.

Consider now the problem faced by the religious leader who is elected to public office; on the one hand, he is driven by his religious imperatives, which impel him to persuade others to follow his religious beliefs, and on the other hand by his officia obligations to the state, as explained above.

These two goals seem incompatible for two reasons. First one who is devoted to a particular religion in the manner of a clergy member is not very susceptible to the changing morality of society, especially if these changes are due to the influence of another religion — this clergy member will resist change of this aspect of morality, which is his right as a member of the religious circle, but his opposition will carry unequal weigh because of his official position. Second, a member of the clergy is not, it seems to me, among the most objectively critical o individuals. He or she is likely to make a decision based on the ingrained teachings of the church, rather than on an objective view of the world and its moral processes. For these reasons i seems clear to me that a political player who is also a membe of the clergy of a particular denomination can never be a efficient and objective leader of a pluralistic society such a ours.

Knight is a senior from Montgomery County.

KEEPING IT BETWEEN THE 40–YARD LINES

By Jason Kelly and Erik Sandstedt

IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ELECTION YEAR, TH differences in points of view in American politics become e tremely obvious. Views on defense spending, social program to aid the homeless and hungry, and economic direction com to the forefront for debate and difference of opinion. America political parties split on every one of these issues. Viewpoin range from those of the ultra–liberal Jesse Jackson to those the ultra–conservative William Buckley. But are America political views really that varied? One British band sings,

They pretend they're different points of view,
But it's only different shades of blue.

From the European and the world–wide perspective American politics are without options. In a sense, there is n democracy in America, but only two slightly divergent paths the same "American" goal. George Bush wants to keep million man army, a six hundred ship navy, and military base throughout the world. Dukakis wants to reduce military spen ing. So, instead of a six hundred ship navy, we will have a fiv hundred ship navy. Instead of a million man army, we will hav a nine hundred thousand man army. Either way, the Unite States will still have the mightiest military in the world.

Dukakis wants to increase federal spending to provide f the poor. He wants to increase the minimum wage and increase spending on social programs such as Social Security, his final goal being to decrease unemployment and raise the standard of living in the United States. Bush wants a smaller government, less government intervention. He wants to keep the minimum wage at its present level and keep all of the policies of Reaganomics in action. His ultimate goal also is to decrease unemployment and raise the standard of living. True, they have different means, but they have the same ends.

But deeper than political parties, their platforms, or their candidates lies the element of American polity that overshadows and molds these expressions of political perspective. I like to call it the "American ethic." This American ethic resides in our constitution, but has been reinforced through two hundred years of political history and has endured the crucible of civil war. Individual freedom is that ethic: the freedom to do anything not impeding other individuals' freedom. Because of this ethic, the more leftward political views cannot impress themselves on Americans as well as they have on other nations, especially in Europe.

Compared to Europe, America is almost monolithic in its conservative beliefs. The European political spectrum contains much more variety. From Fascist and Nationalist parties to Communist and Socialist parties, the European nations have a much greater scope of ideas, whether right or wrong. The diversity of political beliefs in Europe so far outstretch the beliefs of Americans that it almost seems futile for Americans to consider themselves politically diverse.

This is not to say that lack of diversity is bad. In fact, the lmost monolithic nature of American political opinion serves o unite the nation and gather its resources to a common goal. uropean nations have to suffer the changes in policy as the ational polls vacillate from one end of the political spectrum o the other. The Labor parties end up undoing all the programs f the Conservative Party. And then when the Conservatives ome back into office, they undo all of the programs of the iberals. Ω

elly, from Washington, D.C., and Sandstedt, from North runswick, N.J., are both freshmen.

MUSIC REVIEWS

OBERT CRAY BAND LENDS POP, BLUES

y Connie Smith

The Robert Cray Band/*Don't Be Afraid of the Dark*

With *Don't Be Afraid of the Dark*, the Robert Cray Band has en able to take their blues roots and break into the pop scene. asn't a sacrifice of quality as perhaps could be said about the es of Phil Collins, but instead a pleasant new twist to a familiar old sound.

So what is this new twist? Well, mix up your horn arrangements to grab the attention of Steve Winwood fans, and keep guitar solos at a minimum. But don't panic, Cray and band were still able to deliver sharp, catchy tunes such as 'Night Patrol', and Cray shows that he has mastered blues guitar with his solos in 'I Can't Go Home' and 'Across the Line'.

The Robert Cray Band has jazzed up blues, and made what could be extremely monotonous and boring to some, on the top of their playing list. Okay, maybe you'll hear a teeny bop say "Like, blues is too cool — I just bought *Don't Be Afraid of the Dark*," but don't cringe. So it may not be B. B. King, but the Robert Cray Band will cleverly open up new ears to one of the earliest and best sounds the guitar ever made.

Jane's Addiction/*Nothing's Shocking*

Reviewing *Nothing's Shocking* is not an easy job. On first listen it sounded repulsive, but what was only noise at the start, after a few listens, emerged as something quite interesting.

What is most noticeable (besides the album cover) is the guitar work of David Navarro. Alternating between acoustic rhythms such as that in 'Jane Says' and electric screeching as in 'Standing in the Shower Thinking', Navarro shows his skill and flexibility.

Also, Perry Farrell, lead singer and lyricist, has definitely come up with some original themes. These include 'Ocean Size' and 'Pigs in Zen' where Farrell screams "...Pigs eat shit, but only when hungered."

Most appealing about *Nothing's Shocking* is that Jane's Addiction has made an album which is extremely hard to categorize. It has mainly metal overtones, but also contains a funky tune 'Idiots Rule' and approaches jazz in 'Thank You Boys'.

Nothing's Shocking is not for everyone, but will certainly please anyone wanting to hear something different, interesting, loud, and played by musicians with talent. And leaving its best quality for last, remember that *Nothing's Shocking* contains material that may be offensive to some...

Fishbone/*Truth and Soul*

With *Truth and Soul* Fishbone has made a huge step forward. Perhaps they were able to afford better equipment, but no matter the reason, Fishbone has made some major improvements in their sound, specifically the emphasis put on guitar, giving a sharper edge to the rock side of their creative rock-ska mixture.

The biggest change Fishbone has made, though, is what they're saying. Fishbone, thought of as just a fun band, decided they were going to voice their opinion on some serious issues. In fact there isn't much they didn't cover — they sing about divorce in 'Ma and Pa', religion in 'Question of Life', the rule of the rich in 'Deep Inside', and 'Slow Bus Movin' (Howard Beach Party)' speaks for itself. Actually this is only half the list — even Sting doesn't deal with this much on one album.

So what happened to Fishbone? Perhaps with the death of guitarist Kendall Jones' mother, whom this album was dedicated to, everyone sobered up and began to think about life. But it is hard to take it all too seriously, because even though their words may be a sermon, the music, for the most part, is still as sinful and enjoyable as ever. Also, Fishbone did throw in one completely meaningless tune, 'Bonin' in the Boneyard'. Yes, it is as great as it sounds.

This is without a doubt Fishbone's greatest album. Their musical improvements are definitely enough to make one ignore their complaints about life, and without the lyrics they sure sound like they're still having fun. Ω

Smith is a junior mathematics major from Charlotte.

ANIMAL RIGHTS CONCERT A LOCAL–MUSIC BARGAIN

By Paige Dembicks

NINE BANDS FOR SIX DOLLARS SEEMED LIKE A PRETTY good deal to most people attending the "Voices for the Voiceless" benefit concert for animal rights on Saturday, September 24th in Raleigh's Rialto Theatre. The benefit was put on by the North Carolina Network for Animals, a nonprofit, volunteer organization whose name implies its function. A complete sampling of local bands ranging from the melodious Black Girls to the funky Jonny Quest rocked the Rialto from one in the afternoon until midnight. Whether people came out to support local bands or the animal rights cause, the show was a success in that the Network broke even early in the afternoon and everyone attending found superb music.

The opening bands faced a theatre one third full of local music fans and skinny teenage boys and new–wave–looking teenage girls. Warming the crowd with their lofty, resonant sound, the Black Girls eased the audience into the show. People kept their seats during most of 'Eight or Nine Feet' until they played crashing 'Surf Bitch' which sent teenagers bounding toward the stage. The atmosphere of electric bobbing continued through most of Discord's set.

One of the better performances was from Chapel Hill's Light in August, who followed the college pop rock band The Wallabouts. The Veldt probably had a hard time following the all–time final set of UV Prom, but they kept the audience going.

Jonny Quest and the Bad Checks completed the show. Both bands played with tight precision only achievable through experience and talent. Meaningful humor is the power behind the hard–driving sounds of both bands' lyrics. Jonny Quest's 'Funk and Punk' sent the teenagers leaping on top of the stage, gyrating, dancing and climbing on speakers.

The bands must have enjoyed themselves and fans got more than they bargained for, as the concert lasted three hours longer than had been planned. Whether the bands who played actually cared about animal rights or whether they just wanted to play and gain exposure, I do not know. Jack Campbell of Jonny Quest made a small speech for the cause, and other bands' members threw out phrases such as, "Don't forget why you're here" as they left the stage. I picked up some literature to see what the North Carolina Network for Animals had to say. Brochures carrying pictures of white rabbits, necks in stockades, waiting for the Draize skin-irritancy test caught my attention. They offered alternatives to submitting animals to pain and test reactions. I found that animal rights, although it is not an issue of top priority to me, is not a worthless cause. Six dollars for nine bands and to fund the North Carolina Network was six dollars well spent. Ω

MANDATORY MEAL PLAN

(Continued from page 13)

food when they want it would be just as bad as making them buy it when they don't.

It is difficult to defend the mandatory meal plan. Unless the University can produce some justification for the revenue guarantee embodied in this policy — some benefit overlooked here — it is in the interest of everyone except the food-service company that the $100 meal plan requirement be abolished. If the University refuses to give up revenue guarantees, perhaps it will help with the sale of unwanted meal-plan balances, so the black/gray market becomes a "white" one and students can sell their meal credits without "connections." The minimum revenue guaranteed to the operator is the same, but individual students won't be forced to contribute to Mariott's *profits* by buying an *unused* meal card.

It is far from obvious why a guarantee is needed at all. Lenoir Hall sits in the middle of campus, an ideal location to attract students and others to eat. Why must we offer revenue guarantees, when conditions for business are so favorable? Imagine how much your favorite burger emporium on Franklin Street might pay for the privilege of operating out of a location fifty feet from the Pit! Why shouldn't the food-service company bid for its place instead of being subsidized by the students? Now, the picture may not be as rosy as this sounds — the University's food service is supposed to be many things to many students, not just a burger joint or pizza parlor. But if the University maintains that a food-service guarantee is needed, the burden of proof appears to be on them, not those who think it unnecessary.

THERE IS ONE MORE ISSUE HERE. THE MANDATORY meal plan was simply announced to students one fall after a summer decision, following little or no consultation with students or student groups. Whether this was an accident of timing or an attempt to minimize student outcry, the complaints quickly died down and the meal plan came to be accepted as just another silly rule. The complaints of student groups seemed to focus mainly on the fact that the mandatory meal plan was imposed without asking them, not on the fact it was imposed at all. Is a lesson being taught here: government can tell you where to eat, and if you feel this steps on your rights, you can do little about it anyway, so why not relax and try to enjoy it? This seems a poor way to prepare students for enlightened citizenship in a democracy Apparently students at UNC now either don't mind the meal plan enough to complain, or think resistance is useless.

But is it? If a small group of students can tell the University how to invest its endowment funds based on hoped-for results on a tyrannical government in far-away South Africa, surely there is some chance that a larger group of students can talk the University out of guaranteeing Mariott's revenue out of *their* pockets. (Does Mariott do business in South Africa? Hmm...) If there were weekly demonstrations in front of South Building by 1,500 students — just 1/4 of dorm residents — for "Food Freedom Now," would many months pass before some kind of action was taken?

On-campus students, if you like the mandatory meal plan or just don't care, that's fine. If you resent being forced to guarantee Mariott's revenues, let the University know how you feel — stridently if necessary. If students do not learn to speak up when their freedom is lost, even if a little bit at a time, they will have much more to lose than the right to choose where to eat lunch. Ω

Jaynes is a graduate student in physics from Orange County.

THE NORTH CAROLINA NUMBERS GAME

WHAT WILL NORTH CAROLINIAN voters say at the polls in November? Let's see what some said *to* the polls in September.

A poll conducted last month for the Raleigh *News and Observer* and other Carolina press organizations revealed two deadlocked races—the presidential contest between George Bush and Michael Dukakis and the Jim Gardner-Tony Rand race for Lt. Governor. In the gubernatorial race, incumbent Jim Martin led Bob Jordan by 11 points, with a 3.5 percent margin of error.

All three of these findings should surprise conventional-wisdom watchers. First of all, since the Reagan-Bush ticket won North Carolina overwhelmingly in 1984 — and indeed we've been a friendly state to Reagan ever since the 1976 primary — why isn't Bush way out in front here? The short answer seems o be that Dukakis, though a Massachusetts Yankee governor carrying all kinds of "liberal" baggage, is wooing away some of the so-called "Reagan Democrats" that have provided the national Republican ticket its Tarheel base. These Democrats, dubbed "God & Country Democrats" by some pollsters, have upported Republicans in recent years on efense matters — the Strategic Defense Iniative being one popular program — and on ocial issues, like prayer in the public schools, e death penaly, and general "toughness on ime."

At this point, though, Bush hasn't been ble to scare Reagan Democrats into thinking ukakis is a McGovernesque, Carteresque eral who fundamentally disagrees with em on defense and social issues. Dukakis s portrayed himself as a pragmatist, or even entrist, and his cool speaking style and uniling visage may actually reinforce that age. Liberals are supposed to be glassyed or a bit giddy, able to launch into "prossive" tirades at any moment. So far, kakis has avoided that persona — and in age of television democracy, images are re important than specific policy posins.

Even in the Wake Forest debate, Bush's mpts to relabel Dukakis as a big-spending eral, though justified by the Duke's politi- history, may still have missed the mark. wever, the polls record a lot of undecideds percent in the *N&O* Poll) and few respon- ts express strong preferences for either ow.

In light of the national tickets' success in bringing some wayward Dems home, the race for governor is downright weird. How can the Republican Martin be so popular in a heavily Democratic state?

The polls suggest Martin is doing exactly what a GOP politician must — blurring partisan lines. For instance, 52 percent of respondents in the *N&O* poll who support Martin did so "because he had done a good job," compared to only 10 percent who backed him because he is a Republican. Bob Jordan, on the other hand, got 38 percent of his support from just being a Democrat, and only 16 percent from his stands on the issues. In fact, a healthy 18 percent of likely *Dukakis* voters in the state actually favor Martin for governor. This has led to some talk of a "reverse coattail effect," meaning that Martin's success in the state could spill over into Bush's column by Election Day.

It should be pointed out, of course, that Martin has the relatively novel advantage of incumbency in his Tarheel race. He is only the second N.C. governor to be allowed a chance to succeed himself (Jim Hunt, the first, did so easily before being defeated by Jesse Helms in the 1984 Senate race). Name recognition and the feel-good vibes of incumbency are no small factors even at this date, as political knowledge in the state is low.

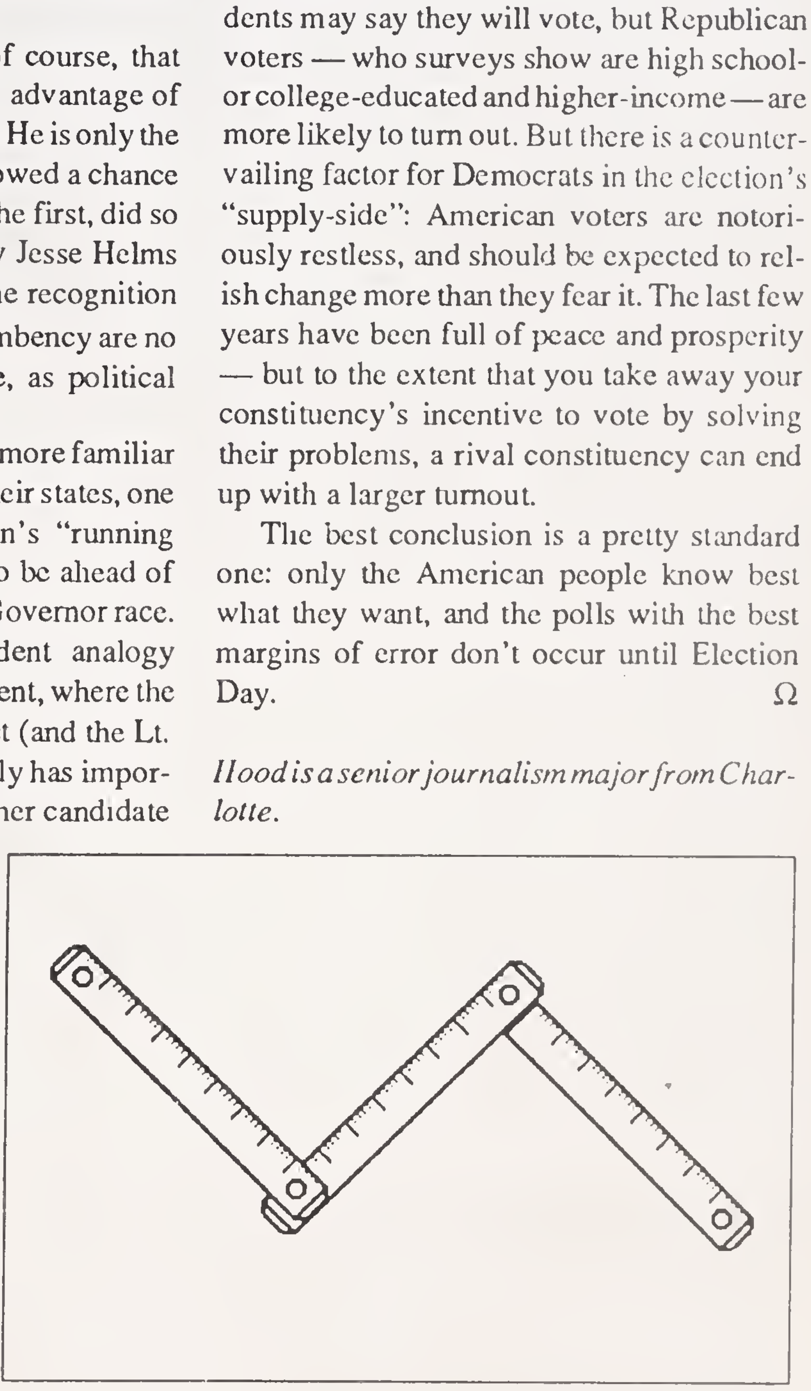
Since most people apply the more familiar national model of elections to their states, one might assume that Jim Martin's "running mate," Jim Gardner, would also be ahead of his Democratic rival in the Lt. Governor race. But this president-vice president analogy does not apply to state government, where the top two offices are quite distinct (and the Lt. Governor, unlike the VP, actually has important governmental duties). Neither candidate is known to North Carolinians — even in September the undecided respondents outnumbered those for Gardner or Rand in the *N&O* poll.

Beyond these types of observations, the poll data on North Carolina voting preferences is unclear. Most discussion of how "subgroups" are leaning (as the *N&O* and other papers are wont to do) should be discounted because they assume the margin of error, 3.5 percent in the latest poll, also applies to women or blacks or residents of a particular region. It does not. Since the numbers of respondents in the poll's subgroups are much smaller that the overall sample of 806 people, the error margins are much higher. We can guess that some findings, like Martin's huge leads in the Charlotte and Greensboro areas, are probably accurate. But contests over the Triangle and the eastern sections of the state are much closer in all three races, though the *N&O* and others have reported differences of a few points — or even one point — as "leads."

OVERALL, THERE ARE TWO MAIN contextual factors that anyone guessing at North Carolina's November vote should consider. First, one can expect the GOP to do a bit better than the polls suggest. Poll respondents may say they will vote, but Republican voters — who surveys show are high school- or college-educated and higher-income — are more likely to turn out. But there is a countervailing factor for Democrats in the election's "supply-side": American voters are notoriously restless, and should be expected to relish change more than they fear it. The last few years have been full of peace and prosperity — but to the extent that you take away your constituency's incentive to vote by solving their problems, a rival constituency can end up with a larger turnout.

The best conclusion is a pretty standard one: only the American people know best what they want, and the polls with the best margins of error don't occur until Election Day. Ω

Hood is a senior journalism major from Charlotte.



INTELLECTUAL AMMUNITION

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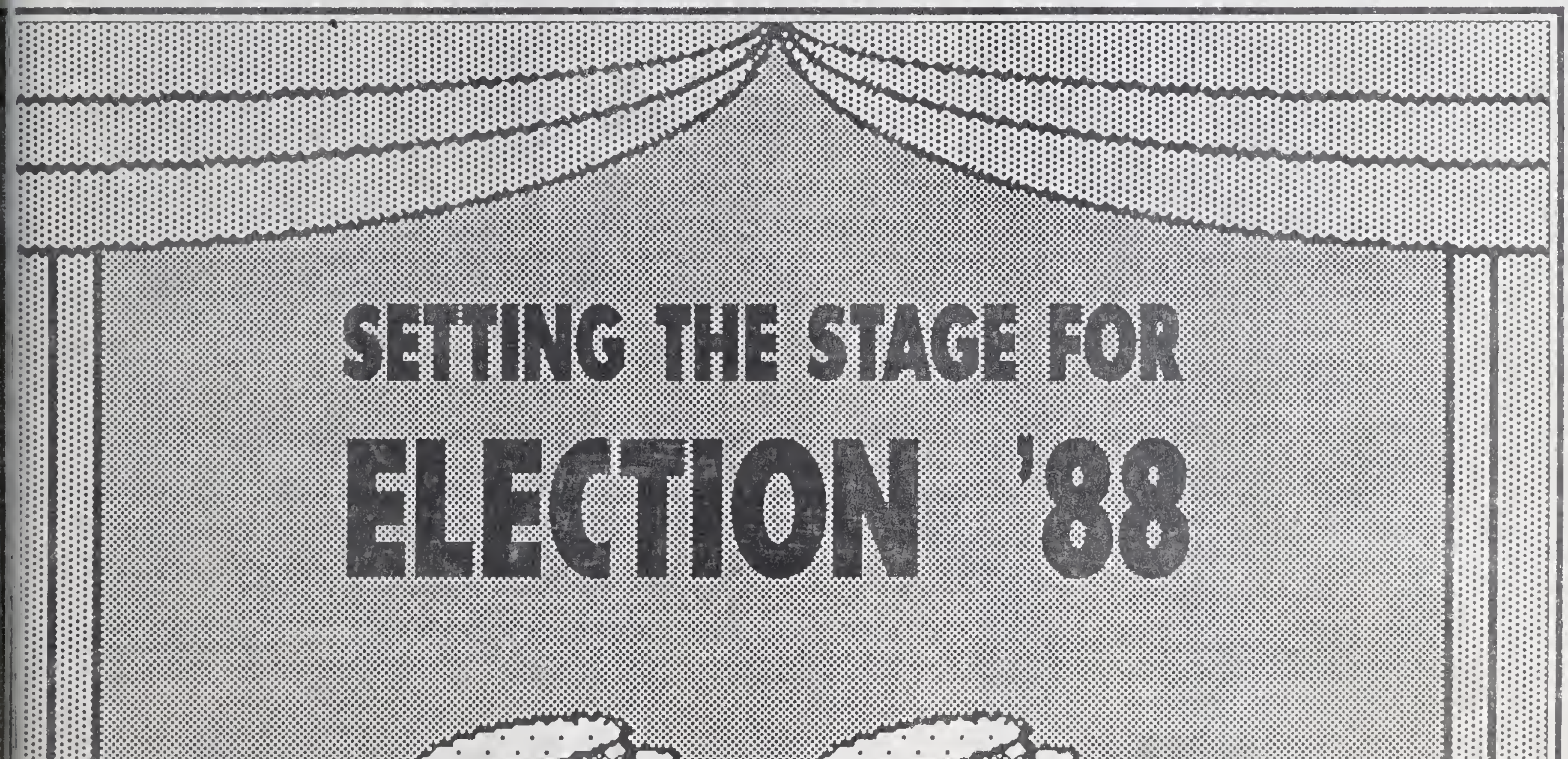
ld Americans Vote?
Critic Forum, Page 3

Vol. 2, No. 3
November 1988

The CAROLINA CRITIC


SETTING THE STAGE FOR
ELECTION '88
REPUBLICANS
DEMOCRATS
PHONY LIKABILITY
NEGATIVE ADS
THE STUDENT VOTE

A PROTESTS AND RIGHT TO DISSENT

IANGLE PLANNERS BUY TICKET TO NOWHERE

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of Opinion

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 604 Tinkerbell Road, Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514, (919) 967-7608. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social group, or other arm of the oppressive Establishment. Subscriptions are $10 a year. Prescriptions are free of charge. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and donations (especially donations) are welcome.
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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Critic Forum:** *To Vote or Not to Vote?*
Charles Balan and Michael Grubb tell us why both voting and not voting are ways to make a political statement on November 8th.

5 **Correspondence**
Erik Sandstedt makes the case for affirmative action.

6 **The Critical Eye**

14 **Cover Story:** *Setting the Stage for Election '88*
Jeff Taylor, Sandi Hood, Bryan Wells, John Hood, and Chris Kremer take a final pre-election look at the campaign.

18 **Special Forum:** *The Right to Dissent*
David Hood, Chris Osborn, and John Jaynes examine our campus protesters' claim that the University is stepping on their right to Free Speech. Also featuring the protesters themselves...

22 **The National Truss:** *No Student Loans!*
Bob Lukefahr explains why the bipartisan consensus that we need more Federal student loans is wrong, and what to do instead.

23 **The World Stage:** *The Perils of Perestroika*
Michael Lowrey describes the problems, and possibilities, ahead for Gorbachev's reform program — and what's likely to be in it for the West.

24 **Essays**
Chris Osborn dissects the arguments for drug legalization and finds only arguments against ... Anthony Woodlief argues that criminals should be made to pay for their crimes, in cash ... Rick Henderson tells us why protectionism is a trade war on the poor.

31 **Altered State**
Rail commuting for the Triangle: an up-and-coming solution whose time has passed.

SHOULD AMERICANS VOTE?

Aye — By Charles Balan

IN THIS ELECTION ISSUE I WOULD like to state my case for one of the greatest and most sacred of America's Constitutional Rights — voting.

I have been a registered voter since I was 18 years old and I have never missed voting in an election. But many of my friends tell me they have no time to vote, or they believe their vote will make no difference.

To this I can only answer — *HOGWASH!* A voting act is an act in support for everthing the Revolution and its heroes fought for. Remember the old battle cry, "No taxation without representation!"? Well, if we don't vote, what we are essentially asking for *is* "taxation without representation."

So you say that you hate the liberal Left-leaning, deficit-increasing, commie-loving Congressmen and you wish they would stop messing with your country? Gosh, Wally, what can we do? *VOTE!* Get your ballots out there and get rid of those liberal mongrels in Congress! Show 'em who is *boss* around this country!

Now you tell me that your girlfriend is a liberal Lefty and your votes will cancel each

Continued on next page)

MAKE A DIFFERENCE? ENCOURAGE MEDIOCRITY?

Nay — By Michael Grubb

IF YOU DON'T MIND BEING DEPRESSED for a few minutes, take a good look at America's Finest — no, not our Olympic athletes or our armed forces, but the two major party candidates for President. Pathetic, isn't it? If this is an example of the finest America has to offer, then maybe it's time to call a halt to this particular political game.

For example, our good buddy George Bush wants to give America back to the little guy. Now, that's just dandy if the little guy happens to be a multinational oil corporation, but who is fooling whom here? An insanely expensive SDI, national day care, and the implementation of unprecedented penalties which would break the bank of our criminal justice system, are policies which, in effect, will irrevocably leave no place for the little guy in America. George Bush and I both know that Joe Taxpayer is going to pay for all of this. "A kinder, gentler nation" is a laudable sentiment, but I'm afraid all Bush means by it is that he wishes the servants were more polite, like the good old days. In George Bush's America, *we* are the servants.

Being a mere servant doesn't sound so bad, though, when we consider the candidacy of America's foremost technocrat, Michael Dukakis. Instead of servitude to the military spending and mindless morals of conservative Republicans, you can vote for absolute slavery to amoral Big-G Government that spends and appoints and studies everything, sticking its nose everywhere, mortgaging tomorrow for the sake of innumerable special interests today. Bush seems to be terribly upset that Dukakis is a "liberal," but the really scary thing to me is that Dukakis doesn't seem to have any convictions at all. He will bow to any demand and throw money at any problem (he doesn't discriminate); it's all in a day's work of coalition-building. At least he isn't indebted to evil conservative forces, as Bush is, or even he might be pushing for anti-obscenity legislation which could only have been considered a particularly bad joke ten years ago.

Dukakis and Bush, both successful '80s politicians, will use money to solve all our problems. How many of us realize that it was our money to begin with? They try to outdo each other in a phony War on Drugs (not *realizing* that it fuels drug sales? or not *caring*?), each trying to be more bloodthirsty than the other. Bush wants the death penalty for drug "kingpins," but — by golly — Dukakis wants to drag in the military, thus making it worse the only way he can, by escalating it into a *real* war. What differences there are between them are purely a matter of posturing and stance. These minor differences aside, the candidates are essentially the same, and their parties are essentially the same, and those who are not brain-dead from too many television debates are left to choose between "the lesser of two evils."

I submit that this is a stupid way to do things. I mean that quite literally. Parties exist to stifle debate in the guise of promoting it; their real goal is to gather votes for the party

(Continued on next page)

Aye Vote

other out. *WHO SAYS?* Have you ever taken a course in (yucch!) statistics? Well, if only 100 liberal Lefties vote and 1000 reasonable rational Righties vote...then the Right ones win! Now, do you have absolute knowledge that when you and your liberal Lefty girlfriend go to vote that the race is even? Of course you don't! Perhaps your vote could be the one vote needed to take out the Left-leaning Congressmen and put the Right person in. Of course, hopefully, there will be 999 other reasonable rational Righties out there to blow them out of the race, but we are only responsible for ourselves.

Now, suppose you (gasp!) don't vote! Then that nasty liberal trendinista-loving congressman gets elected and taxes you to the welfare lines. What do you have the right to do about it? *NOTHING!* Because when you didn't bother to vote you freely exchanged your power of constituency for a bowl of mush in the soup kitchens. Serves you right, too.

So, freedom-loving rational reasonable Righties — do your duty and vote for the freedom-loving rational reasonable person of your choice.

P.S. The liberal, commie-loving lefties should vote too, I guess, if they want to. Ω

Balan is a senior interdisciplinary studies major.

Nay Vote

name without regard to who the candidates are or what they stand for. That is non-intelligent; that is stupid. Nationwide Presidential campaigning requires two men to make some sort of contact with 240 million Americans in less than a year's time, or roughly 6 different citizens for every second of every minute from the Iowa caucuses to the November general election. In order to even approach this goal, each candidate must be carefully packaged, and his message must be streamlined. The marriage of television and campaigning is complete; just like the endless situation comedies on the networks, political campaigns are designed to *appeal* — to the lowest common denominator. That, my friends, is a stupid way to do things.

"The lesser of two evils" is a matter of *the evil of two lessers*, borne of the two-party system and nurtured by an increasingly stupefied society. American national politics is on such a large scale that it cannot help but be built on mediocrity. We see it at work only in the election of the President and in his major appointments, where the overwhelming political pressures are toward the center (not the political center, but the electoral center). To a certain extent this is tautologous, but it is worth realizing that national politics, the mandate of the people, is not a consensus but more like a mean. Our average confusions and fears find their way from the voting booth to the White House, *no matter how you vote*. So where does political change come from? We depend on the political extremes to provide the impetus for improvement, but then lock the extremes out of the political process once their positions start to gain some currency.

AMERICAN NATIONAL POLITICS IS ON SUCH A LARGE SCALE THAT IT CANNOT HELP BUT BE BUILT ON MEDIOCRITY.

The two parties have a stranglehold on ballot access, secured by law in every state. Extremely excessive petition requirements prevent other parties, new parties, and non-party candidates from gaining the access to the ballot which is their right. In North Carolina, even your write-in vote is worthless unless it is for an officially recognized candidate. Apparently, legislators elected unopposed were embarrassed by the large number of votes in the official tally cast against them in favor of Donald Duck or Mickey Mouse.

Our two-party system, enforced by law, is only twice as good as the Soviet Union's one-party system, where high voter turnout is assured by actually turning out the voters. Soviet balloteers have been known to circulate in hospitals, prisons, asylums, and apartment blocks to have these "voters" put the vote card into the ballot box — such is the illusion of free choice. We take the choice aspect of voting more seriously over here, and I think we ought to take the choice not to vote as seriously as a choice for one of the candidates. Not voting can be as much of a political statement as voting.

As Emma Goldman corrected Karl Marx, the opiate of the masses in the United States is not religion but voting. We go to vote, it makes us feel better, but sometimes we wonder what is the nature of the political statement we have made. A vote for George Bush or Michael Dukakis in this age of 55 percent voter turnout is a vote for two-party mediocrity, but there is a way to express your dissatisfaction with the system. A less than 50 percent turnout would show how much America is dissatisfied. An extremely low turnout is not an indication of apathy or complacency, but a statement by a *majority* of registered voters that they consciously choose not to lend their support to either candidate. Perhaps "None of the Above" should win; let the office go vacant for four years. We might never fill it again. Such a result would be an indictment of a process which makes a mockery of democracy.

Perhaps 240 million people cannot decide *anything* intelligently in concert. Maybe, just this once, we can do something right. Just Say No to this or any other false two-party campaign. The Presidency, especially, is too important to be taken lightly, and that is why my serious, considered advice this election year is: Don't Vote — It Only Encourages Them. Ω

Grubb is a first-year law student.

DISCRIMINATION STILL BLOCKS MINORITY ACHIEVEMENT

When I got into bed the other night ready to catch up on some well-needed sleep, I decided to read a few articles in the CRITIC and see what other young people had to say. The article that sparked my interest was the one entitled "Making a Case for Discrimination." While this article is very nice in its ideological approach to discrimination, Mr. Osborn, the author of the article, really does not seem to have any idea about the gravity of the subject he so fervently attacked.

He claims that discrimination means, "to make or see a difference or distinction or simply to choose." This is a nice definition, obviously word for word out of Webster's dictionary or some comparable source. However, in today's society, the word "discrimination" has come to mean much more. Today discrimination is unfair treatment based on the color of a person's skin or the fact that a person wears a dress. It does exist and it has to be fought.

Though I share the feelings that it would be great for employers to view all people equally when seeking to fill a vacancy, and administrators to view all applicants equally when seeking to form a freshman class, the simple fact is that it won't happen. Too many racists and bigots hold offices in which they can determine who is and who isn't qualified for a position.

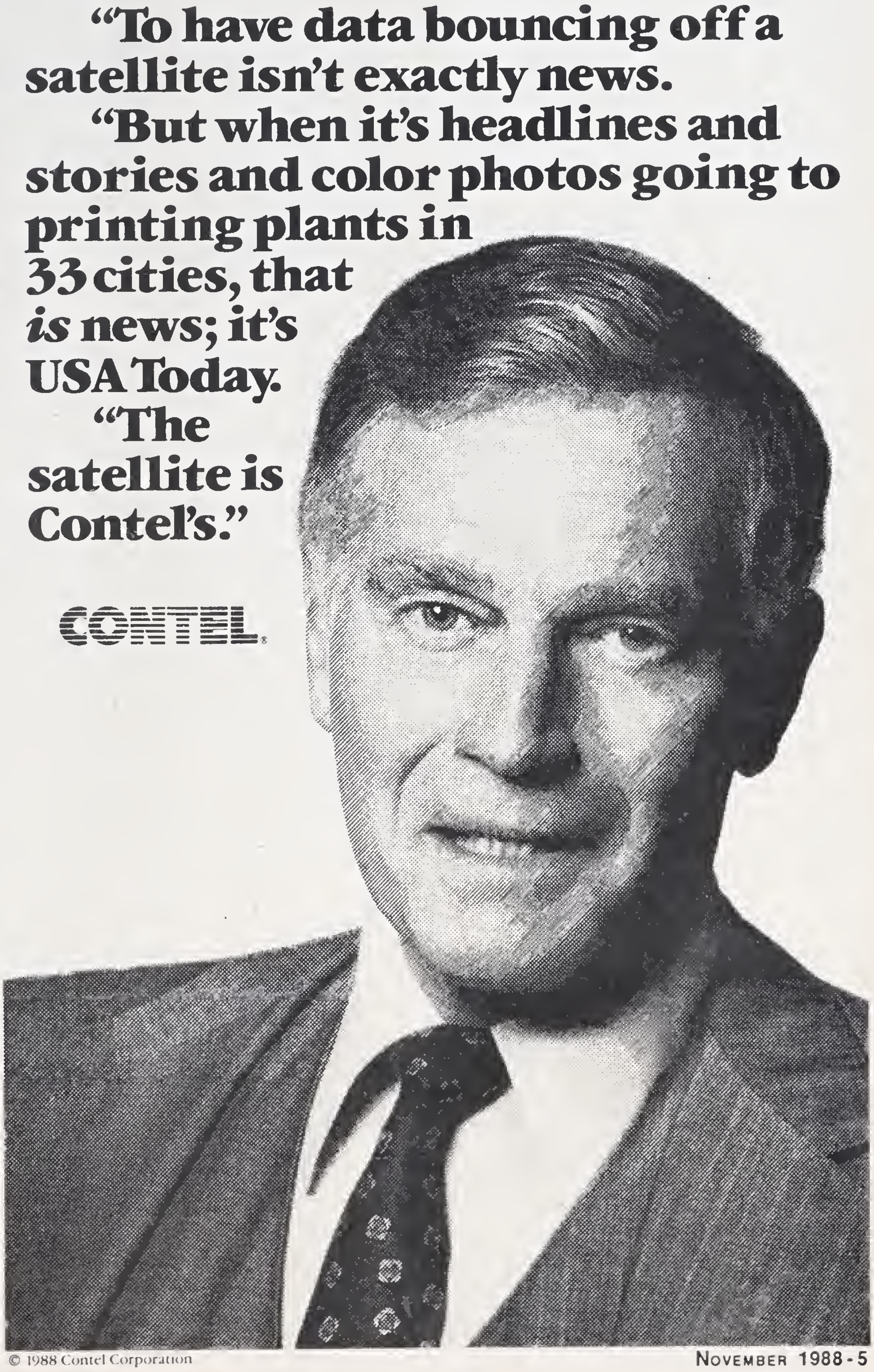
Even disregarding this fact, it still isn't fair not to have some sort of affirmative action.

For hundreds of years in America, blacks were the property of whites. Then, after the Civil War, the blacks were freed and thrust into the world of the whites and expected to compete. Few were educated and less were in any way self-sufficient. Over the course of ime things gradually got better, little by little. In the administrations of Lyndon Johnson, affirmative action was begun. Today blacks are n much better shape than they were, but they re still not nearly as well off as whites.

The great majority of blacks live in big ities. The educational systems there are not dequate. Therefore these black students do ot have the same opportunity to do well. As result, they show lower SAT scores and less ompetitive scores on other aptitude tests. Vhen applying to college or for a job, they on't have the same background as those who earned in suburbs or attended private instituons. To give these minority students a fair hance to improve their social condition, colleges must look at them more favorably.

The practice of affirmative action may not seem fair, but was slavery fair? Were the Jim Crow laws fair? Were the violent riots that broke out against blacks in places like Birmingham, Alabama fair? I think not! It is not fair not to attempt to make up for all of the injustices that have fallen upon the black race. Affirmative action is the only way in today's society to fully integrate blacks and completely eliminate discrimination. For, until all people in America receive the same benefits of public education, there will always be the racists who will hate someone because that someone got an acceptance or a scholarship he didn't. Until all people have the same opportunities in climbing the social and economic ladder, we will never purge ourselves of the sins of the past. Discrimination can never be an innocent word!

Erik Sandstedt
Freshman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The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 3
November 1988

• Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs are off the hook, at least for now. Would-be terrorists: *please*, don't try this at home.

• Unsubstantiated slur of the month — by Joel Segal, vocal supporter of hostage-taker Hatcher, after Segal's apartment was vandalized and a loaded shotgun left on his couch: "I must have gotten someone mad. There are a lot of conservative students on campus. There are students who would do this stuff." Honestly, Segal. Who is it, conservatives or campus "progressives," that condone violence and shotgun-wielding threats to achieve their ends?

• Sure, save the whales and all that, but people involved in the massive effort to free the ice-trapped whales up at Point Barrow tried desperately to keep the mounting price tag (over $1 million, at last count) under their parkas. One Alaskan biologist said, "this thing is just out of hand. It's taken on a life of its own." There's no truth to the rumor, we're told, that the whole affair was really a protest against drug-running in Robeson County.

• A proposed new minority scholarship for UNC students would violate the University's affirmative action guidelines, which stipulate that no one is to be discriminated against on the basis of race. The scholarship was recommended by the special projects committee of the Black Student Movement, and would be funded out of the BSM's budget. But we're betting the administration, fearful of epithet-slinging, won't say a word. Anyone for double standards?

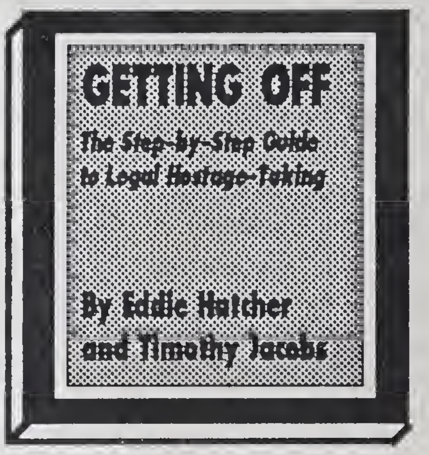
• Forget the CGLA; let's defund the BSM.

• At last, the Greens have spoken! In a guest column in *The Chapel Hill Herald*, Dan Coleman of the Orange County Greens has given us all something to ponder by explaining the Greens' opposition to a $1 million county reservoir bond. Besides the usual ecology/people power stuff, the Greens say they oppose the reservoir because it endangers other sacrosanct values: *nonviolence*, since the reserve would perpetrate "economic violence" against the "less affluent" (witness the growing Jacksonization of the English language); *inclusiveness*, or the need to include social, ethnic, and cultural sectors in decision making (about a *reservoir*?); *feminist or post-patriarchical values* (your guess is as good as ours); and *global responsibility*, of which Coleman wrote, "The thinking behind the reservoir bond falls short of this goal." Of course it does.

Green Political Consultant just in from Hamelin

JUST RELEASED

from Progressive Playpen Paperbacks


GETTING OFF
The Step-by-Step Guide to Legal Hostage-Taking
By Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs

"There's just no substitute . . . After Eddie's example, terrorism just won't be the same."
— *A fugitive actually on the run today*

—How to argue the necessity defense
—Constructing a sob story
—Tips for snowing the jury

In Clear, Concise Language!

• Best quip of the Democratic rally in the Pit, from Jim Ollis, political director for Bob Jordan: "Martin is taking credit for anything that moves. He's dedicated Interstate 40 about three times."

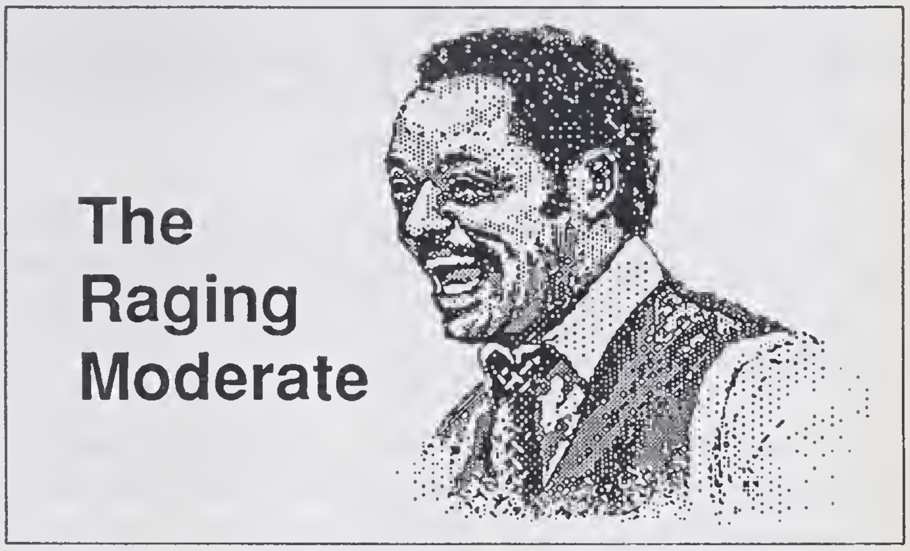
• Best answer: Well, Bob Jordan would have taken credit for a lot more, but he didn't want to lose the redneck vote.

• So the Environmental Protection Agency has issued dire warnings about the "greenhouse effect," eh? Peter Robinson, a UNC climatologist, believes such talk is premature. "There is no incontrovertible scientific evidence that the greenhouse effect has caused a global warming," he says. Robinson points out that "the climate has been changing for the whole history of the Earth." But if droughts are not brought about by man's pollution, then the EPA would have no reason to sound alarm bells and ask for more money (it's inevitable) to douse the fire. The EPA could not plausibly claim that the environment needed to be protected from a natural cycle, so they must advance the doomsday scenario.

• And if the EPA *is* right? Simple. Build more nuclear plants. That or shiver and sweat.

• Demonstrating that the Soviet Union hardly has a monopoly on ethnic strife in the Communist World, Yugoslavia is considering harsh penalties or even martial law to silence unruly pockets of Serbian nationalism. Several weeks ago over 100,000 Serbs besieged Communist Party headquarters in the province of Vojvodina, forcing the entire local leadership to resign. A similar protest in Titograd was quelled only by riot police. Centuries-old mistrust among the six ethnic groups that make up the country was hardly ended by post-WWI Wilsonian "self-determination," post-WWII Communism, or the poverty all have shared so equally ever since. And so, once again, the Powder Keg smolders.

• Reporters from *The New York Times*, America's newspaper of record, are planning a book about the Tawana Brawley case "in the larger focus" of U.S. race relations — even though it's now known that Brawley made the whole rape story up to get publicity. The *Times* seems happy to oblige.



• Yes, conservatives frequently exaggerate the "liberal media bias." Yes, a great many news stories and even some TV reports are balanced and fair. But still there are clear examples in 1988 campaign coverage — especially by TV networks — that the media largely accepts the *agenda* of liberal advocates and wages a war of innuendo against people they don't like (e.g. conservatives). For instance, as Brent Bozell's *MediaWatch* points out, Republicans were labelled by the networks 214 times during the New Orleans convention, and 85 percent of the time they were called conservatives. But Dems were labelled only 86 times in Atlanta, while 48 percent of those times Dems were called moderates or conservatives. Dukakis was labelled a liberal only 13 times during the entire 49 and a half hours of coverage, and Jesse Jackson — a highly visible figure at the convention — was labelled a liberal only nine times. In addition, network pundits frequently attached somewhat pejorative modifiers — "rock-ribbed" or "hard-right" — to conservative

Clipboard

"The new political thinking views peaceful coexistence in the context of the realities of the nuclear century . . . The struggle between two opposing systems is no longer a determining tendency of the present-day era" — Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in *Tass*.

"Although Gorbachev's pronouncements have de-emphasized liberation struggles and the Third World, his diplomacy there shows an intensity of engagement as great as at any time since Moscow began its assertive policy in the mid-1950s" — Alvin Z. Rubenstein, Princeton professor of political science, in *Orbis*.

Newsweek's Conventional-Wisdom Watch points out that one cause of the much-vaunted GOP lock on the Electoral College is the college's small-state bias (the Constitution requires a minimum of three votes per state); Bush leads in many states, like Nevada and Wyoming, that would otherwise have less than three votes.

"Nothing is more fraudulent or, alas, more widely believed than the notion that every American over 18 should exercise their right to vote every election day: the right to offset an intelligent vote with a stupid one, an informed vote with a dull-eyed, irritable, or irrational one" — William Murchison in the *Dallas Morning News*.

"Traditionally the regulation of grandmotherly advice is left to the private sector or at most to the state and local levels of government. But now that Quayle has tipped his hand [at the debate: 'Dukakis supporters sneer at commonsense advice — Midwestern advice from a grandmother to a grandson'] the truth had better be revealed. The ultraliberal governor of Massachusetts plans to propose a major new revenue-enhancement mechanism: a tax on grandmothers. The tax will be applied on a sliding scale, based on distance from the East or West Coast. Kansans will owe the most." — Michael Kinsley in *The New Republic*.

"I support the Republican Party candidates in 1988 and would like to urge other members of the black race to do so. I hold this position because the greatest enemy facing the black race in 1988 is the white liberal." — James Meredith, the first black man to attend the University of Mississippi, in *The Washington Times*

Military Insignifica

Another Great Alliance Down the Tubes: Malta, under its new, pro-Western National Party leadership, has announced that it has ended its four-year-old intelligence-sharing agreement with Libya. But one still doesn't need a visa to get into Malta from Libya.

Can You Say PR Value?: Funny how when almost every Department of Defense space shot is announced only after it occurs — and payloads are invariably described as "classified" — *Aviation Week and Space Technology* manages to get hold of launch schedules and actual pictures of SDI experiments to be sent up. Detailed reports on just what the experiments did and proved are also in great abundance.

On the Endangered Species List: *U.S. News* suggests that Seymour Johnson Air Force Base in Goldsboro and Myrtle Beach Air Force Base might be on the list of U.S. bases to close in a cost-cutting measure. Congress has the final say, but can only approve either all or none of the base closings on the list.

What I Did Over Summer Vacation: Ottawa, like most of the world's capitals, has troops in it for the government's ceremonial functions. Only in Canada most of the people parading in front of Government House aren't *real* soldiers. They're college students, both male and female, hired to work over their breaks as mock soldiers as a way of saving the government money.

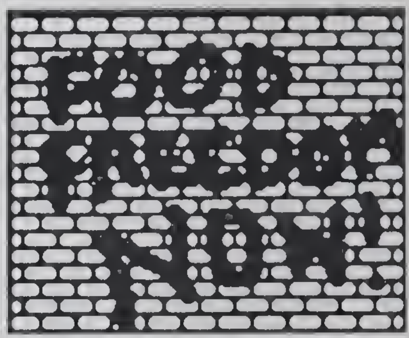
— Michael Lowrey

labels while using euphemisms like "progressive" to describe liberals. They do this because, as least unconsciously, they want the Dems to look good. And of course, the discredited term "liberal" will hardly do that.

• However, Bush's success at pinning the liberal label on the Duke anyway should tell you something about the much-vaunted power of media pundits — as well as something about the disfavor liberalism currently enjoys.

• Mike Dukakis's claim that he has balanced the Massachusetts budget may or may not be true, but is this fact really relevant to his claimed ability to balance the federal budget? Maybe we missed the large defense arsenal which is kept on hand to defend the miracle state and was accounted for in the state's budget. On a similar note, on what experience does the Duke base his knowlege of how to deal with terrorists? Oh, that's right — he had to bring home safely all those Bostonians taken hostage by the country clubs of neighboring Vermont and New Hampshire and deal with the oppressive regimes (the GOP) holding power in those states.

• Enjoy new "*Cheaties,*" breakfast of charlatans! Brought to you by Lloyd Bentsen, the man so great he has *two* ideologies! Only $10,000 a box!



• Freedom from meal plan food has arrived — in the person of the Domino's delivery man. Students can now charge up to $25 of Domino's pizza to their meal-plan accounts, by filling out a form with their address and Social Security number. The director of Carolina Dining Services thought up the idea, and has been working with Domino's since August to implement it. Meal-plan money can now be turned back into real money (converting it first into pizza) so students needn't be stuck with unused meal-plan credits. Since students can spend their $100 a semester on pizza, there is no longer a revenue guarantee for Marriott. With no real effects left from the mandatory meal plan, why bother with it at all? One would hope other businesses will be invited to join in the fun — and profits. Just think, we are getting Food Freedom Now — and we didn't have to watch 1,500 demonstrators shouting at South Building to do it.

• Governor Dukakis says he won't support a state referendum to force the shutdown of Massachusetts' two nuclear power plants. We should be thankful for small favors. He has been instrumental in the regulatory sabotage that has kept the completed Seabrook plant in nearby New Hampshire from operating. What makes the shutdown plan particulary ludicrous is the shortage of electric generating capacity in the region. This summer, the New England Power Pool was strained to the limit by hot weather: "we pretty much had all our cards on the table." With power demand up eight percent from 1987, New England needs more power next year to avoid blackouts. Seabrook alone would represent a five percent increase in NEPP capacity. Once upon a time New England had a large surplus of power, and anti-nukery was politically safe. If the referendum passes thanks in part to Dukakis' anti-nuclearism and luke-warm oppostion to the shutdown, or even if next summer is a scorcher and Seabrook is still idle, blackouts may soon be rolling across New England to the tune of "Nuke the Duke!" from Miracle State residents— sweating in the dark.

• A little fact to counteract all those sob stories and dire warnings coming from Chancellor Hardin and President Spangler — pay for assistant professors at UNC is tops in the region at $34,500. Carolina must pay whiny administrators top dollars, too — we sure attract a hell of a lot of them.

• The U.S. Attorney General's of-

Antagonistic Aphorisms

The best diplomat I know is a fully-activated phaser bank.

— Scotty

The legislature cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent.

— John Locke

Women always excel men in that sort of wisdom which comes from experience. To be a woman is in itself a terrible experience.

— H.L. Mencken

A sense of humor develops in a society to the degree that its members are simultaneously conscious of being each a unique person and of being all in common subject to unalterable laws.

— W.H. Auden

In Heaven an angel is nobody in particular.

— G.B. Shaw

Too much religion is apt to encourage evil.

— Lucretius

Rattling the Cages

Though we may sometimes think so, the North Carolina Zoo at Chapel Hill (Sen. Jesse Helms's loving appellation for UNC) is not the only such institution in the land. Why, practically every state in the Union can boast of at least one institution of high(er) learning besieged by loud, obnoxious protest dweebs. Here are a few reports from independent student newspapers at universities across the United States.

A *Vassar Spectator* feature, "Hypocrite of the Month," led to the paper being shut down by the New York school's student association. In the column, a black student named Anthony Grate was quoted as saying to some black conservatives, "You're the white man's tool! . . . You're the son of a slave." When a Jewish student argued that he, too, had slaves as ancestors, Grate replied, "So what? I hate Jews! . . . You're a dirty Jew! . . . You're a stupid Jew! . . . You're a fucking Jew!" So who was condemned? The *Spectator*. By printing Grate's anti-Semitic remarks, the paper "polarizes rather than unites the Vassar community in a struggle to eradicate racism . . . ," the student association contends.

Up at Amherst College in Massachusetts, a speech sponsored by Amherst Hillel was disrupted by a group of protestors whose signs read: "No Recruitment of Israeli Mercenaries," "Victory to the Palestinians," and "Burn Down Apartheid: Israel/South Africa/U.S.A." The organizer of the Hillel event attempted to answer the protestors, but they attacked him. Later during the speech, the leftists shouted "Hitler," though they knew nothing more about him than that he is an Israeli whose parents survived the concentration camps to go to Israel. One protestor even shouted: "Israel won't negotiate because there's no money in it!"

Student papers at Harvard, Columbia, Dartmouth, and Brown universities administered an "Ivy League Cultural Literacy Poll" to students. On average, respondents at both Harvard and Columbia, which have core curriculum requirements, scored close to 70 percent; Dartmouth and Brown students, under no core curriculum rules, got less than 50 percent of the answers correct. At Brown, for instance, only 40 percent knew that Bonn was the capital of West Germany; 38 percent knew who led the Free French during World War II (Charles De Gaulle); 26 percent knew who wrote "A Modest Proposal" (Jonathan Swift); and only six percent knew who cut the Gordian Knot (Alexander the Great).

Stanford continues its self-destruction. Faculty and administrators are going after the Hoover Institution, a think tank on the Stanford campus, because of the prevalence of such visible conservative or free-market scholars as Thomas Sowell, Milton Friedman, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and Edward Teller. The predominantly liberal faculty wants a say in the selection of the next director (they forced out the last one) as well as the hiring and firing of Hoover Fellows, and others just want the think tank to move off campus. Should that happen, Hoover would take along with it one of the largest private libraries — 1.6 million volumes — in the world.

—The Collegiate Network

fice in Raleigh is investigating massive fraud in the federal tobacco program. According to the Department of Agriculture, 14 of the country's largest tobacco firms mixed cheaper foreign tobacco with more expensive domestic stuff and then sold it overseas as wholly domestic. The neat part is that the federal government guarantees payment for domestic tobacco even if foreign buyers default. Seems that the original sin in this whole mess is the notion that the state should guarantee anyone a profit on anything. And that includes the Marlboro Man.

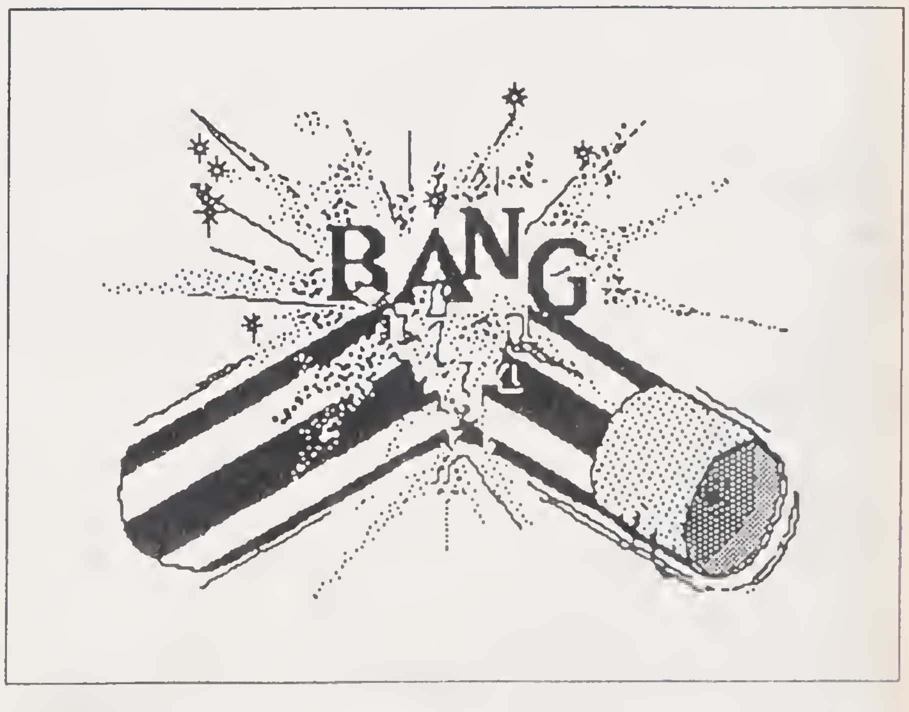
- Is it too late to, well . . . *beg* Dick Crum to return?

- Recently the Harvard (read: Haarvard) Commission on the Presidential News Conference, co-chaired by Frederick Mayer of Duke (read: Dook), concluded that the next Prez should have more news conferences. "We believe that all parties would benefit from . . . frequent, routine, and undramatic news conferences," the commission's report says. Sorry guys, but TV and radio thrives on, and print must compete with, *dramatic*, attention-getting "sound bites." Wishing that away isn't going to make it so. Now muzzling Sam Donaldson and Co. might work, or, if that's too harsh, maybe charm school.

- The Oregon Supreme Court has ruled that the use of the hallucinogenic drug peyote by Native Americans is protected by the First Amendment's religion clause. We can't wait for the Rastas to bring suit.

- Amnesty International reports that Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Soviet Union all continue to violate human rights. The Bulgars beat up on ethnic Turks and the Sovs still have hundreds of dissidents locked up in mental "hospitals." Yet somehow we don't expect to see any candlelight vigils from the Campus Y. We'd love to be proven wrong once.

- Meanwhile, as Eastern Europe boils with discontent, Romania has declared that the maximum temperature for dwellings will be 64 degrees. This might help Romania with its chronic energy shortage (the Soviets "annexed" their oil fields) but it won't head off the self-immolation of socialism.



- How 'bout Derrick Fenner, can we get Derrick Fenner eligible again?

- Now playing, on editorial pages and in Congress, it's *Comparable Worth II: The Return of the Bitchy Ijjits.* Maybe that isn't fair, as advocates of government-set salaries now call their scheme "pay equity." They can change the name, but it's still the same damn fool idea. Once more from the top: anyone in Library Science school who wants to get paid what a plumber does, drop out and become a plumber! It'll save you a few thousand bucks in student loans to boot.

- Whites, or "Anglos," are numerical minorities in the California public schools this year. Let's see if their CAT and SAT scores plummet.

- "Mikki Maus" made his Moscow debut recently, singing his big proletarian hit, "Heigh Ho, Heigh Ho, It's Off to Work We Go." Rest assured the bitter irony was not lost on those toiling in the gulags.

- The ignorance the major media display when they discuss the trade deficit is incredible. And the scarcely-veiled racism that make Japan the source of all that "ails" the U.S. economy is revolting. There are 55 Japanese firms in North Carolina which have invested just over $900 million and provide 4,800 jobs. Do we really want them to stop "Buying Up America"? In a global economy ("one world," remember?) there is no guarantee that owners and employers carry the same passports. But both always have a common interest in the venture's success. Knee-jerk xenophobia has no place in today's economy. Deal with it.

- CBS, which nightly grants Dan Rather obscene license with the truth — and airs soaps daily featuring dare-devil bed-hopping — has refused to air any new anti-AIDS commercials mentioning condoms. Go figure.

- Geraldo Rivera is making a comeback, both in daytime talk shows and prime-time tabloidism. Meanwhile, teenage suicide attempts are up.

- OK, what about Division I-AA? Can we schedule Columbia? No, no, they're on a roll . . .

ON CAMPUS WATCH

As much as this might surprise regular readers of the Critic — both fellow-travelers or well-read antagonists — we oppose the efforts by Campus Watch, a Durham-based conservative organization, to defund the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association through state legislation.

The reason? Because the General Assembly should, in the best of all possible worlds, have no influence over the day-to-day operations of the University. How can conservatives —

Across the Bows

From the Liberty and Justice for all Dept.: Last month Ferdinand Marcos and his wife were indicted for allegedly stealing from the Philippine government. A few days later DTH editorial writer Dave Hall, not willing to let such an event pass without expressing the requisite indignation, noted that, "The charges [against Marcos] . . . confirmed long-term speculation that Marcos and his entourage looted the Filipino treasury . . ." He also wrote that, "The United States should use Marcos' conviction as a signal to the world . . ." Now look, Dave, these are charges, so they don't confirm anything. In America even an alleged despot like Marcos has the right to be assumed innocent until proven guilty (just as any card-carrying member of the ACLU). Also, don't you think you ought to wait for him to be tried before you announce him convicted? These ideas are important. These liberties must be guarded. Especially in this, the bicentennial year of our Constitution.

A recent poll conducted for the National Science Foundation showed that Americans are ignorant of basic scientific facts. Sandy Dimsdale expressed her concern about this awful state of affairs in another of the DTH's hard-hitting editorials. She says that, ". . . it's not funny that only 45 percent of those Americans polled know how long it takes the Earth to orbit around the sun. Two percent of those surveyed said one month, 17 percent said one day, and nine percent did not even venture a guess." She's right, of course. It's not funny. Nor is it true. As anyone with a home computer and a free weekend can figure out, if 19 percent answered incorrectly, and nine percent didn't guess (that's a total of 28 percent), then 72 percent must have answered correctly — unless other answers were given, but not reported in Dimsdale's edit. Perhaps we ought to concentrate less on Aristarchus' view of the universe and more on basic math skills.

Just thought you'd like to know . . . a writer in the CGLA's *Lambda* has requested that more members of the gay community become RA's.

And from the Public Service Dept.: *Lambda* has announced that every other Tuesday it will be sponsoring a "Lesbian Lunch" for women. No word on dates for the "Bestiality Breakfast."

Meanwhile, in a completely unrelated story, an anonymous source has told Across the Bows that a new group is being formed here at UNC. It's called the Carolina Sadists and Masochists Association (CSMA). The CSMA estimates that 20 percent to 30 percent of the student body are really closet Masochists — citing as evidence the 1984 election in which the district voted overwhelmingly for Mondale. Unfortunately they did not have accurate figures as to the number of Sadists (they did note that Jesse Helms is a three-term Senator from this state). The group is demanding student funds and has already announced that it will reject any attempt to defund the organization by "imposing the will of right wingers on the progressives . . ." (i.e., no referendums). A spokesperson for the CSMA dismissed opposition groups as SMomophobes and noted that, "The Constitution says that whatver a person wants to do with handcuffs and Wesson Oil in the privacy of his or her or its own home is his or her or its right." The Critic's Constitutional scholar informs us that this clause comes from Article III. Stay tuned . . .

— Bob Lukefahr

The Circus of Politics

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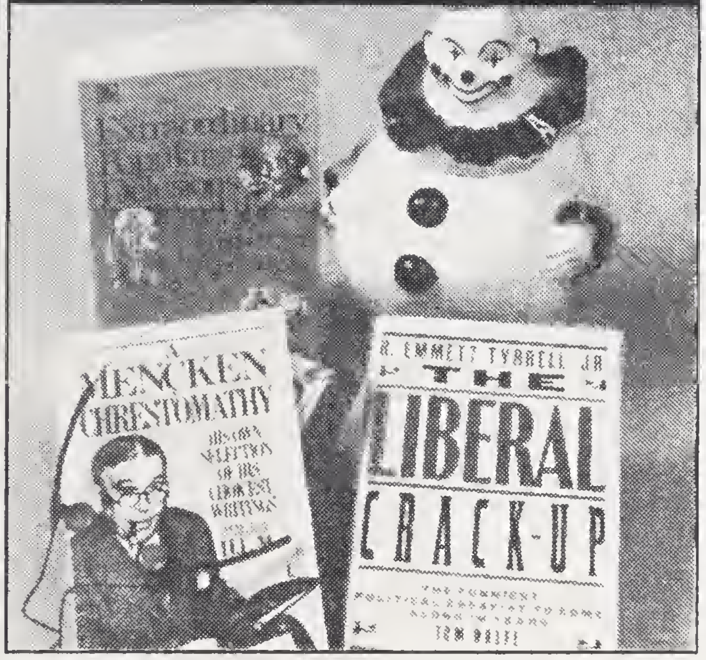

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Campaign '88

Last one. Are you ready?

The Boston Herald has pointed out a very plausible, if unflattering, reason why Massachusetts has had low unemployment under the **Duke**'s reign. It's not anything he's done; it's the state's very small minority population that makes him look good. Massachusetts is 95 percent white, many with college degrees. Also, the Duke's domain is not an agricultural, oil, or mining state. Those industries all have very high unemployment rates. In sum, even Dukakis couldn't mess Mass. up.

But if you insist Dukakis be given credit, maybe **Jim Martin** should run for president. Minorities make up 21 percent of N.C.'s population, and the state's jobless rate of 3.7 percent ranks second only to Mass's 3 percent. So it is Martin, not Dukakis, who has brought jobs and prosperity to *All Americans*. The truth can be ugly, Mike.

Martin seems to have pulled comfortably ahead in the gubernatorial race, thanks again to the support given him by urban areas. **Bob Jordan** remains strong Down East, but Martin's TV spot showing Bob engaged in serious political backscratching and cynical electioneering (e.g. his statement that some "issues" won't be issues so he can get elected) might convince even more voters that Jordan is too shifty to occupy the governor's mansion. The result is that, like Dukakis earlier, Jordan goes into a debate needing a KO.

Kinda hard to take Dukakis's complaints about polls "running the political process." He *loved* them when *he* was up by 17 points after Atlanta.

But there is something to take the pollsters and the networks to task for — the habit of neglecting a poll's margin of sampling error. This was often the case when numerous Bush/Dukakis polls earlier in the campaign had differences within their margins of error. When that is the case, there is no reason to flash on the screen the percentages each guy supposedly has. Just say "our poll calls it a tie" and be done with it. Of course, too much money is spent on the polls for them to command so little airtime.

If you're not a round-the-clock viewer of C-SPAN, you probably didn't catch a speech **Dan Quayle** gave in Detroit a couple of weeks ago. There he was talking lucidly and calmly about his dealings in the Senate with various plans to improve Pentagon efficiency. Quayle recommended that the number of committees and subcommittees DOD must report to be reduced from the current 47 little fiefdoms; that defense systems be budgeted over two years or more, as they are in Europe; and that maybe the authorization and appropriation steps be combined to cut pork. No, he's no **JFK** and thank God for that.

And now, after a year, the payoff — predictions! The winners, some for better, some for worse: **Bush, Martin, Rand, Price, Rose, Coble**, and **McMillan**. I just call them as I see them, so please — no wagering.

— Jeff Taylor, Ex-Pundit

perennial foes of centralized decision-making — support a "solution" to the CGLA funding dilemma that would transfer power from a local level to a state level?

If the General Assembly were to strip the CGLA of its funding, the fees would not return to the students, but would instead be used to fund some other organization or program. In other words, the Campus Watch crowd would have merely imposed their own set of values and priorities on the UNC campus — by demarking what organizations are acceptable to "traditional students" and which are not.

We have always argued that student fees are unnecessary and unfair *in general*, not just where the CGLA is concerned. Students should as much as possible be able to make their own decisions about how to spend their money. Charitable, social, and political organizations on campus should attract funding just as such organizations do in the larger society — through donations and fundraisers. In this manner groups will be directly responsive to the needs and interests of students, while those who choose not to support a particular cause — for religious or other reasons — would not be forced to do so.

Campus Watch is also arguing that CGLA funding violates the student constitution, which prohibits student funding of political groups. But in fact, the constitution prohibits funding of *partisan* groups, which may not be the same thing. Of course, we should *change* the constitution to prohibit funding for *all* political/issue groups, whether they advocate particular candidates or work towards policies like nuclear disarmament (or armament), environmental protection (or destruction), reduction of racial tensions (or an increase of them), and, in this case, promoting sexual "diversity." Proper use of a constitutional framework could prevent groups from extracting funding from students who are indifferent or opposed to the groups' goals.

Student government members and DTH editorial writers don't seem to have gotten the point, and believe that they are the ones defending student autonomy from outside intervention (i.e. the General Assembly). But democracy, in the guise of student representatives managing a pool of student funds, is not enough. Students themselves should decide where and when to spent their money, not reps elected once a year by a handful of students with evidently nothing better to do.

Basically, it comes down to this: the Campus Watch wants to move student funding decisions *up* the bureaucratic ladder to the state level. Student government and the little special interest organizations funded by it want to maintain the decisions at the current level. We want to move the decisions *down* the bureaucratic ladder to its lowest rung — the people themselves. Ω

The CAROLINA CRITIC

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Be there or be rhombic

Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

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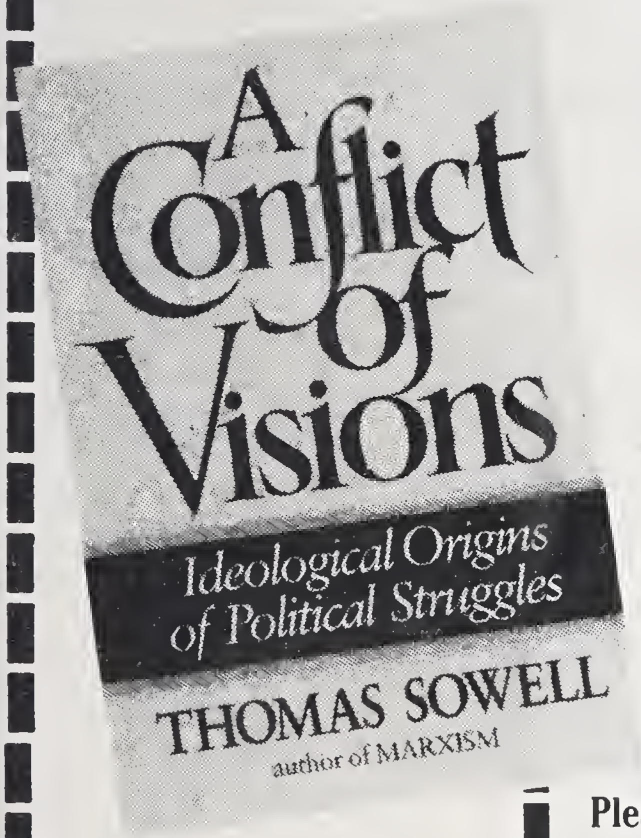
So different are these two visions that often people from one camp cannot even understand what those from another are talking about. But that hasn't stopped them from threatening to tear apart societies and egging on the world to potential disaster.

Why? Because as Thomas Sowell points out, visions are powerful things. They underlie our ideologies and our political positions, and they may motivate us more than money, power or fame. People will kill for them and die for them. Indeed, *"We will do almost anything for our visions except think about them."*

The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.

- *Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?*
- *Can these differences ever be resolved?*
- *Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?*
- *What makes some people undergo radical conversions?*
- *How does evidence influence vision?*
- *Are visions stronger than self-interest?*
- *How do those with one vision regard those with another?*



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THE ACTORS

VOTERS WEIGH ISSUES, NOT LIKABILITY

BY JEFF TAYLOR

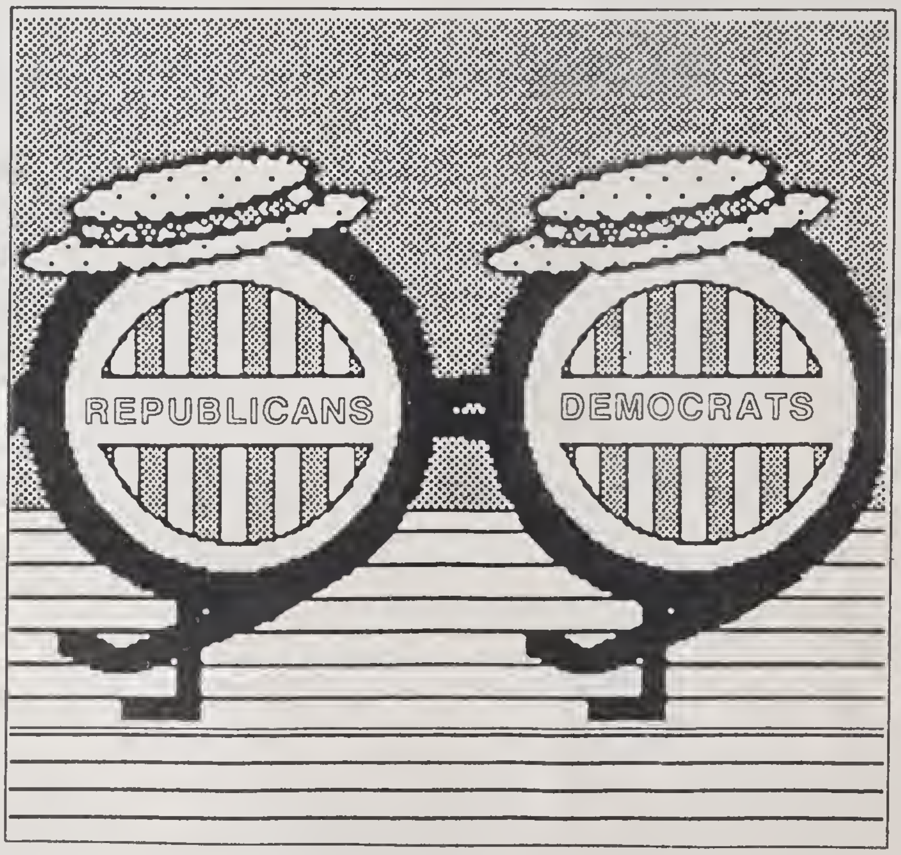
IT'S ALREADY started. Liberal apologists and pundits have begun to explain why Michael Dukakis has lost the White House to George Bush. Not why the Democrats or liberal "ideas" have lost, mind you, but all the Duke's failings.

This is surreal. To para-paraphrase Dukakis, I don't know which Democratic establishment I'm listening to. Supposedly, voters in their heart-of-hearts agreed with the Democrats; they only voted for Ronald Reagan because he was a kind old man. You know, "Teflon."

Now we're told that the Duke is on the ropes because he isn't "warm" enough, not likable enough. To be sure he isn't Mr. Charisma, but neither is Bush. It is absurd to claim that Bush simply pulled a "Reagan" on Dukakis. Indeed, the likability issue seems to be the last refuge of those who are completely out of sync with the American electorate.

With all things being equal, people will choose the guy they like best. In this presidential election all things are clearly not equal. Voters have a very distinct choice before them — the creeping socialism of Dukakis or the pragmatic respect for limited government of Bush. In international relations a choice between pre-emptive capitulation and negotiation, albeit starry-eyed, from strength. Might it just be that voters actually agree with Bush? Three presidential elections seem to qualify as an indication that they do.

Perhaps it is decades of political supremacy that has rendered liberal Democrats deaf to calls for political change. Republicans, particularly conservatives, have always been the minority struggling against the powers that be. They are used to this situation, even relish it. Liberal Democrats, being planners and utopians after all, need to be in control, need to feel that moves in the other direction are just aberrations. Hence they are explained away as problems with the *delivery* of the message and not the message itself.



The first sign that some of the Democrats thought the liberal message might fail them came at the convention. It was "competence, not ideology" they were going to run on. But this was not a repudiation of their beliefs, simply one of the more cynical campaign strategies in recent history.

This approach is perfectly consistent with the liberal view that the common man does not know what's best for him, can't take care of himself, and needs the state to watch his every move. So what if you have to trick him into voting for you? It's for his own good. If you don't believe that was the liberal Democrats' rationale, you must conclude that they simply wanted to get elected — no matter what.

WHEN VOTERS began to discover the Duke's positions, thanks to Bush's "negative" campaigning, he swiftly lost support. The Democrats tried to blame this fall on Dukakis' lack of pizazz, that he "turned voters off" during the campaign.

Sorry, but there has to be a reason *why* he turned them off. While the American electorate is criminally inattentive and apathetic, they vote as they do because they feel comfortable with a candidate — comfortable with his views, his values, his record, and somewhere way down the list, his looks and delivery.

Perhaps the problem is that we are confusing "likes" with "agrees with." Voters can find a candidate interesting, sincere, even funny and still not agree with him. In an age of eighteen-month campaigns, one good one-liner is not going to win an election.

In any case, this fascination with "likability" seems uniquely American. Oh sure, in the third world, if you can find an election it will be between two of more personality cults. Western European voters don't buy into this "likability" nonsense — their elections are straight-up referendums on socialism, yea or nay.

A recent Gallup poll in Britain found that only eight percent of Britons liked Maggie and 44 percent said they liked Labor's Kinnock. Yet Thatcher has destroyed Kinnock in the past races and is likely to continue for the foreseeable future. Why? Because people like the direction she's taking the country in.

The evidence is not that our British cousins are so much more sophisticated than American voters, rather that American liberals cannot bring themselves to admit that their message has very few believers.

How can you keep the pseudo-issue of "likability" from cropping up in position papers, in speeches, in network polls and "analysis"? By telling anyone who will listen, over and over: ideas matter. That's the last thing the politicians and spin doctors in either party want to hear. Ω

Taylor, a UNC graduate in political science and philosophy, is a reporter and columnist for the Kingstree *(S.C.)* News.

THE SCRIPT

NEGATIVE ADS SHARPEN DEBATE

BY SANDI HOOD

ELECTION TIME. A time for billboards, rallies, bumper stickers, and yes, the oh-so-controversial subject of "negative advertising."

Some critics have vowed never to vote again because of the increasing trend of negative political advertising. Others find the trend a refreshing change that will only reaffirm their interest in the political process. In any sense, the repercussions of negative advertisements may not be so "negative" after all, especially for the common voter.

Although the 1984 Senate race between Senator Jesse Helms and former Governor Jim Hunt glaringly reminded North Carolinians that the negative political campaign was state-of-the-art, the negative aspect was certainly nothing new to political advertising. In the 1964 presidential campaign, an ad which pictured a young girl about to be destroyed by a nuclear explosion was used by Democrat Lyndon Johnson to paint Republican Barry Goldwater as a man with an itchy trigger finger on the nuclear button. As long as we have had media-oriented campaigns, we have had ads which make attacks on the opponent rather than simply extoll virtues of the favorite.

Some argue that negative ads leave a bad taste in the mouths of committed voters everywhere. They claim that negative advertising distorts the focus of the issues and cheapens the whole process of selecting government officials. A handful have abandoned their involvement with politics altogether because of the importance negative ads have in the structure of campaigns.

ADS WHICH SEEK TO PIN A CANDIDATE'S RECORD ON HIM, WHETHER UNPLEASANT OR NOT, ARE THE ONLY WAY UNFAVORABLE FACTS ABOUT CANDIDATES WILL BE HEARD.

But these people miss the whole point of advertising to begin with: education. For the average voter, more or less ignorant of the political records of candidates, the vote can merely represent a tie to a party he or she actually knows very little about. More often than not, these registered votes of loyalty are actually loyal ties to parents who had a preference for one political party over another. The best way, it seems, to better inform these "average voters" so they can make more independent decisions is through political advertising.

It is there, on T.V. and in the magazines, that the true "dirt" is laid on the table. Just as dirt is often unpleasant and unsightly, so can be the charges made in political ads. But both evolve from a natural process and are composed merely of the sum of their parts. Ads which seek to pin a candidate's record on him, whether unpleasant or not, are the only way unfavorable facts about candidates will ever be aired. Voters can make up their own minds about the veracity or importance of the facts presented. Just like looking at a dirty floor, what you see is what you get.

WE AS a nation cannot allow government to get carried away with restricting the natural political campaign process, otherwise important information will never come out. So what if Gary Hart is exposed as an adulterer or Joe Biden is discovered to have been a plagiarist — has the American public been robbed of anything? Certainly not. Because of the free marketplace of ideas, we as a conglomerate of voters have merely been a little more educated about events we otherwise would have been oblivious to.

So what if a congressman's voting record is flashed before thousands? Can you tell me where the average voter would have gotten that information otherwise? Certainly critics of negative advertising don't expect the average voter to go dig around the town library looking for the latest copy of *The Congressional Record*?

The bottom line is that ads which try to distinguish candidates from each other on the basis of voting records or other facts are essential to the democratic workings of our republic.

Props: African Policy Issues

When I decided, for an afternoon's amusement, to finds out what our two Presidential candidates thought about events in Africa, I was not confronted by a plethora of information. There are a variety of multi-colored bumper stickers throughout Chapel Hill condemning apartheid (I recommend the selection at the Internationalist Bookshop) but, in all of Davis Library, I could find only three journal articles, and a smattering of newspaper references, which express the candidates' views. This, of course, is not a criticism of our beautiful library but merely a reflection that U.S. voters will not make their electoral impact with the candidates' Africa platforms first in their minds.

I, myself, am not even sure that African affairs are as important as, say, views about SDI, or even prayer in school, but I do believe each candidate's position reveals something about his foreign policy stances in general.

First, to decipher the meat, if any, behind the Democrats' rhetoric. Dukakis, in a lone interview in the June issue of *Africa Report*, has many power-worded criticisms of apartheid and corrupt elites, though his examples of evil Somozas and Marcoses are some miles away from the African continent. He is forcefully in favor of "strong" international sanctions against South Africa and economic aid for the black regimes in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Dukakis would also cease funding for some Reagan-sponsored forces like Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola.

In the rest of Africa, Dukakis supports a reversal of debtor-nation monetary outflow through decreased lender interest rates and increased loans from the International Monetary Fund. Finally, if it proves to be "fiscally possible," Dukakis might just support increased U.S. debt relief aid as well.

On to V.P. George Bush. As opposed to the Carterian human-rights innuendo of Dukakis, here is an individual who sees Africa as part of the eternal struggle to end Marxist expansionism. Apartheid is a bad idea, says Bush, but sanctions are not the way to go. That's fine, but as I eagerly await his solution, I learn instead that what we need in Africa is "freedom" and "free markets." I have a tendency to agree. But how do we do it

Though South African sanctions are th primary difference between the two nomi nees, Bush supports economic aid on a selec tive basis for governments which promot "growth" and freedom. Bush also views con tinued aid to UNITA as a catalyst for a nego tiated settlement on Cuban troop withdrawa from Angola. The essential contrast betwee the two, overall, is their differing perspectiv concerning the importance of human right versus East-West balance.

If some readers have the impression that dislike the Africa policy of both candidate what little they have, they have surmise correctly from my editorial tone. It seems t me that paranoid fears of Marxists stealin our minerals are as counterproductive as rhe torical whines about U.S. moral responsibili ties. U.S. policy should be focused on prag matic interpretations of regional problem with American interests and prestige as th deciding factor.

—*Bryan Well*

Factual errors can and will be made, but those who intentionally rely on such tactics will be weeded out in a truly free marketplace of ideas. Government regulation of advertising would be a poor substitute for free expression, as the regulators might not treat officials unfriendly to them fairly.

Our First Amendment stands for the proposition that information is too important a commodity to allow governmen coercion to distort the process of obtaining it or distributing it Let's trust the free market instead of the regulators. Ω

Hood, a graduate of the University in journalism, works at th Raleigh News and Observer.

THE AUDIENCE

STUDENTS AREN'T CONSERVATIVE — YET

BY JOHN HOOD

IS TODAY'S college generation really conservative?

Much ink has been spilled — no, splattered — on this question, with commentators citing the voting patterns of the "Baby Bust" generation (who come of college-age during the 1980s) as evidence of a growing conservatism on campus. And indeed, Ronald Reagan's strongest support both in 1980 and 1984 came from young voters. But the political opinions and values of Baby Busters are more complicated than the superficial analysis given them.

For starters, it is important to make the distinction between values and ideology. They are not always consonant. When journalists use the term "conservative" to describe the college generation's ideology, they simply are ignor ing the available evidence. College students in the 1980s, like college students of practically any other decade in American history, are less conservative than the rest of the population. According to this year's General Social Survey conducted by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center, 18- to 26-year olds are much less likely than Baby Boomers (27- to 45-year olds) to say that the country spends too much on welfare. A plurality among the younger respondents said that "too much" is spent on defense, while a plurality of Baby Boomers said defense spending was "just right."

More to the point, Baby Boomers, children of the Flower-Power '60s and Let-It-All-Hang-Out '70s, are actually more likely to call themselves "conservative" than "liberal." The opposite is true of the Self-Centered '80s generation.

There is a clear pattern to generations and labels. Generally, college students of any generation will call themselves liberals and take liberal positions on political and social issues. As they get older, marry, have children, and otherwise engage in "settling down," people will start to think of themselves as conservatives, and take conservative positions on political and social issues.

As is the case with most sweeping generalizations, the above pattern has exceptions. Surveys of college freshmen administered since the mid-1970s show that while opinions on most political issues have changed very little over the last twelve to fifteen years, students have become more "conservative" on certain questions — usually having to do with crime. Perceptions of women in the workplace have also changed significantly in those years.

Nevertheless, the fact that today's college students voted overwhelmingly for Reagan and will probably do so for Bush is not explained by a major shift in ideology. The difference really lies in the eclipse of political interest among youth.

While not always agreeing with the Republicans on issues, college students vote for them because they perceive that the GOP will best enable them to *make money*. By far the clearest change over the past twenty years has occurred in life priorities, as both male and female students became more interested in obtaining money, power, status, and career expertise than in influencing the political structure. They may still think of themselves as liberals — but they don't seem to be as worried about social causes like environmentalism as they are about their local economies.

Of course, many activist types automatically jump to the conclusion that if students don't put much emphasis on social upheaval, then they must be "conservative." But that's not accurate. They're self-centered, maybe, but not conservative. Given today's political realities on campus, liberal activists must shift priorities, not change ideological attitudes. Conservatives who seek a lasting realignment among young people have a more challenging task — transforming students' current disaffection towards political solutions into a more abstract ideology of individualism and limited government.

Meanwhile, however, conservatives have a grace period. And the Republicans have an advantage in the college student vote. Ω

Hood is a newspaper columnist and frequent contributor to Reason *magazine.*

Props: Sorry, Shorty

The elections are drawing nigh. Sometime next week — I forget the exact date — a miniscule portion of American voters will pick a King to lead us all into 1992. I am not a Bushman, but I can at least avoiding puking at a picture of Bush sporting the Crown. His rival, Dukakis, on the other hand, must not become our King for one obvious yet heretofore unmentioned reason. That reason? Michael Dukakis is **Too Short** for America.

Yes, dear readers, you correctly detect an echo from our political past. Remember Orwell's year, 1984, when Jesse Helms went on a Hunt? Jim Hunt was **Too Liberal** for North Carolina. The Democrasses just have too many character flaws. First they offer us one too liberal; now they offer us one too short.

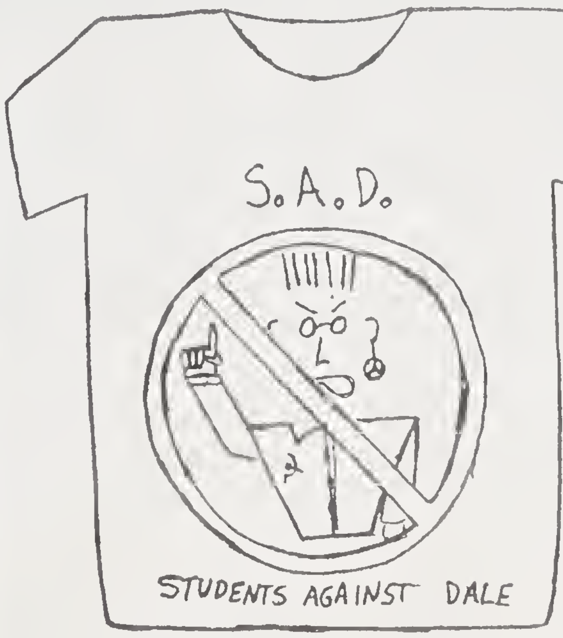
Little Lord Dukakis would have to stand on a box if Czar Gorbachev tendered a handshake. Television crews would discard their tripods to film so short a one. The gaudy jingle "Short People Got No Reason To Live" would become our unofficial — if not official — national anthem. The hummingbird would replace the eagle as our symbol of national pride and character.

Laws would be passed prohibiting the erection of buildings taller than two stories. The death penalty would be selectively meted out to criminals over five feet tall, while short murderers would be released on furloughs. Ants would be protected while whales would be exterminated.

Do you, dear readers, want to avoid this long list of horribles? Then avoid voting for Dukakis! If you are a Democrass, consider staying home on Election Day. Read a tall tale, or put up some high shelves. If you are undecided or a Republican, hold your nose and vote for Bush. At least we can't look down on him — physically.

—*Chris Kremer*

STUDENTS AGAINST DALE
the T-Shirt



For your own two-color, 100-percent cotton shirt, send $9.00 plus size (L or XL) to:

S.A.D. T-Shirt
250 Morrison Dorm
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

Protestors and The Right to Dissent

PROTEST TACTICS THREATEN DEMOCRACY

By David Hood

DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS ARE IN DANGER AT UNC. Certain individuals have tried to deny others their First Amendment rights to free speech. In addition, freedom of association has been attacked, as authoritarian tyrants go after members of certain groups to try to prevent those persons from assembling in a peaceful manner. These violations of human rights strike at the very heart of UNC's educational mission and denigrate the great name of the oldest state university in the nation.

Unless you've been doing something gauche, like studying, the last few weeks, you are well acquainted with the CIA protest issue; but if you missed any episodes in the continuing saga, here is a synopsis. Last year a group of students took it upon themselves to save our university from the menacing grasp of the evil CIA. They sought to prevent students from interviewing for jobs with the CIA by chaining themselves to Hanes Hall and disrupting the activities of Career Planning and Placement Services. In another case this group, calling itself the CIA Action Committee, disrupted CIA interviews at the University Inn by throwing red paint and shouting down the recruiter.

This fall, these students were to face Honor Court proceedings for their activities last spring. Five undergraduates have already been censured for disrupting University activities, which left their unofficial leader Dale McKinley to have his own day in Court on October 20th. But when the Honor Court would not hear his indictment of the CIA itself as a defense, he walked out of the proceedings.

The question all along has been one of *democracy*. The CIAAC members assert a democratic "right to dissent," while their opponents claim *their* democratic rights to free association and free speech have been violated by the protests. Let's examine the arguments presented by both sides in this debate to see who can claim the legitimizing robe of democracy.

First, we have the tenets of trendismo; which can be defined as the application of Sandinista-like methods — force— to the advancement of trendy issues. In this case, the trendinistas have used protest actions to disrupt CIA interviews on campus, whether by blocking entrances to rooms in Hanes Hall or by shouting at and chasing CIA recruiters out of town.

The CIA protestors justify their actions as follows:

1. Right to Dissent — The CIAAC members have the right to make a statement about the evil activities of the CIA. Of course, no one is really questioning this right; the issue is one of time, place, and manner. There is nothing wrong with speaking your mind as long as you don't force others to listen. By blocking doors and shouting down interviews, however, the protestors have gone farther than the exercise of free speech. They have resorted to force, which is anathema in a free society.

2. No Right to CIA Presence — The protestors argue that the alleged violations of liberty on the part of the CIA makes it ineligible to recruit on campus. They do not recognize the rights of their fellow students to associate with such an "illegal" and "immoral" group as the CIA. Thus, they have decided to act as judge and jury on the legitimacy of the CIA, without regard to the fact that the CIA is a recognized arm of the federal government. They also ignore the beauty of the American system — that people get to associate with and talk to just about anybody they wish, even trendy protestors. For individual citizens to start deciding whom their neighbors can talk to is an affront to our inheritance of liberty, and makes a mockery of the democratic process that the trendinistas want to invoke at their own convenience.

3. Necessity — The CIAAC contends that disruptive protest is the only way it can get its message across. In short, Dale and Co. do not have any respect for our political process. Instead of appealing to popular opinion or to government and administration officials through persuasion, they seek to force their agenda on the community through direct, forcible action. They do not write letters to members of Congress, or submit editorials to local newspapers, or have reasoned debates to air their grievances. What they do is take the law into their own hands by obstructing the activities of others, i.e., violating the rights of others. They become vigilantes, tyrants, criminals. In short, they become exactly what they charge the CIA to be.

WHAT ARE THE ARGUMENTS PRESENTED BY THE other side?

1. Liberty — Freedom of speech and association are not just buzzwords that the Far Left can invoke or violate at whim. *Everyone* must share in these rights, or they do not exist. By laying themselves in the path of others in Hanes Hall, or by running off CIA recruiters, the trendinistas are trashing the freedoms inherent in a functioning democracy. What they do not see is that freedom of speech necessarily entails the freedom to be factually or objectively *wrong*. Even if they "know they are right," they cannot in a spirit of democracy prevent the CIA from speaking to other students.

2. Marketplace of Ideas — One of the philosophical founda-

tions of our liberty, from John Milton to the present, has been that, given free access to a "marketplace of ideas," the truth will inevitably rise to the top. The CIAAC members reject such a otion, arguing that since they are "right" they should be able o force everyone else to agree with them. These people appear o be ideological children of Karl Marx and Herbert Marcuse, ot John Locke and John Stuart Mill. Any claims they had to emocratic methods before, they give up when they reject one f the very bases for the existence of democracy.

Notice that these arguments have nothing to do *per se* with he merits of the CIA. Both defenders and critics of the CIA's resent or past activities have denounced these protestors' lack f respect for liberty and democracy. If the trendinistas would ome out from behind their protective shield of disruptive protest, perhaps a rational debate could take place upon the merits of their attack on the CIA. But as long as they continue to use anti-democratic tactics to achieve their goals, the actual issues upon which they protest will be lost in the shuffle.

TRENDISMO IS NOT A DEMOCRATIC CONCEPT. Activities which pose a threat to liberty are crimes against the very nature of the democratic system. Dale and the CIAAC trendinistas should be treated as exactly what they are: common criminals. The University should require them to either stop violating the liberties of others in the guise of democratic protest, or get the hell out. Ω

Hood is a first-year law student from Charlotte.

MCKINLEY IS NO HERO

y Chris Osborn

THE NEWLY FORMED COALITION FOR FREEDOM Dissent would have the campus believe that Dale McKinley ould be equated morally and ethically with the likes of ahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In truth, Mr. cKinley violates several of the principles vital to the philoso- y of civil disobedience, which these great men used effec- ely in their campaigns for civil rights. Thoreau wrote and Dr. ng taught that people should examine laws in the light of a gher moral law, and determine if a given law is indeed just. that law is determined to be an unjust law, a person has the ht, indeed the duty, to disobey it BUT should be willing to cept the punishment which will follow, in order to give ater testimony to the depth of his commitment. Although le recently decided to exploit his opportunity for martyrdom going to jail in the spirit of "so many great protesters who nt before [him]," he is still unwilling to accept trial and judg- nt by the UNC Honor Court.

Dale exited his own trial because he was not allowed to sent evidence of illegal or immoral acts by the CIA. Our tester-at-large called this "a denial of [his] right to put on a ense," but he is in error. He is allowed and even encouraged efend himself regarding the *legality* of his actions but his oral justification" of those actions is irrelevant.

he Central Intelligence Agency is *not* on trial in the Honor rt. People are getting tired of trying to explain this to the protesters. It is not within the jurisdiction or capability of honor court of this or any university, to determine the ncy's legality or legitimacy. Neither is it for a group of ion-conscious activists to render such judgment. Regard- of what atrocities, real or imagined, the Agency may have mitted, it still has a legal right to exist and publicize its ence. I'm confident that the CFD would be outraged if, g the course of a Student Congress debate over CGLA funding, someone wanted to read a list of "atrocious" illegal or immoral acts which CGLA members had supposedly committed. An graphic rendition of the specifics of homosexual acts might possibly sway the vote, but the trendinistas, and some reasonable people too, would be certain to object and question the relevance of such evidence. Dale's CIA evidence is no more relevant or justified. Just as the CGLA has a right to exist, so does the CIA, regardless of how offensive a person or group may find their beliefs or actions.

Denying the CIA the opportunity to recruit students from this university prevents the Agency from possibly getting new blood which might help in righting some of the wrongs within the Agency. (O.K., this sounds a bit idealistic, but idealism is *my* form of dissent.) No one ever said, "Join the CIA, it's spiffy!" And not everyone employed by the CIA is a field agent, much less a bloodthirsty provocateur seeking to subvert every existing "un-American government." Believe it or not, the Agency also hires secretaries, computer operations personnel, and coffee go-fers. The Agency, like other employers, does not employ all interviewees, and likewise not all those offered employment choose to accept the offer. But no one needs his choice stolen from him by Dale McKinley and the CIAAC.

No group, organization, or coalition, no matter how morally

MCKINLEY IS ALLOWED AND EVEN ENCOURAGED TO DEFEND HIMSELF REGARDING THE LEGALITY OF HIS ACTIONS BUT HIS MORAL JUSTIFICATION . . . IS IRRELEVANT.

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upstanding, logically persuasive, or stylish, has a right to prevent anyone else from interviewing with a potential employer and making his or her own choice. Our trendinista is not on trial for believing in a bad cause; he is charged with disorderly conduct and obstruction of normal university procedure. He was not "jailed for speaking his conscience" as one CFD member claimed, but for forcing his conscience on other people. The honor court cannot "expel a student for exercising his moral beliefs," as junior Anne Duhring fears, but part of its purpose is to determine when a student should be censured for utilizing tactics which infringe on the rights of other students or citizens. CFD member Christina Kendrot, (an Amy Carter protest-alike and freshman heir apparent to McKinley — scary, isn't it?) said that the "administration's policy is intimidation." What should we call chaining oneself to a classroom door, spilling symbolic blood outside an individual's motel room, and following said individual down the interstate to make sure he's gone for good? The supposed villain, the CIA recruiter, disrupted no one's daily routine and infringed on no one's rights.

Another CFD member said that "civil disobedience and dissent is the key to democracy." Poor gramma aside, the right to dissent has not been revoked One can stand outside the chancellor's office al day long and chant "The chancellor is a fascist!" However, if one chains oneself to his doo and allows nobody to visit, consort, or do business with him, one has obstructed universit operations and violated the chancellor's right t associate with whomever he pleases. Thes *actions* would merit censure, while the purpos may or may not be justified.

Also, Kendrot and the Coalition are hardl in line with the ideals of civil disobedience, as previously noted More importantly, their cause is nowhere near as justified an powerful as was Dr. King's civil rights movement. For on thing, Dale himself is hypocritical in that his Action Agains Apartheid group supports such paragons of morality as th African National Congress. The ANC has been known to us tactics, such as "necklacing," that would make even some CI agents wince. ("Necklacing" is one of the ANC's favorit tactics to silence moderates. It consists of putting a tire aroun the victim's neck, filling the tire with gasoline, and lighting it. Secondly, the CIAAC did exactly what they are now accusin the administration of doing; consider that if no one on campu

In Their Own Words

- God forbid that we should "violate" the First Amendment rights of the CIA or disturb the tranquility of campus life with our "noise" and occupation of classroom buildings; nor should we dare to challenge the moral backbone of University officials and other students who shrug off the genocidal character of apartheid and of CIA covert activities, lest we "alienate" them ... Confronting the illegitimate activities of a "respected" government institution and the campus's [sic] ties with it, or challenging the students and the community to aid in the liberation of a people halfway around the world are not issues that can be approached from a polite, non-disruptive or toothless type of activism. Education on the issues means nothing without concerted direct action aimed at those who, by their idleness or through conscious choice, help to perpetuate the genocidal practices of the CIA and the system of apartheid. If we were to engage in the "responsible" type of activism that we are told is the only way to be "successful," we would be denying the very existence of the system that contributes to those genocidal practices ...

— Dale McKinley, the DTH, April 15, 1988, p.12: "It's not trendy to oppose genocide"

[For those who missed it: Direct action should be aimed at those who, even by idleness, help to perpetuate genocide; so if you don't agree with us, you are fair game, and if our direct action disturbs your "all-consuming day-to-day activities" — so much the better.]

- There's a history of the CIAAC's actions being presented and perceived by both the press and the University population at large as being coercive and even violent despite the fact that, to date, every one of the groups' [sic] actions have been thoroughly discussed and planned in accordance to [sic] nonviolent principles including that of free speech of our opponents ... it has been our actions which have been by nature, completely pacifistic, which have been both widely misunderstood and misrepresented... the more evident the complicity between the University and the CIA becomes, the more ugly and vehement the smear campaign against the CIAAC becomes ...

The action at the CPAP office was carefully planned by the group in a way that would be neither disrespectful nor physically intimidating ... I did not at that time, nor do I now consider a protest consisting of reading aloud documented CIA crimes or the singing of protest songs to be intimidating ...

— Steven Sullivan, closing statement to the Honor Court, from *the catalyst*, Octobe 1988, p. 3

- ... if you want to link it to big government— actually, politics is bullshit if you ask me Because the people in charge, the president, i not really in charge. It's the upper one percen [in] income who are the ruling class, with th money, that basically buy who they want t run. There's no way you can attack them because they're not holding office.

A majority of students nowadays hav been programmed into listening and regurgitating and not thinking ... They don't do anything on their own unless it's to join a sororit or a fraternity... They do nothing but tal about it and don't act on it ... There's a lot o people who wear ratty clothing with funn looking hair out in the pit ... they talk a goo talk but they're empty ...

Of course there's student apathy. Just wal down Franklin St. on a Friday night or Saturday night and you'll see that the majorit of students would rather be having a goo time than a political conscience. ... It's no our job to teach these children...

— interview with CIAAC members Graham Entwhistle, Kasey Jones, Timoth Karcher, Joey Templeton, and Jolie Westerman in *the catalyst*, October 1988, p. 4

supports CIA recruitment, the Agency still has the right to dissent by pleading its case. These trendinistas would see the CIA's right to present an unpopular opinion infringed upon, but heaven forbid that anyone touch one of McKinley's most holy causes.

I AM DISGUSTED AND NAUSEATED WHEN I HEAR the CFD trying to pass McKinley off as a martyr, let alone one the caliber of Martin Luther King, who drew attention to his compelling cause and not to his own glorification. King endured his jail stays, including one in my hometown, with pride and dignity, knowing that one day his dream would come true. Dale's dream of a campus where all *avant-garde* protesters resort to drastic, distracting, purpose-defeating methods will not come true. The CFD would do well to look to other groups for guidance, such as the Young Democrats and the Campus Y, who make their views known without disturbing the peace or infringing on the rights of others. Dissent is alive and kicking at UNC and it always will be as long as Dale's crusade is recognized for the sensationalistic, hypocritical balderdash it is. Dissent to your heart's content, but keep it clean, and know who the *real* heroes are. Dale McKinley is no hero. Ω

Osborn is a freshman and member of the UNC Debate Team.

IF YOU CAN'T TAKE THE HEAT . . .

y John Jaynes

FIRST, A WARNING TO READERS: THIS ARTICLE eals with a subject which may be offensive or at least excruiatingly boring to some. That's right, campus protest, specifially our CIA/South Africa protesters and the notorious Dale cKinley. If you feel that this matter has already been given the overage it deserves — once or several times — you are hereby xcused to flip to the next page.

Those still with us may be relieved to hear that this article oes not deal with the truth or falsity of claims about CIA or outh African "genocide." Rather, it examines what the prosters are trying to accomplish, how, and why — and whether is conflicts with the rights of others.

Regular Critic readers will be familiar with our coined word rendinista" which refers to the "trendy" causes espoused by cal protesters. There is a widespread belief that they are otesting the CIA or apartheid or whatever *just because* it's the ndy, up-to-the-minute thing to do. However, they may simply believe strongly in their causes and be willing to go to great lengths to advance them; they may be impatient with a campus community that often ignores their issues; or they may just like to make noise and insult people.

The protesters' own statements contradict the idea that they are mere trend-followers. Instead, if we do them the courtesy of taking them at their word, they are genuine zealots, motivated by a desire to stop "criminal" actions by the CIA and put an end to apartheid. They also have some, well, *unusual* beliefs about the role of protest and the political process in general. But let them speak for themselves: see "In Their Own Words" on p. 20.

The protesters, by what *they* say, are radicals with an axe to grind. They see discussion as useless unless it gets them results. They see those who disagree with them largely as "children" who aren't worth arguing with, who need a "direct action" spanking in order to see the light. They think they are doing us a favor by using "nonviolent" protests instead of violent attacks. They see the governments of the University and the

(Continued on page 29)

Pseudo-Bumper Sticker # 2

I'M A CIA RECRUITER

Honk if you're running me out of town

The National Truss

By Bob Lukefahr

LET STUDENTS EARN FINANCIAL AID

I used to wonder what Purgatory is like. This year I applied for financial aid. I wonder no more. — Anon.

IF YOU HAVEN'T HEARD A DUKAKIS stump speech lately you may not know that there is a crisis of Biblical proportions playing itself out in our midst. To hear the Governor tell it, students all over America are being denied access to a college education just because they can't afford the tuition. But fear not, Michael consoles us, we all have a rich uncle in Washington who will come to our rescue during the next administration, if we will just vote for the Democrats.

Both George Bush and Michael Dukakis have put forward election-year education schemes that promise to solve this problem. Dukakis is proposing a federally-funded student loan program that will allow a student to finance his education over a period of some thirty years. George Bush, sounding suspiciously like a Democrat, has proposed expanding the student loan program, increasing Pell grant funding, and creating a tax-deferred savings plan for parents. Unfortunately both he and Gov. Dukakis have missed the point. The solution is not to expand grant and loan programs, but rather to eliminate them.

The first step in this process is to explain to prospective American college students that no matter what George McGovern says, they do not have the right to a free college education. There is no such thing as a free college education, and the taxpayers of this country ought not to be required to pick up the tab for every run-of-the-mill student with a 2.0 average who would rather go to college than to work. It is not fair to the taxpayers, and it's not fair to the students. Instead, we should establish a system that provides any person capable of doing college work with the opportunity to earn their education.

Such a program should consist of four essential elements designed to do four things:

1. encourage the business community to become involved in financing education,
2. encourage students to work during the summers and while in school,
3. make it easier for parents and students to save for education, and
4. provide a way for students to earn money before attending college.

At the heart of this proposal is the role business can and should play in the educational process. Businesses should be encouraged, through tax incentives, to pay their employees' college expenses. In exchange, the student would agree to work for the company, at a somewhat reduced salary, for two to four years after graduation.

Naturally not everyone will want or need such a program. Most students at UNC and elsewhere receive at least some support from their parents and simply need an additional two or three hundred dollars a month to pay the bills. To help those people I would recommend something revolutionary: let them keep ALL the money they earn. Specifically, when a person is enrolled as a full-time student his income should be tax-exempt up to $10,000 annually. No federal taxes, no Social Security taxes (for the employer or the student), no state taxes, no unemployment insurance, no taxes period. This radical proposal would meant that if you earn four dollars an hour you actually get to keep four dollars an hour! Thus instead of taxing a student and then waiting for him to apply for financial aid, the government encourages him to pay his own way.

The advantage of this over the present system is twofold. First, it requires far less bureaucracy (simply adding an extra line to the W-4 form should suffice). And secondly, it is fairer to the students who are already working their way through school. As it is, we have a system which forces working students (through their state and federal taxes) to support their idle contemporaries. This practice is both unjust and unnecessary, and ought to be stopped.

In addition to encouraging students to work, we should promote individual savings. As I've already noted, the largest single financial aid provider in this county is the American parent. They pay the lion's share of educational expenses for their children. Unfortunately, more and more parents, daunted by rising tuition costs, are now looking to the government for financial aid. We must reverse this trend by providing people with incentives to save.

The way to do this is to establish a tax free (what else?) savings plan similar to the IRA's that have become so popular in recent years. The monies deposited in these Individual Educational Accounts (IEA's) would be tax exempt as long as they were used for educational expenses. Both parents and students could make contributions to the account, so that by the time a student was ready to attend college, money would not be a concern.

Finally we must recognize that there are many students who won't be able to take advantage of the first part of this program. They cannot rely on financial support from their parents. They won't be able to save money in high school and don't want the kind of degree businesses are willing to fund. Nevertheless they deserve the opportunity to earn an education. In order to ensure that they have access to the educational system I would favor the creation of a national and state labor corps.

This labor corps would provide young people with an opportunity to save money for college by working for two to three years as laborers on government projects. Let me stress that these would not be make-work jobs, but instead would be positions working on projects already underway, such things as roadway repair and other construction projects. Again, this program will allow a student to earn his education. At the same time he will be establishing a work record, and, unlike the Dukakis and Bush programs, will not be saddled with a large debt upon graduation.

TODAY FAR TOO MANY STUDENTS leave college facing a mountain of debt. As a result they are forced to take jobs they don't want in fields they don't like in order to pay off loans they wish they didn't have. It is unfortunate that both presidential candidates regard more loans as the solution. They are not. Nor is it reasonable to expect more money for Pell grants. The time has come for us to rethink our approach to funding higher education. This country owes its youth one thing — the opportunity to get funding the old fashioned way. To earn it. Ω

Lukefahr is a junior political science major.

he World Stage — By Michael Lowrey

ERILOUS PATH TO PERESTROIKA

THIS DECADE COULD WELL GO wn in history as a time of immense change Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Over past forty-three years, an artificial wall has isted in Europe. On the one side has been an likely alliance of (mainly) democracies ich, until quite recently, often distrusted or en despised each other.On the other side of t "Iron Curtain" has been an even more likely combination of peoples and nations der what could generously be called Soviet adership" and a communist economic sys- n.

However, under Mikhail Gorbachev, a lization has set in that the economy of the S viet Union and other Eastern Bloc nations h e not been performing up to par. Eco- n nic growth has apparently slowed over the decade or two. (Soviet figures, when a ilable, are often overly optimistic, so stern analysts routinely have to estimate numbers.) The term "stagnation" is a fa- ite buzzword in Moscow these days.

Within this stagnation, the Soviet Union h an amazing dual personality. It is one of th world's two great military powers. Its w pons are of very high quality and are pr luced in vast numbers. The Soviets' space pr gram accounted for 95 of the world's 110 la ches last year, and they hold all manned sp eflight endurance records. At the same ti , the average Soviet citizen faces long li for basic foodstuffs. The waiting list to bu cars is measured in years. Consumers al ys carry cash and shopping bags with th just in case they run across something w h buying in the stores. Imported items are es cially prized.

This seeming contradiction, between im ense strength and continual shortages, is no n illusion. It is a product of Soviet ideol- og and economic theory. Under the guiding the ies of Marx, to avoid the evils of capital- isn (inflation, unemployment, etc.), con- su er demand cannot be allowed to directly inf ence supply or price. Likewise, commu- nis is presented as the means of achieving a be r living standard for all different ethnic gr ps at the same time. (Marxist-Leninists ple e note: what we call Soviet "commu- nis ' here is Marx's "socialism" which is sup sedly just one step on the road to "true com unism." Unfortunately, that road seems endless…) Factories, state-owned of e, sell their products to a single state p y system at set prices and in any quantity they can deliver. The result is that what is supplied is only imperfectly related to what the consumers want.

AS THE TRUTHS OF STALIN'S BLOODY REPRESSION ARE ALLOWED TO COME TO LIGHT, THE VARIOUS MINORITY GROUPS WILL DEMAND GREATER AUTOMONY FROM MOSCOW.

For defense and other favored sectors, this problem does not occur. Purchasers and suppliers negotiate contracts. As a result, things aren't made that are not really wanted (but end up being bought anyway). Furthermore, investment has historically been put in those favored sectors of the economy, causing them to grow faster and become more productive than the rest of the economy.

TO BATTLE THE SOVIETS' ECOnomic problems, Gorbachev envisions the twin concepts of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, restructuring and openness. The economy must be "restructured," with Mr. Gorbachev providing the details at some appropriate later time. This process can only occur in a freer environment where problems can be openly discussed. But by involving the average worker and farmer in the reform process and depending on them as allies, Gorbachev has ensured that the success or failure of his reforms will be ultimately based on his ability to improve their standard of living. By Russian or Soviet standards this is a radical idea. The nobility ruled for its own benefit under the czars. Stalin industrialized the Soviet Union at the expense of (almost) everyone through forced collectivization and purges.

While some attempts to reduce bureaucratic intervention in the economy are underway, more widespread reforms are still in the future. Large drops in defense spending have not occurred; the Soviet Union still spends over twice as much on defense, as a percentage of GNP, as does the United States. Prices are still set by the state. Nor has a new wave of economic success appeared in the few years Gorbachev has been in charge.

Unfortunately for themselves, Gorbachev and company have not been and will not be able to restrict *glasnost* merely to the economic arena. Lingering not very deep below the surface are problems of religion and nationality. Ethnic Russians make up only half of the population of the Soviet Union. The rest of the population is made up of literally hundreds of ethnic groups, many of which don't particularly enjoy being dominated by Russians and Russian culture. Nor can it be said that these ethnic groups always like neighboring groups, as recent troubles between Armenia and Azerbaijan indicate.

As more openness occurs and the truths of Stalin's bloody repression are allowed to come to light, the various minority groups will demand greater autonomy from Moscow. Already the three small Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have rival organizations called Popular Fronts, and talk of such actions as not having Russian as their official language and having their own currencies. Should the Ukrainians, Soviet Muslims, and East Europeans have riots for more freedom simultaneously, the Soviet leadership would face a serious test. The limits of *glasnost*, and whether it includes moving away from Soviet domination, have yet to be determined.

The challenge for Gorbachev and the Soviet Union is then to "modify" their com-

(Continued on page 30)

A Long Winter Ahead

Essays

CROSSTALK

AN EMPHATIC NO TO DRUG LEGALIZATION

By Chris Osborn

The Case for Drug Laws

THE RECENT INTEREST IN AND SERIOUS DISCUSSION of the idea of legalizing addictive drugs is quite distressing. Some people might be swayed by faulty logic and Constitutional misinterpretation into believing that drug legalization is right. It is wrong, and this wrongness follows even from some of the legalization proponents' own arguments.

While I grant that "people have used drugs for centuries and will continue to do so, no matter how many laws are passed to stop them" this fact does not justify making drugs legal. People have stolen, raped, murdered, and committed treason for centuries also, but the legalization of these acts is also unjustified on the basis of their previous occurrence. Precedent in no way implies justification.

Legalization advocates fail to realize that keeping drug use illegal not only restricts the supply of drugs but also decreases the demand. There are many for whom the only reason to abstain from drugs is the penalty of law. Therefore, it follows that through legalization more people will use and consequently become addicted to drugs. Yes, Virginia, these drugs *are* addictive. Can we justify contributing to the addiction of even one more human being, let alone thousands?

The economic arguments for legalization also lack validity. If the supply of drugs is unrestricted and free market competition is allowed, the price of drugs will drop substantially, thus increasing their accessibility. Those who already could afford (or stole in order to be able) to purchase drugs will have much more buying power; meanwhile, those for whom drugs used to be an economically unwise purchase will be able to afford them. Again, the number of users and addicts will increase dramatically; we will become a nation of chemical dependents, further worsening the burden on our suffering health-care system.

THE FREEDOM-CHAMPIONS' ARGUMENTS CONCERNING the correlation of crime and drug use have a modicum of merit, but let's examine the crime factor following legalization. Imagine cocaine, amphetamines, and marijuana right next to the Tylenol on the shelf at your local Eckerd's, Harris Teeter, or 7-Eleven. Although drugs will be more affordable, they still will not be affordable to everyone. I hate to destroy the nice picture of a legalized-drug Utopia, but someone who wants (or is addicted to and "needs") these drugs but cannot buy them will steal them, often committing violent acts in the process. With drugs readily available for theft, robbery will increase by le and bounds; this is hardly the decrease in crime which ad cates erroneously associate with legalization.

Whether the self-destruction which accompanies and embodied by drug use is moral or not is an arguable questi but morality is not the sole reason that drugs are made ille Certain drugs are ruled illegal because they are by definiti "mind-altering." The attraction of drugs for some people is t they can escape reality or just let loose. A person's actio while under drug influence are highly unpredictable. Whe person is "high" or "tripping" he makes no sense, his men faculties are impaired, and he may lose all conception of ri and wrong. Therefore, he is less likely to be concerned abo which laws or whose rights he violates as long as he can "f the colors." Have you heard of "bad trips?" There is absolut *no* justification for increasing even the *risk* of criminal violent behavior. Humans start out with less than perf reasoning capabilities, so how can we justify an even furt lessening of these faculties?

Drug libertarians claim that the "fundamental issue at sta is individual liberty, a principle that this country was ostensib founded upon." However, our country was also founded John Locke's principle of government by consent of the go erned. By this, Locke meant that people gave up some of th individual rights in uniting under a government; in return, t government was to defend their remaining rights. If libert were absolute, there would be no need for a government determine where the preservation of the rights of the individu presents a clear and present danger to the public safety tramples on the rights of other individuals.

I am sure that making rape, murder, and robbery ille "suppresses the will of hundreds of thousands of people," heinous crime to some. It is fortunate for them that my righ murder ignorant liberals (their crime is not liberalism in and itself but ignorance) is currently being suppressed. Moral may "not emerge from coercion," but how can a nation se ously consider legalizing self-destruction? Ask yours "What are the positive side effects of drug use?" Hig

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economic productivity? Improved national morale? Better education? Our nation may become weak and susceptible to economic and political ruin, but hey, at least we'll have all our liberties.

Finally, as Americans, we are fortunate that our government is pretty good about not telling us how to live. However, it does give us guidelines delineating how to live without destroying self or society. Other criminal acts fall under the category of "how to live," so why not legalize everything? Because our government not only exists by and of the people, but also for the people. Those citing Constitutional ideals in favor of drug legalization should check to see if legalization complies with the Constitution's goals: "We the people, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Whether drug use is immoral or not is irrelevant; that drug use does not make good sense, that it is destructive to people and values, and that it does not promote the general welfare are the fundamental issues at stake. Ω

Osborn is currently under close Critic supervision, and being only a freshman, has a good chance of coming around.

REFRACTIONS

MAKE CRIMINALS PAY IN CASH, NOT TIME

By Anthony Woodlief

WHY DO WE PUT CRIMINALS IN JAIL? ONE ANswer that often comes to mind when we ask this apparently simple question is "to make them pay for their crimes." But who is really paying? The costs incurred by taxpayers for prison upkeep are tremendous, with no decline in sight. Crime rates in this country are rising and criminals are being released from prison early to relieve prison overcrowding. Who pays? We do.

Every day, victims of felonies ranging from breaking and entering to assault and battery are victimized a second time by a criminal justice system that pays no attention to them as individuals with claims on their assailants, only as witnesses for the State's prosecutor. Victims have no rights to seek damages under a system where the State assumes the rights of the individuals, making its own claims against their attackers and dispensing its own form of retributive justice.

In response to the original question, "why do we put criminals in jail?", the State says, "to make them pay their debt to Society." But aren't we, as the only tangible (read: taxable) components of this Society, the ones who are paying? The State, our eternal caretaker, is making Society, which it claims to represent, pay for the crimes committed against it. It is time to make the State relinquish its role as "victim," and to see that criminals really do pay for crimes committed against their victims — in cash. Under our current system, criminals collectively cost victims millions of dollars in replacement, medical and insurance costs. The few that are caught, tried, and actuall sentenced to jail terms cost the rest of the country millions o dollars yearly in law enforcement costs, court costs, and priso upkeep. Why not put criminals to work for their victims, rathe than making their victims pay to support them?

Instead of making prisons places where criminals sit, at best hoping to make something of themselves when they get out, or at worst, learning how to be better criminals, why not let privat industries set up factories in the prisons and pay prisoners market wage for their labor? Not only would this provide source of funds for the full compensation of their victims, i would enable criminals to pay for their own upkeep and cou costs, at the same time providing them with job experience an giving them back some of the self-respect and dignity that is s often lost in the present criminal justice system. Instead o allowing prison inmates to be parasites, we could make the into productive people, if only for the time they are in priso

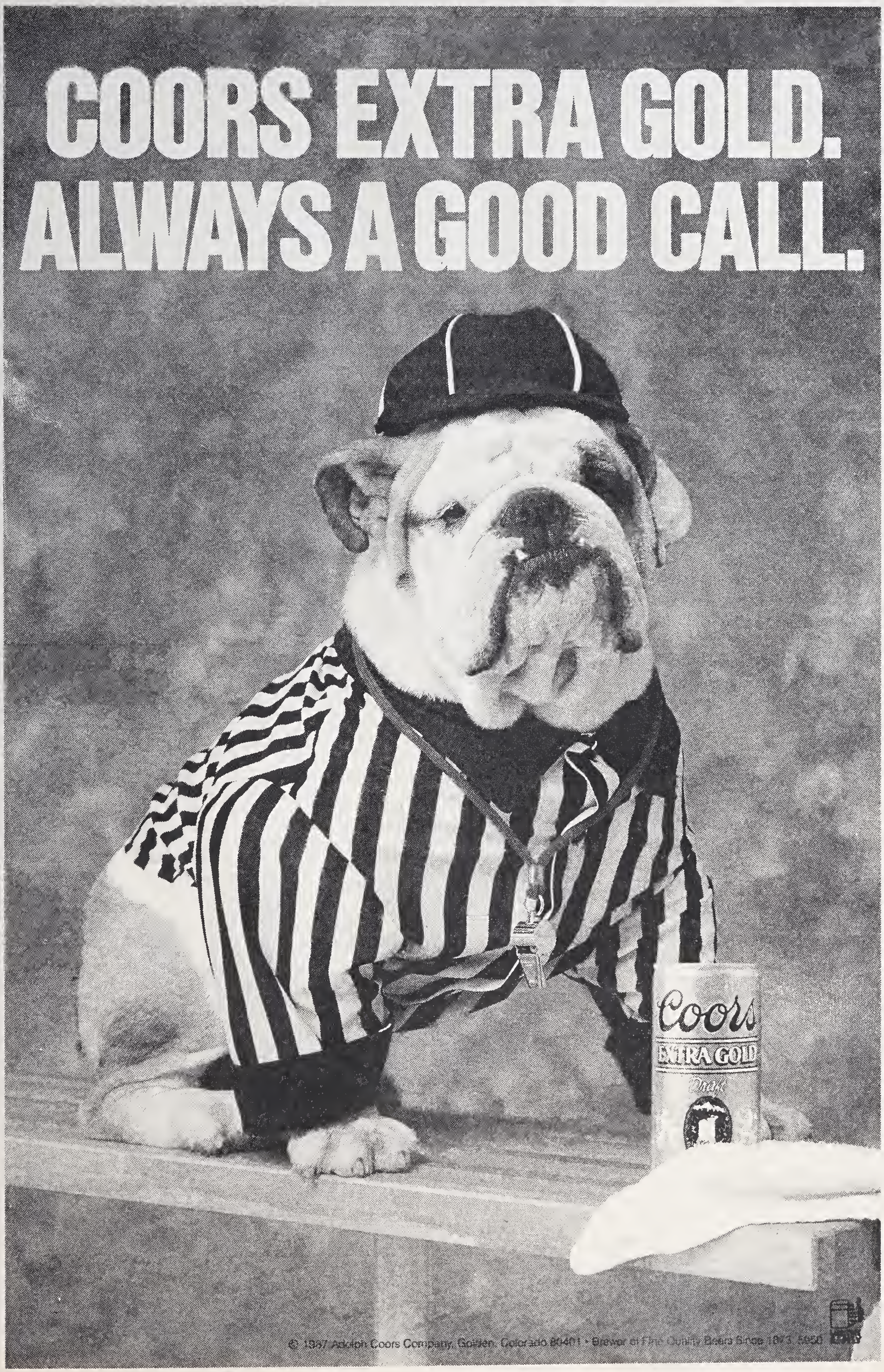
Victims, if not prisoners, certainly deserve better treatme than they currently receive. People who are robbed or assault deserve some compensation from their attackers. Money can b no true compensation for something such as rape, of course, b ask a rape victim whether she would rather have her attacker s in a cell at her expense, or have him work in a prison-factory an send her weekly checks. Which do you think she wou choose?

Aside from the practicality of a restitutive criminal justi system is the fact that it is fundamentally more morally sou that our present criminal justice system, which centers th rights of prosecution of criminals in the hands of the State rath than the individual. The State has as its fundamental aim n what Randy E. Barnett, professor at the Chicago-Kent Scho of Law, terms "raising the victim back up to his former level but instead lowering the criminal to the level to which he h lowered his victim — leaving them both worse off than the would be under a restitutive criminal justice system.

Once we allow the State to act as the victim on behalf "Society," we set ourselves up for further violations of indivi ual rights, as evidenced by a proliferation of victimless crime By assuming the rights of individual victims, the State, clai ing to represent Society, can criminalize whatever behavior i controllers see as unfit. No one looks for the victims of the "crimes," because the State takes the place of the victim in crimes. The State, after all, knows best.

Our current criminal justice system is not only insane inefficient compared to a restitutive criminal justice system, exists in violation of individual rights. The State should longer displace the victim in criminal prosecutions. It is time seek justice in the form of compensation for the victims crimes, rather than in punishing criminals, which has no de onstrated preventive or productive benefit. Let "Society" re resent itself in the courtroom, for Society is nothing but conglomeration of individuals, and only by establishing criminal justice system that focuses on the needs of the individuals can Society's interests truly be served.

Woodlief, a frequent denizen of the DTH editorial pag accepts fan mail at his home or school address.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TRADE GAP HYSTERIA OVERSHADOWS FACTS

By Rick Henderson

EARLY THIS MONTH, THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES failed to override President Reagan's veto of the latest version of the Textile Act of 1987. The bill is technically dead for another year, although its supporters are lining up votes for 1989 in hopes of a more sympathetic administration. The textile industry is very important to North Carolina, and the South. But the costs of this bill, or any actions to limit international trade, are much greater than the presumed benefits. Let's investigate how trade and trade restrictions influence consumer prices, employment, and the economy as whole.

The trigger for the latest round of trade bills is the trade deficit. This figure, which measures how many more dollars in goods the nation imports than exports, has been as high as $150 billion a year. Textile representatives claim that they have lost 400,000 jobs since 1980, and up to two million other jobs are threatened. Those nasty foreigners and their imports are the culprits. The trade deficit is to blame.

But why don't we ask: IS A TRADE DEFICIT BAD? When an American buys a Japanese automobile for $10,000, he trades cash for merchandise. Much the same transaction take place each week in your local supermarket. Are you alarmed that last week you experienced a $50 trade deficit with Food Lion? Probably not. But these are the types of transactions that occur between produces and consumers all the time.

Next, consider the problem faced by the Japanese manufacturer. It now has $10,000, which it can't spend in the Tokyo Food Lion. The dollars have to return to the U.S., either by purchasing American-made goods, or by making investments over here.

A trade balance between all nations, as Rep. Dick Gephardt proposes, doesn't make any sense. Expecting 20 million Taiwanese to buy as much from the United States as 230 million Americans buy from Taiwan is absurd.

I admit that I have fallen into my own trap. Talking about gross statistics, such as the trade balance between nations, are not accurate methods of representing economic transactions. When you buy a Hyundai, you haven't sent your money to "Korea" or "Koreans," but instead to a company that happens to do business in Korea. "Americans" don't decide on January 1st of every year how many cars they are going to import, and then send an order form to the various countries of origin. Individual Americans and Canadians and Germans make choices. The beneficiaries of these choices are the manufacturers of these products, and the employees who work for those manufacturers: not the "society" or the "country." Is a trade deficit good or bad? There's no way to tell.

Another concern is that, as Senator Lloyd Bentsen reminded us, America is now the "largest debtor nation on the planet." The U.S. is a debtor nation because foreigners invest more money in the U.S. than Americans do abroad. That's it.

Is that bad? Well, from 1787 until 1920, America was a debtor nation. That was also the time that we experienced the greatest economic growth in human history.

Don't take foreign investment for granted. In this area alone, we have manufacturing facilities operated by Mitsubishi Semiconductor, Hitachi, and a number of other foreign-owned companies. In fact, foreign investment is a major reason for the Research Triangle area's wealth of high-tech industries.

A real cause for alarm would be for America to lose that foreign investment, or for our economy to become so shaky that American investors looked overseas for stability. Being a debtor nation is a great show of international confidence in our overall strength.

So how about those lost jobs? Haven't imports destroyed American jobs? Individual industries face challenges. But the costs of saving jobs in threatened industries are much greater than their benefits.

When trade is free (or relatively so), consumers have more choices. As choices increase, prices fall. Lower prices give consumers more buying power, which increases demand for additional products, and leads to higher employment. Let's go back to those awful aggregate trade statistics. We have run substantial deficits in trade in every year since 1982, but during that time have also added 13 million new jobs to the American economy.

If free trade lowers consumer prices, then trade protectionism increases them. By how much? The International Business and Economic Research Corporation, which compiles statistics for policy makers, estimates that *each textile job* saved by the current textile bill would cost consumers $262,000 a year! These jobs pay an average of $17,000 a year. Michael Walden, a consumer economist at N.C. State, estimates that the economy loses eight jobs in other industries for every textile job "saved."

In fact, current levels of imports are *not* destroying American textile jobs. The

ureau of Labor Statistics reports that the textile unemploy- ent rate fell from 7.5 percent in 1986 to 5.7 percent last year. nd total textile and apparel employment increased by 32,000 bs last year, the biggest jump since 1976. Indeed, employ- ent in North Carolina is at its highest level ever. Textile ofits are also up. In 1987, the textile industry earned 14.5 rcent profit after taxes, up from 13 percent in '86.

There is one other reason to oppose trade restrictions such as e textile bill: compassion for the poor. The disadvantaged are cked in two ways by protectionism: higher prices for the oducts they buy here, and loss of jobs in underdeveloped ations.

When an industry asks for help from foreign competition, ithout exception the products targeted for protection are low- iced consumer "necessities." Nobody seems that concerned out the number of Ferraris or $1000 silk suits we import. ade restrictions are exclusively targeted at the least expen- ve autos or clothing items.

When the poor have the availability of inexpensive items stricted, they must adjust their spending patterns. They may ve to take money meant for food or better schooling, or oney that could have gone toward better housing for their milies, and use that money to pay higher clothing prices. In fect, trade restrictions tax the poor to feed and clothe every- e else.

Finally, in newly industrializing countries such as Brazil, exico, Taiwan, and Korea, factory workers face conditions ne of us would stand. The Rev. Jesse Jackson has called such rking conditions "economic violence." But these conditions , for better or worse, part of the same environment any area es through when it changes from a farming to an industrial onomy. It's possible your own family members a generation so ago experienced these same conditions in this country.

WHEN A REGION BEGINS TO MODERNIZE, VERY en the fledgling factory worker faces long hours and low ges, relative to the industrial wage earner in a "modern" iety. You or I might not accept these working conditions. t remember that no one rounds up these folks at gunpoint and ces them to leave their rice paddies (not outside of China, nbodia or North Korea, anyway). These factory workers ve the farm because industrial wages and working condi- is are better than those in the countryside. Our grandparents 't leave the cities for the country. Migration, during the y days of industrialization, flows the other way.

o, if a catastrophic event, such as a full-fledged trade war, e to occur, factories in the Third World would close. Unable ell their products, industrial workers in these countries ld be unemployed — without their only source of income. e less developed countries, there is no such thing as a are state, or a "safety net." These low-paying jobs are all have. So, when a politician asks you to support his efforts otect textile jobs, ask yourself: what is more important? ther a family in Dixie can afford a VCR, or if a Korean ly can eat tomorrow?

he domestic textile industry overstates its need for govern- help. As economist Walter Williams has written, it would uch easier to make policy decisions if industries seeking government aid would stop asking for indirect remedies, such as tariffs and quotas, and instead ask Congress to set up welfare programs, such as "Aid to Dependent Manufacturers." At least they'll be asking for government handouts "honestly."

The cost of all trade protectionism, according to economist Gary Hufbauer of Georgetown University, was $65 billion last year. That's twice what it was in 1980. The textile bill would have added another $10 billion to that tab. Neither George Bush nor Michael Dukakis rhetorically support free trade as much as Ronald Reagan has. But it's time that supporters of lower consumer prices, higher levels of employment, and economic development through economic growth band together to stop legislation such as the textile bill. American consumers, workers, and businesses should not be penalized for the sake of unjustly gained textile industry profits. Ω

Henderson is editor emeritus of The Deregulator, *a current affairs magazine. He drives a Ford Fairmont.*

THE LEFTOVERS

PROTEST EXTRAVAGANZA

(Continued from page 21)

nation as illegitimate creatures of a ruling class of rich and powerful people. They see direct pressure — via confrontational, obnoxious protests — as the only way to make others do the "right" thing.

Let us consider their goals. They contend that the CIA, a "criminal" organization, should be prohibited from recruiting on campus. Apparently the protesters feel morally polluted by their University having anything to do with the CIA or with companies doing business in South Africa. Therefore we must keep CIA personnel from recruiting on campus, perhaps even from being there at all, sell off stock in certain companies, and so forth.

This proposal has one big problem. If the CIA Action Committee can get the CIA barred from campus for committing "genocide," why can't other groups do it too? Disarmament activists stop recruiting by companies making "immoral" nuclear weapons. Carolina Students for Life bars medical facilities performing abortions. Et cetera. Soon nobody is allowed to recruit on campus, or perhaps the Student Revolutionary Directorate passes judgment on whether a company or government agency is Morally Clean enough to be allowed on campus.

Either you have an open campus, or you don't. A "partially open" campus isn't really open at all. Either "all animals are equal" or, very quickly, you find that "all animals are equal — but some are more equal than others." Apparently the Student Congress agrees; it passed on October 5th a resolution supporting open recruiting on campus.

While the Board of Trustees can put endowment money where it wants, does its agreement to divest holdings in companies operating in South Africa reflect more a correctness in the UNC divestment proponents' arguments or their persistence and political clout? Would those attacking, say, Ethiopia's government for its "genocidal" program of 'villageization' get equal consideration — or will the larger, louder interest groups get a better hearing?

AND WHAT ABOUT THE PROTESTERS' METHODS? Radicals or not, they have a right to free speech, and an equally unquestioned right to engage in such protest activities as hunger strikes. But protest *per se* and direct action are different things and have different objectives. Protest aims to publicize issues, to try to persuade the public of the correctness of the protesters' ideas, and to have the people change things. Direct action aims to force change by putting direct pressure on people or organizations, bypassing the public. While the two can coexist, they are not identical.

The CIAAC had "protesters start an indefinite fast, to encourage the University to break all ties with the CIA and to cancel CIA recruitment on campus." It is one thing to fast to *protest* CIA "crimes" and recruitment on campus; it is another to fast to try to *directly force* the University to keep the CIA out. "And then when we began the fast then [sic] the conservative students began writing letters to the editor, denouncing us as being coercive because we wouldn't eat." This may be funny to the CIAAC, but it's not to others. Holding yourself hostage is not laughable. It's not as extreme as starving someone else — but it's still moral blackmail, when the objective isn't a moral principle but a tangible demand.

The very definition of "free speech" seems to be in question. Not only the CIAAC but the new Chapel Hill Coalition for Freedom to Dissent (mercifully abbreviated to CFD) has argued that efforts by the University to abate CIAAC protests by arresting the protesters are attempts to "silence dissenters." If the CIAAC protests are to be protected as free speech, then "free speech" just got a whole lot freer. What the CIAAC can do with impunity, other groups can too. They can invade the Career Planning and Placement Services office, or any University office, and protest as long as they like. They can disturb diners in Lenoir Hall, students in their classrooms, presumably even meetings of student groups (such as the CIAAC) in the Union, with "confrontational" protests — all in the name of Free Speech.

The usual definition of free speech does not protect speech at the expense of the University's ability to function, the students' ability to learn or even to hold meetings. It cannot be used to guarantee protesters a captive audience. However much the CIAAC may denigrate the importance of day-to-day activities compared to political agitation, people have a certain right to refuse to listen to protesters or anyone else. Perhaps the CFD is willing to put up with the problems and loss of other freedoms inherent in this new definition of Free Speech, but the rest of us mostly aren't. The current rules and laws don't allow disruptive Free Speech, and if protesters disagree, they are invited to practice civil disobedience to protest that, too — and go directly to jail.

The protesters complain of being "misunderstood," of being seen as obnoxious, publicity-seeking trend-followers. If they want the public to give them the benefit of the doubt on this question, they must give up the attitude that their audience consists of wayward children. They can have a real debate on the CIA issue, using protest to publicize their concerns; or the can attack the University and its students using direct-actio methods to try to force the issue to be decided their way. Bu they can't have it both ways. They cannot easily convinc people whom they hold in such obvious contempt, and the cannot be an effective, hard-hitting pressure group while tryin to be conciliatory and compromising.Evidently they hav chosen direct action; and so, when push comes to shove, th protesters should not be surprised if the University and i student body shove right back.

Jaynes is a graduate student in Physics from Orange Count and he's back in black, yes, he's back in black.

PERESTROIKA PERILS

(Continued from page 23)

munist system to be more efficient. Yet this may require fundamental move away from many of the foundations.of th current communist system which serves as the main justific tion for the continued existence of a large, multiracial Sovi empire. If drastic economic reforms occur, they will cause s vere short-term dislocations. Moving resources to the n glected consumer sector could cause a temporary decrease Soviet GNP in absolute terms. This has the potential to ang many Soviet citizens. The introduction of a market price syste could also meet with a popular backlash, especially if the lar subsidies for such things as housing are reduced. Econom problems, such as unemployment or high inflation, will al exacerbate the ethnic problems of the Soviet empire, as vario groups seek to make scapegoats of others. The classic examp of this is the current crisis in communist Yugoslavia, whe economic failure has increased ethnic tensions and brought t nation nearly to civil war.

THE TASK GORBACHEV FACES IS A DAUNTIN one. As for any U.S. role in this process, it must be seconda The main issue for us is likely to be whether or not to make loa amounting to billions of dollars by U.S. and other Weste banks. If *glasnost* and *perestroika* fail, the likely result will another hard-line regime in Moscow and increased tensi between the two superpowers, or possibly a bloody — and da gerous — revolution and civil war throughout Eastern Euro and much of Asia. However, if Gorbachev's reforms work, t Soviet Union would be a stronger nation, better able to ch lenge us for world leadership in the next century, when a m aggressive Soviet leader may be in charge.

The question then becomes, will Mikhail Gorbachev be a to eliminate the paranoia and expansionism found in Russi and then Soviet policy over the past three centuries? In eit case, the United States and its allies cannot let their gua down and just assume a happy ending.

Lowrey has finally gotten through an entire article with using one German word (okay, so he used a lot of Russian o — but it's a start).

By John Hood

TRIANGLE TRAINS NO BARGAIN

THE HIGHLY "PROGRESSIVE" RESEARCH TRIANGLE area — encompassing Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, and surrounding towns — is currently grappling with a by-product of that progress: traffic congestion. Unfortunately, the communities involved seem to think government planning is a solution rather than part of the problem.

It is not surprising, of course, that local policy makers assume traffic woes can be legislated away. Since transportation is closely linked with the development, quality of life, and prosperity of a community, many people automatically assume the need for a governmental role. But it should be obvious by now that anything as important as transportation shouldn't be left to bureaucrats to handle.

Throwing wisdom to the wind, however, a state government panel is trying to convince Triangle residents that they need a commuter rail system. The North Carolina Conference on Traffic Congestion is conducting a "study" — with state and federal funding — to determine what kinds of land-use controls local governments would have to impose on their citizens to make various regional bus and rail systems work. A representative of the groups says that the study will be presented to local governments to tell them how to "encourage" mass ransit through zoning and other regulations.

This mentality is precisely backwards. Instead of designing a ransit system to fit the needs of the market (of Triangle residents, in ther words) bureaucrats would rather change the market to fit the eeds of a transit system. If this wasn't so threatening to sound policy s well as freedom, it would be comical.

FIRST OF ALL, THE TRANSPORTATION PLANNERS AS- ume that "land-use policies" — or telling people what they can or an't do with their own property — is simply one more tool to be used "encourage" mass transit. But restrictions on citizens' freedom and roperty rights are hardly acceptable means towards any end, espe- ially towards supporting a rail transit system. Have these planners een asleep the past twenty years, as their peers in other American ties ran up huge deficits by building expensive rail systems that obody uses? "There are probably no markets for rail transit in merican cities west of the Hudson River," says Peter Gordon, a ansportation specialist at the University of Southern California.

He is not alone. The consensus among transportation scholars in anning departments across the country is that rail is the technology the 1890s, not the 1980s. Mass transit in America operates at an an- al deficit of roughly $3.8 billion. The percentage of trips to work ken on mass transit dropped from 8.9 percent to 6.9 percent during 1970s, even though rail projects proliferated in cities like Atlanta, n Diego, and San Francisco.

Rather than accept the judgment of consumers, who reject rail cause it's inconvenient and doesn't fit their need for flexibility, lay's out-of-touch planners want to change consumers, not the nsit system supposedly designed for them. In North Carolina's Tri- gle, that means more regulation of people's lives.

The strange thing is that land-use regulation is one reason rail is out- ed and traffic congested. Urban sprawl, which renders mass transit elevant to most commuters, is due in part to regulations ordering a ximum density in residential areas. Since developers couldn't put burgeoning population closer together, they built more develop- nts out in the hinterlands. This led to greater automobile commut- . People are also encouraged to drive because government regulations dictate how many parking spaces downtown developments must have. If you guarantee parking, people will drive. If you don't, people will have to find other ways of getting to work — like carpooling or buses.

Government regulations biased towards automobile commuting have indeed resulted in more of it. Now planners, to rectify a previous error, want to force people back downtown so that mass transit will have a market.

BUT THAT MISSES THE POINT. WHENEVER GOVERNment planners prevent the market from responding to what consumers want — as they did with zoning before and want to do now — inefficiency will surely follow. For transportation, this means that when bureaucrats substitute their desires (in the "public interest," of course) for the desires of the public themselves, the resulting system will reflect that substitution. Rail systems look great on paper, especially through the green eye-shades of some government bureaucrats. But when you actually build them, as cities like Atlanta and San Francisco are finding out, reality falls far short of expectation. People won't ride them. Ω

Hood is a senior journalism major from Charlotte.

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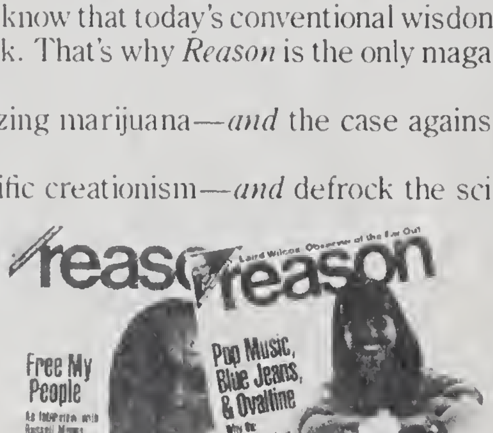
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Capital Punishment?
Critic Forum, Page 3

Vol. 2, No. 4
December 1988

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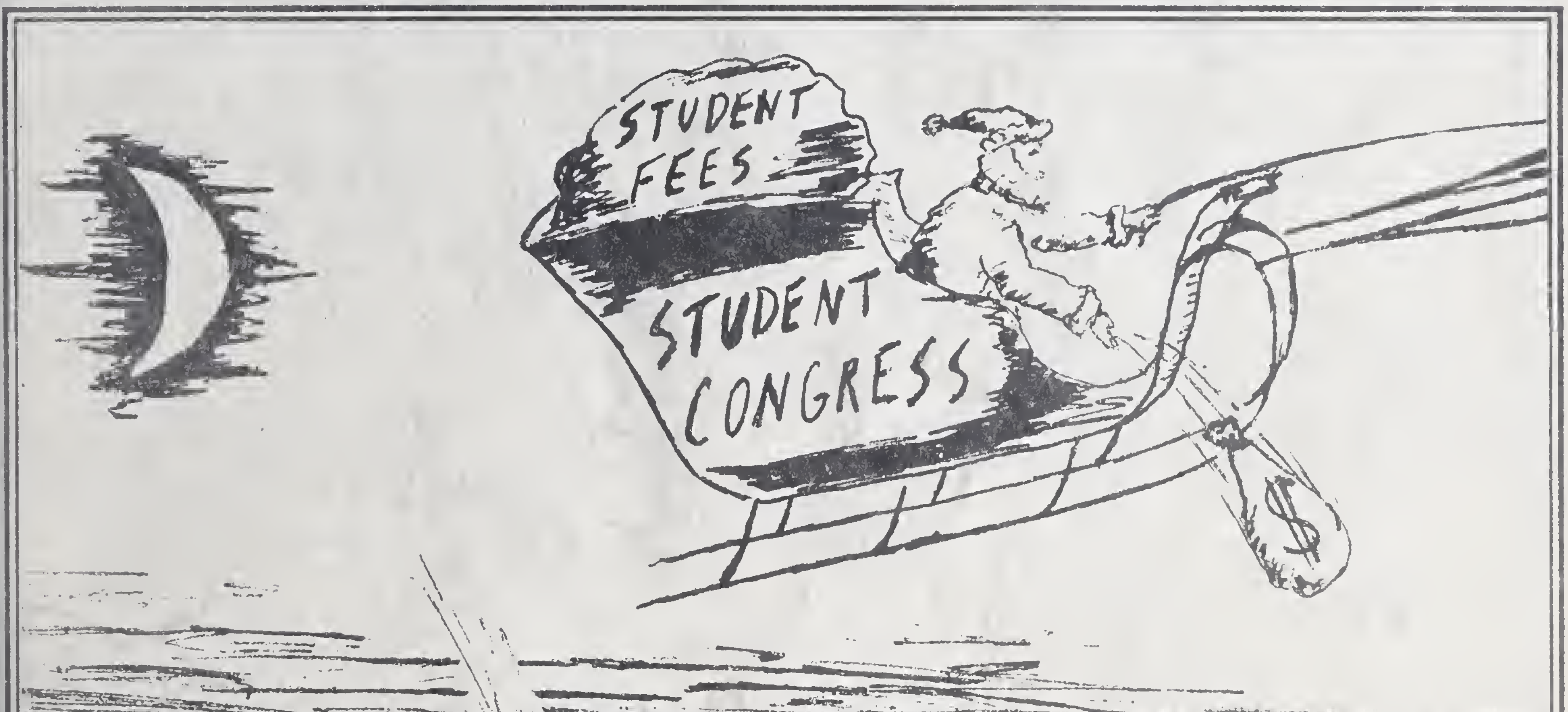
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A Student Journal of Opinion

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 15-F Estes Park Apartments, Carrboro, N.C. 27510. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social group, or anti-social group. Subscriptions are $10 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, donations, and Christmas gifts are welcome (but send fruitcakes to *the catalyst*).
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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Critic Forum:** *To Kill or Not To Kill?*
Jason James and Brad Beebe agree that the current system of capital punishment is ineffective, but they disagree on whether it can be fixed.

4 **Correspondence**
Critic founder John Hood shares some final thoughts before graduation.

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Cover Story:** *The Tax Man Cometh.*
David Hood, Bob Lukefahr, and John Jaynes look at how student congress is playing Santa with your money.

18 **The World Stage:***Get Ready for 1992*.
Michael Lowrey examines the arguments for the elimination of intra-European trade barriers and explores the political ramifications.

19 **The Faculty Rostrum:** *Volunteerism.*
Dr. Eric Brodin of Campbell University explains that long before the politicians in Washington became so paternalistic, Americans were turning to their neighbors in time of need.

20 **Essays**
Jason James argues that pornography has no redeeming qualities and doesn't merit First Amendment protection... Bryan Wells looks at the controversy surronding the Dartmouth Review and finds a recipe for repression... Paul Cory has some final thoughs on why Liberalism is, and ought to be a pejorative term.

23 **The National Truss**
The anti-nuclear movement's boycott of G.E. is the wrong action at the wrong time for the wrong reason.

SHOULD AMERICA HAVE A DEATH PENALTY?

Aye – By Jason James

IS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT EVER justified? Some people ould have you believe that it is an illegitimate act and that no overnment has the right to kill its citizens. They say it is immoral, neffective and runs contrary to the principles of American onstitutional law. In fact the opposite is true.

Anyone who is looking for proof of the deterrent effect of the death enalty need only look to one of the many Muslim countries that ractice it with consistency. In Saudi Arabia, for example, the rate of iolent crime is a fraction of what it is here in America. Why? Because e punishment is swift and sure. Sociologists and psychologists will rgue forever about whether people actually consider the onsequences of a violent act before committing it, about whether their ost recent primate experiments lead them to believe otherwise, but ne needs only to look to the East for proof.

Why, then, is it that the states that have capital punishment don't ave significantly lower murder rates? The answer is obvious. Just as utomobile drivers would not obey the speed limit signs if the penalties ere not enforced, murderers won't fear execution unless it is nforced. To the extent that capital punishment *is* ineffective the eople opposing it are partly to blame. If they would stop trying to lock every execution by exploiting obscure legal technicalities the ws could be as effective here as they are in Saudi Arabia.

One of the favorite battle cries of the anti-capital punishment crowd the charge of immorality. But what is immoral about a practice that ves innocent lives at the expense of scoundrels? As was already oted, when practiced with consistency the act of executing murderers events, or at least helps to prevent, further acts of murder. This means at by executing one murderer society can prevent another would-be urderer from killing an innocent person. Does this sound immoral?

The position that the death penalty is immoral concludes that no atter how horrible the crime, no matter how many people have been lled or how brutally, the victims, their relatives, or anyone acting in eir behalf (such as the government) cannot to be allowed to kill the iminal. Instead, society must either provide the criminal with a free nch for the rest of his (or her) natural life, or release the criminal back to society.

Another argument people opposed to the death penalty make is that violates the Constitutional prohibition against cruel and unusual nishment. Again here it is important to note the relevant history. pital punishment was practiced regularly within eighteenth century erica. Had the founding fathers wished to stop the practice they uld have certainly said so in more explicit terms. The language of Constitution was not interpreted as a prohibition of the practice n, and to regard it as such now would be nothing less than rewriting Constitution.

Additionally, there are several questions raised by the practice of eping people in jail for their entire life. To do so requires a lot of ney. This money comes, of course, from taxes. Meaning that the dow of a murdered man may be required to pay the cost of keeping husband's murderer in prison. Is this right? Is there no room for ribution in our legal system? Surely there ought to be.

In this country, criminals who are not sentenced to death are often eased after serving a fraction of their sentence, even a "life" tence. The girl whose parents were murdered can grow up to see ir killer released before she reaches middle age. Multiple life terms, or ones measured in hundreds of years, are required for a true life sentence. And still we must choose between feeding and housing, or releasing, even the most abominable of criminals, as long as we forswear the death penalty.

Capital punishment is not only effective, but it is moral and in the best tradition of American constitutional law. Those who want to abolish it should think long and hard about the rights of society to protect itself and to enforce its laws. They should also consider the rights of the victims of crime, and not just the rights of the criminals. There is nothing particularly right or moral about keeping a man who has raped and killed a young woman in prison, and on the public dole, in order to make anti-capital punishment activists feel better. Ω

Jason is a sophomore political science major who wants to take a bite out of crime.

Nay– By Brad Beebe

IN RECENT AMERICAN POLITICAL DIALOGUE, IT IS A serious thing to be accused of being "soft" on crime. According to popular logic, being against the death penalty means being a friend of criminals and a foe of the decent people of America. The death penalty is seen as a most effective and clearly justified method of dispensing justice and reducing crime. There are, however, many compelling arguments against the death penalty, and none of them have anything to do with being "soft." For moral, as well as practical reasons, the United States can ill afford to continue the use of the death penalty.

The immorality of the death penalty far outweighs any other arguments against it. No judicial system is perfect, and ours is no exception. It is impossible for our system to accurately determine who is innocent and who is guilty 100 percent of the time. We have to determine what is the acceptable loss for our system and what is the acceptable error. This basically means that we have to choose between putting more innocent people behind bars, and allowing more guilty people to go free in order to spare the innocent. Although this is most unfortunate, until a perfect system is found, this will remain the case.

Luckily, our judicial system is oriented towards minimizing the number of innocent people who are found guilty. "Beyond a reasonable doubt" is supposed to ensure justice, but "beyond a reasonable doubt" is not "beyond all doubt." Jurors are far from perfect, they have their biases and prejudices like anyone else. They are people deciding the fate of other people, and they will always remain fallible. In any trial, there will always remain some doubt as to whether the accused has actually committed the crime for which he is charged. In a system with no death penalty, a convicted criminal who is later found to be innocent can always be released from prison. Granted, the state has stolen time from his life that he can never get back; but at least he is alive. With the death penalty, the possibility of correcting a error in verdict is eliminated when a person goes to the electric chair. If he has already been electrocuted, it doesn't do much good to find him innocent at a later date. This can hardly be deemed an "acceptable loss." Killing innocent people is never acceptable.

For the more practical-minded, there is a strong argument against capital punishment from a cost/benefit point of view. If the idea of

(continued on page 22)

TO OUR FRIENDS AND FOES:

It's been almost 16 months since I had the idea of founding a magazine of student opinion at UNC-Chapel Hill. Since then, this wacky idea has taken concrete form in The Carolina Critic. Starting with the premiere issue in October 1987, the Critic has come out thirteen times (every month during the academic year plus a summer issue). About 50 students have written for the Critic, with topics running the gamut from Soviet politics and state transportation policy to UNC admissions and movie reviews. A content analysis of the Critic (exempting "The Critical Eye") shows that about 50 percent of our articles have dealt with campus or local issues — a major achievement given most politically-sentient writers' desire to pontificate about the nation and world.

Four former staffers have already moved into the fields of journalism or politics, with more surely to follow. We've placed Critic op-eds on the editorial pages of North Carolina dailies and weeklies, including *The Charlotte Observer*, *The Winston-Salem Journal*, and *The* (Raleigh) *News and Observer*. Articles by Critic staffers have appeared in national magazines such as *Reason*, *The Freeman*, and *Nation's Business*. In this year's Felix Morley Prizes, a national writing competition sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies (and named for the late Pulitzer-prize winning editor of the *Washington Post*), three staffers won awards for their work in the Critic and elsewhere. And praise for the Critic last summer in an issue of *National Review* brought even more attention and support for our activities.

Although I am more than ready to get the heck out of here this month, I must admit that the prospect of "letting go" of the Critic is a little disconcerting. Will it survive? (Answer: yes) Will it stay the same? (Answer: probably not, but that's good). Can I live without the monthly headache of getting the Critic out? (Answer: what a stupid question!)

Actually I'm certain that the new crew of honchos — Bob Lukefahr as editor and Jason James as managing editor — will continue to build the staff and improve the quality of the magazine. Besides, my twin brother David will stay on as publisher for the foreseeable future, providing continuity as one of the magazine's founders. I'd like to thank Michael Lowrey for his hard work, financial acumen, and foreign wordsmithery; John Jaynes, for his crucial contributions in the writing and copy editing department; Rick Henderson, for his invaluable advice in conceptualizing and organizing the magazine; Jeff Taylor, for constantly getting us in trouble with "Critical Eye" bits; and all staffers — past and present — who have worked to provide our readers with a timely, witty, and insightful product.

Lastly, thanks to the readers for your attention and feedback (both the positive and midnight phone call varieties). We hope you've enjoyed the past year and a half, and that you will continue to pick us up in the future.

Later, and Don't Forget the Cheese,

John M. Hood
A Post-Editorial Reality

We wish John good luck as Bob works toward a kinder, gentler Critic.

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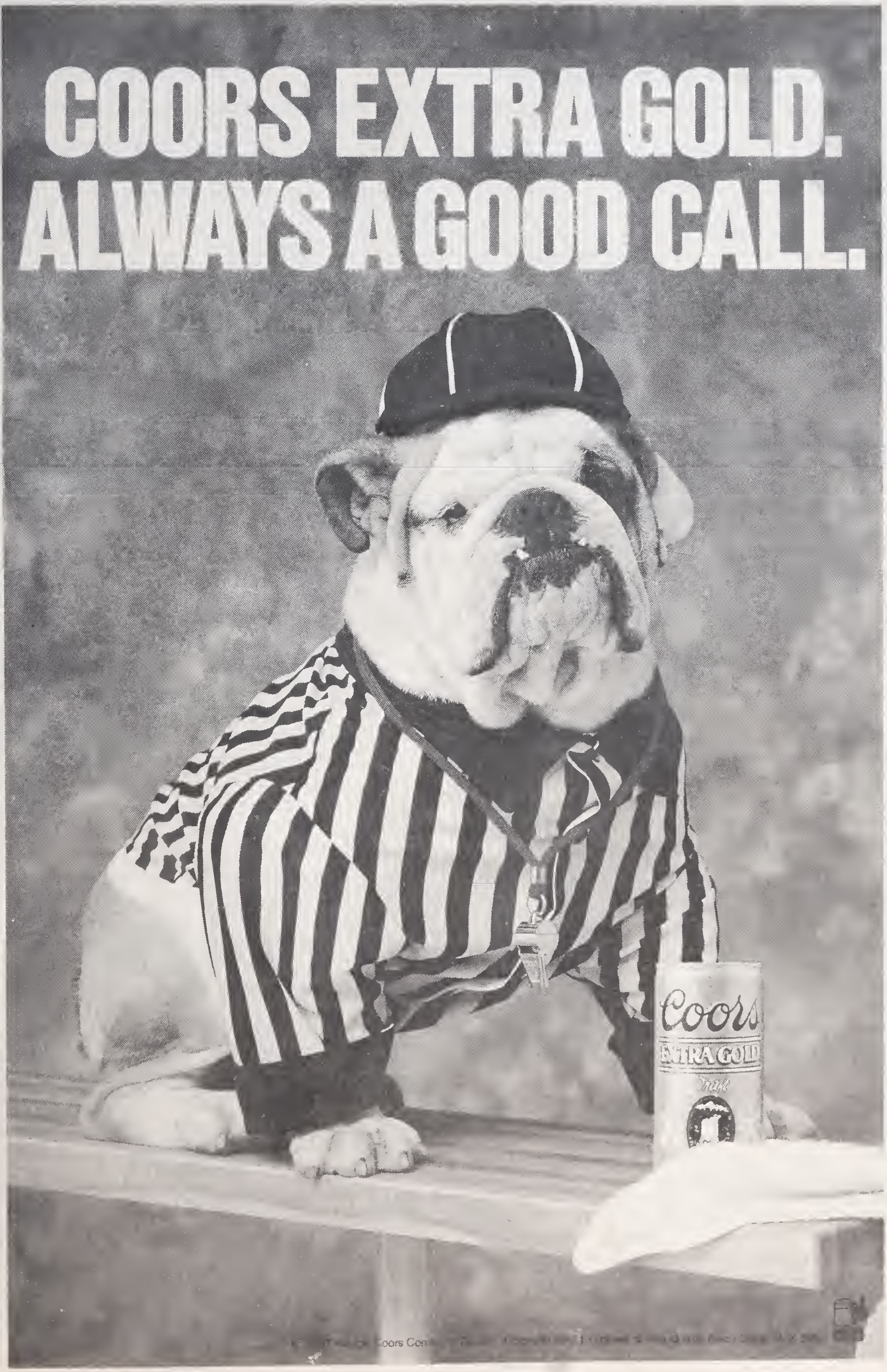
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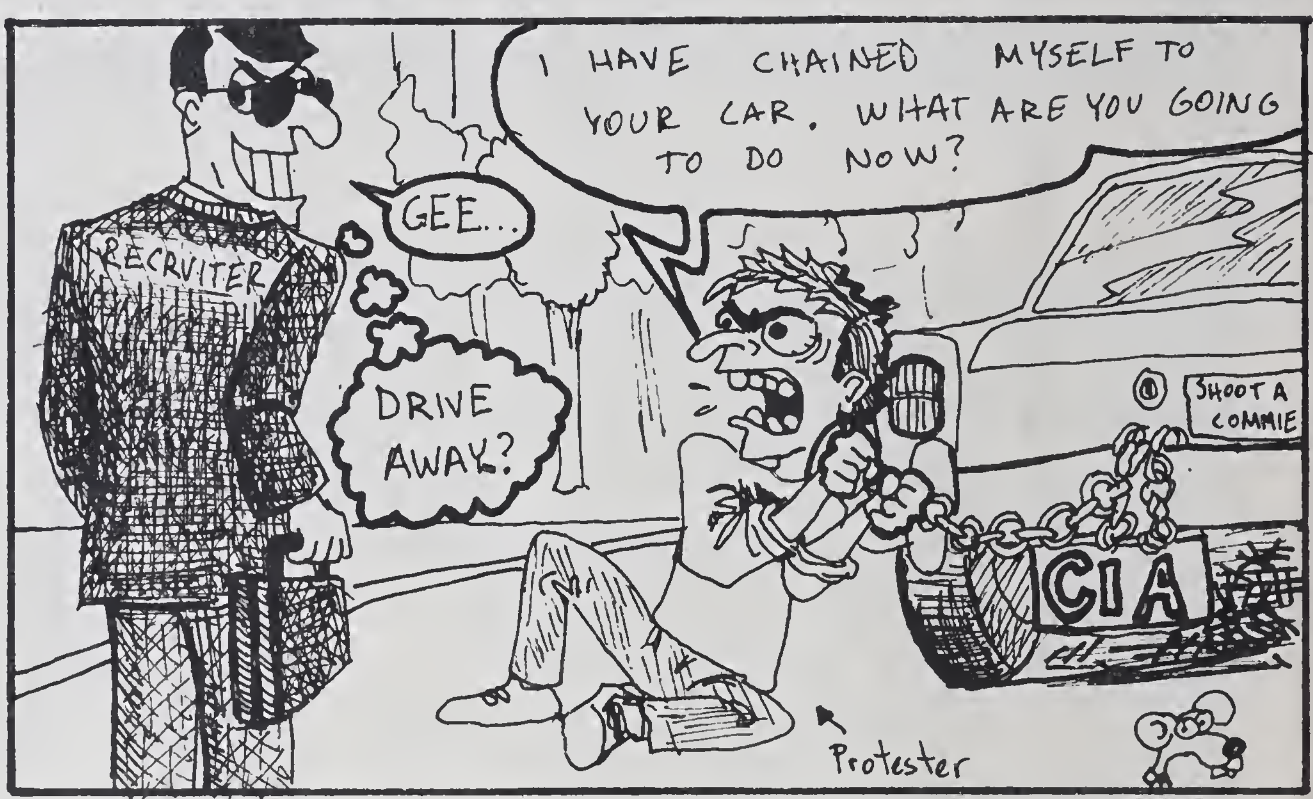
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CIA
Protester

• November 1988: Commander William Riker of the U.S.S. Enterprise grew a beard. Basketball season began. Oh, and George Bush will be our next president.

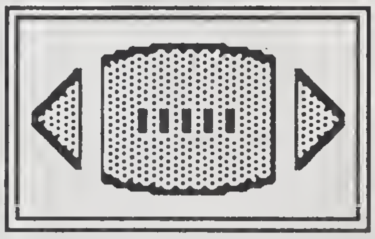
• Overheard: DTH University desk writers are tired of writing about Dale McKinley. Now he's leaving. Could there be a connection? Naahh...

• Well, they imploded the Hotel Charlotte and in its place the Queen City will have another $100 million office/hotel complex. A sure sign of a vibrant economy, right? Not if you're a trade deficit doomsayer. You see, that complex will be owned by a company controlled by a Swiss holding company, which is **bad**. All the jobs, construction and otherwise, created by the project are of course not counted in trade figures, which is yet another reason why trade figures are meaningless.

• All right, we were wrong — Gardner won. So sue us!

• No, just kidding. Really! We don't want to help any starving lawyers, do we?

• Our proposals for avoiding another 1-10 nightmare: 1) Black "stealth" head-gear and uniforms for backs and receivers. 2) In all ACC contests both teams should be required to take pre-game written tests on cursive writing, telling a circle from a square, and remembering your address and phone number. Those who pass, play in the game, thereby assuring wins over State and Clemson. 3) To help in recruiting, the Sweet Carolines should be pressed into more, ahem, active duties.



• Just kidding. No midnight phone calls, please. Unless they're obscene.

• In case you haven't heard, the University is planning to spend between $10,000 and $12,000 to put a fence around the Arboretum. Sgt. Comar of the University Police contends that "the action is intended to alert people that the Arboretum is not the best or safest route to walk at night." Wouldn't a few warning signs have been a helluvalot cheaper?

• Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young's keynote speech of Human Rights Week left a few leftie true-believers miffed. Such Young comments as "good race relations turns out to be very good business" did not please students who think capitalism itself is a major human rights violator. No matter. The real news here is that Young, once a particularly irresponsible race demagogue, is starting to present a much more moderate image — especially since his ascendancy to the heady job of chief booster for the South's Miracle City. Real cooperation *has* proved to be profitable, thus guaranteeing more cooperation. Meanwhile, Young's gubernatorial aspirations — and chances — are rising fast.

• Make your travel plans and load up on all the Levi's you can: on Sept. 2, 1989, Moscow will be the site of the Glasnost Bowl. Honest, the Glasnost Bowl will pit Southern Cal. against Illinois in front of thousands of totally bewildered Muscovites. We just hope the boys will be home from Afghanistan in time for the kickoff.

• It's a wonder the NEA hasn't tried this. Teachers in Zimbabwe are fleeing schools and classrooms that they claim are haunted. In response, headmasters have hired exorcists to rid their schools of the *Tokoloshi*, or spirits. But this violates Zimbabwe's Witchcraft Suppression Act. And so another public policy debate is spawned for Robert Mugabe to decide.

• The PTL auction starts soon. Got your plug nickels ready?

• As a public service, the Critic would like to urge all UNC students to complete their respective degree requirements as soon as possible and enter the work force. With luck you can be safely 9-to-5-ing it before the recession hits. What recession? The one brought by the morons, Democrat and Republican alike, who insist a tax increase is needed. There's probably no hope for freshmen and sophomores — but hey, at least you know who to blame.

• Another Big Lie is the notion that "business leaders" favor a tax increase to "solve" the deficit problem. Small business employs by far the most Americans, and over 11,000 entrepreneurs (or 55 percent of respondents) told Arthur Anderson and Company's Small Business Survey that spending cuts *alone* were the best way to attack the deficit. Interestingly, while two-thirds of those surveyed said the budget deficit was the most important issue facing President-Elect Bush, 45 percent said changing unfair tax rates needed to be a top priority, too. Oh that it would be...

• Incidentally, because of the economy's strength, about $80 billion in new tax revenues will be flowing into the Treasury in April 1989. Common sense says that if Congress could exercise even a modicum of spending restraint... Oh, never mind. The people elected them and they deserve what they get.

• After an article in *Newsweek* about the increasing popularity of sensational television programs, every journal from *The Charlotte Observer* to the *Daily Tar Heel* to *Rolling Stone* has jumped on the bandwagon and criticized those shows (Geraldo, Mort, etc.). It seems the criticism is as faddish as the shows themselves. It is interesting to note that the shows' guests have found such fame and fortune. Roy Innes, who endeared himself

Clipboard

Juris(im)prudence: "There should be no laws. Rather, each court case should be considered independently." — Brock Dickinson, member of the CIAAC.

Will Power?: "When Arafat soon seeks a visa to visit the United Nations — that author of so much mischief, where he once was applauded when he took a pistol to the podium — the U.S. government should say no. That decision will say that this government sees the extremism beneath the weasel-words and evasions." — syndicated columnist George Will.

The Battered L-Word: "The liberal conception of color-blind institutions, in which individual choice and individual ability are all that matter, is explicitly rejected [by modern university communities]. Blindness to color or other differences seemingly irrelevant to intellectual qualifications is described as covert prejudice, since its real effect, it is alleged, is to force Western, white, male, heterosexual standards and culture on all others." — Thomas Short in *Measure*.

Dems in the Dumps: "For the first time in memory, the losing party has no putative front-runner. Sen. Bill Bradley comes closest to that category, but party leaders around the country are wary and unenthusiastic. Nor do they lust after 1992. They feel Bush probably will be formidable for a second term, barring a genuine depression. And campaign rhetoric aside, they see no depression on the horizon." — Rolie Evans and Bob Novak, syndicated columnists.

Helping Hand: Charles Murray argues in a recent *Philanthropy* that from the 1940s through 1960, the richer the United States got, the greater proportion of its wealth that was given to philanthropy. Then suddenly, sometime during 1964-65, in the middle of an economic boom, this consistent trend was reversed. This new and disturbing trend continued until 1981, when it reversed itself again, as a new administration came to office that once more seemed to be saying: "If you don't do it, nobody will."

Chasing Big Tips:"People justify the government's involvement [in prohibiting insider trading] on the grounds that investors will not put money into the market if they think they might get shafted by some insider. It is good for the economy, according to this argument, when companies find it easy to raise capital. But the corporations that use the stock exchanges for raising capital have combined assets of...what, a bezillion dollars? They can afford to hire new securities umpires of their own if they deem it in their collective best interest. Their individual portions of this cost will be tiny. Think of SEC Chairman David Ruder stopping to get his shoes shined. Every year the shoeshine man gives up part of his meager earnings in taxes so that Ruder can go to his nice office and assist Exxon in raising capital. Trust me, Exxon will do okay without taking money from shoeshine men." — Craig Collins in *Reason*.

—Staff

Military Insignifica

One more reason not to go to Luanda: Back in August, Mr. T.K. Quett Masire, head of the African nation of Botswana, was flying down to Luanda, Angola for an international conference. Somehow the Angolan Air Force didn't find out about the trip, and one of their MIG-21 fighters fired two missiles at the president's plane — ripping off one of its two engines and damaging a wing. This forced an emergency landing in a war zone.

New Kid on the Block?: The U.S. Air Force has finally admitted the Stealth Fighter exists and released a picture of it along with its designation. The latter, F-117A, comes as a major surprise, either meaning the Stealth Fighter program has been around since at least 1962 (i.e. before the U.S. started numbering new fighters over again from F-1 up) or the number was used to avoid attention. Previously, the fighter was thought to be called the F-19, a number skipped in the series (we have F-18, F-20, F-21). So if the Stealth Fighter isn't the F-19, what is? Is there another secret fighter project out there the Pentagon isn't talking about? Never fear, the Washington Post will surely let us — and the rest of the world — know.

Tugs Under Fire: After much public embarrassment over the refusal of the Australian tug boat union to dock Royal Navy warships (the British, like the U.S., refuse to confirm or deny whether their warships carry nuclear weapons) the Australian Navy is going to acquire two tug boats of its own.

Wimpy Titan: Back in the October issue we told you about the impending launch of the first Titan IV rocket. *Aviation Week and Space Technology* now reports the launch has been delayed for up to five months. It seems Air Force engineers aren't sure parts of the rocket can stand the rigors of launch.

—Michael Lowrey

to millions by starting a brawl that culminated in Geraldo being punched in the nose, was probably on Rivera's show because of Innes's earlier exploit on Morton Downey, where he attacked a white supremacist. With a record of two shows and two knockdowns, Innis is the reigning heavyweight champeen of tabloid TV.

• Would-be challengers please note: Downey will be doing a show from Greensboro in January. Don't forget your gloves…

We've caught you...
...under the Mistletoe

• Estonia's bold attempt at "reverse Finlandization" met with the predictable you've-got-to-be-kidding response from Gorby. Of course, 1.5 million Estonians are not going to strike fear in the hearts of Politburo members. But if any of the occupied buffer states (i.e. Eastern Europe), the Central Asian Republics, or (Lenin forbid) the Ukraine get any ideas from Estonia, then heads — and maybe tanks — will roll.

• In yet another of its objective, unbiased stories the DTH reported that Gorby has "collected rave reviews for his handling of political and economic bridges to Western Europe." What a neat guy! At the same time, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci notes that the Soviets have more divisions in Czechoslovakia than the U.S. has in Europe, and more divisions in East Germany than the U.S. has in its entire active army. The Red Army must be needed to defend *glasnost* from those unruly Serbian nationalists.

• Why can't Johnny read? Richard Lynn, writing in *National Review*, explains that American education "is run the same way the Soviets run their industry and agriculture, namely, as a producer-controlled state monopoly." Hmm… you suppose it's time to explain *perestroika* to the National Education Association?

• Speaking of *perestroika*, according to Karl Marx: "Defining by a general law the expenditures on the elementary schools, the qualifications of the teaching staff, the branches of instruction, and, as is done in the United States, supervising the fulfillment of these legal specifications by state inspectors, is a very different thing from appointing the state as the educator of the people! Government… should rather be excluded from any influence in the school." Which probably confirms what you've always suspected: the American education establishment is just a little to the left of Karl Marx.

• Can you say 'voucher'?

• You thought the U.S. election was shallow and spiteful? Consider the Great White North's, eh. Here we have Liberal Party candidate John Turner promising to "keep Canada Canadian for Canadians" and warning that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives secretly want to turn Canada into the 51st State. All this over a free trade agreement with the U.S. which is clearly, undoubtedly mutually beneficial. To his credit, Mulroney never backed away from the treaty, argued forcefully for the notion of free trade, and managed to pull out a victory. The fact that it was close at all is what's disturbing. Can you imagine a serious candidate for national office in the U.S. saying "Let's keep America American for Americans"?

• No, you see, Michael wasn't a serious candidate.

• Still wondering why the good governor was annihilated in the election? Even Dukakis-supporting friends of a Critic "elder statesman" had to admit defeat after reading a candidate profile. There was a "Meet the Candidates" section on October 31st in, of all places, *The Mini Page*, the weekly syndicated newspaper supplement for kids. In this profile, readers found out the true characters of these two men. Vice-President Bush, as expected, was flag-waving and patriotic as he listed his favorite sports, fishing, tennis, running, and horseshoes, and his favorite type of food, Mexican. Invite us to his next picnic. Governor Dukakis's preferences, however, were even more enlightening. Favorite sport: athletic walking. Favorite hobbies: gardening and snow-blowing. Favorite food: casseroles. **Casseroles**?! This man wants to lead the Free World and his favorite food is Tuna Helper?? Would they serve it at state dinners? Come on folks, tell the truth: **who's the real wimp here**? No wonder Bush won the whole enchilada.

- Recently, scientists from 90 countries gathered in Myrtle Beach for a conference of the Association for the Advancement of Policy, Research, and Development in the Third World. Executive director Mekki Mtewa of Malawi said Myrtle was chosen because "we wanted to be in a quiet place." Maybe there is something to this cultural relativism thing.

- Since the new B-2 "Stealth" bomber looks just like a giant boomerang, how far can it fly before it starts to come back? Or maybe it's really an off-budget development from the props department for the new Batman movie...

- On a much more serious note, the B-2 is in fact not a bomber, nor for that matter is the F-117A "Stealth" fighter a fighter. Both are ground attack aircraft: the B-2 strategic and the F-117A tactical. The B-2's mission will be to penetrate Soviet airspace undetected and hunt down mobile SS-24 and -25 ICBMs. Now that a system has been developed to counteract these mobile missiles, watch for Moscow to call for a cap on their numbers at the START talks, while the U.S. has *no* mobile ICBM capability. Such a proposal should be rejected by the Bush administration. And the Baker administration.

Antagonistic Aphorisms

I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations.

— James Madison

The more corrupt the state, the more numerous the laws.

— Tacitus

He who does anything because it is the custom makes no choice. He gains no practice either in discerning or in desiring what is best.

— J.S. Mill

A fool's brain digests philosophy into folly, science into superstition, and art into pedantry. Hence University education.

— G.B. Shaw

Anger is an energy.

— John Lydon

- Critic Psychological Insight #64362: campus consciousness-raising types tend to be intellectual snobs, as evidenced by their frequent use of the word "educate" to describe Human Rights Week activities. Teachers educate students; it's a decidedly unequal relationship. True peers, however, engage in *persuasion* — a term which assumes one is changing opinions, not implanting them.

- So, Dale McKinley has won the right to another prosecutor in his Honor Court case, according to a recent ruling. Apparently the august judges of the Court felt that the original prosecutor was simply too qualified, i.e. he had previously graduated from law school. Pardon us if we are wrong, but wouldn't greater legal experience in Honor Court proceedings help to safeguard the liberties of the accused?

- Junior journalism major Daniel Conover, writing in a DTH editorial, questions the legitimacy of our Critical position on affirmative action. He decries our "spouting idealistic pablum" about rights and things like that, and says we ought to start thinking more about realistic means of ending discrimination in our country. A recent guest on WXYC's "Northern Hemisphere Live" made a similar point while defending Dale McKinley's intrusion on the rights of his fellow students. He said that we "spend too much time on rights" instead of focusing on "social justice." We assume that this unbelievable rejection of the philosophical underpinnings of our nation is the result of required reading of Machiavelli in high school and college. Once and for all, the ends do **not** justify the means, if that means that we have to abandon a just process in favor of an unjust one. We hope Conover and others will in the future be required to read Walter Williams' The State Against Blacks, which tells us just how effective those unjust means are in achieving their purported ends.

- We couldn't have said it better ourselves. A recent flyer from Student Congress told student leaders to "get your hands on part of a $400,000 jackpot!" when referring to student activities fees. "Getting your hands on a jackpot" is a pretty good way to describe special-interest politics, be they at the expense of a student body or of the American public. Jackpots are not received in exchange for anything of value

- Did you wonder why the reported election returns for Bush and Dukakis added up to exactly 100 percent of the vote, despite the thousands of votes garnered by Ron Paul and Lenora Fulani? It turns out that the vote totals were **fudged** by the News Election Service to come up with 100 percent totals for the Dems and the GOP. The NES is a joint venture of AP, UPI, and the three commercial networks. They evidently did not wish to "confuse" the voters with decimals — or have to use valuable

Across the Bows

In his editorial "A Welcome Condemnation," David Starnes says that a "hostile attitude toward dissent and the free exchange of ideas was fanned by the student court proceedings against the activists." He also claims that "the perception, again supported by the BOT's public denunciation of the protestors, was that the University was using the student court as a tool to silence activism." Okay, one more time, please pay attention. The University is not silencing activism by prosecuting those who a) violate its rules and b) break the law. It is foolish to believe that we must allow students to chain themselves in front of Hanes Hall in order to preserve their Constitutional freedoms. No rights, not even those contained in the First Amendment, are unlimited. This University has created an environment in which members of the community have access to half a dozen student publications, a radio station, and a television station. In addition, activists may protest anywhere they wish so long as they don't disrupt University activity. This is hardly an atmosphere of intolerance. By condemning the illegal actions of the CIAAC, the University was not fostering a hostile attitude toward dissent, but instead healthy respect for the Constitutional guarantees afforded all Americans — even CIA recruiters. I would submit that anyone who perceives that the University of North Carolina is squelching dissent is suffering from irrational political myopia. Campus activism is alive and well at UNC, notwithstanding the few twisted cretins who are always ready to tear down posters and steal stacks of the Critic because they don't like what the activists have to say.

Randy Bullock, writing on the DTH editorial page, has revealed the Democrats' electoral problem — so Paul Kirk, listen up! The reason they lost, Bullock explains, is because the word left (no, not leftist policies, but the word "left") has negative connotations. Yeah, that's the ticket. He cites as examples: "left behind," "left out," and "left to rot." He then asks, "Am I making myself clear"? Well actually no, you're not. What about those Southern favorites: "right mean, right ugly, and right stupid"? Try again, Randy. Bush/Quayle '92.

From the Collective Guilt Department: editorial writer Sandy Dimsdale writes, "If nothing more comes from Human Rights Week, students should hope that all who see the swastikas in the Pit will be ashamed." Preposterous! Why should we all be ashamed just because a few racist pinheads have painted swastikas by the Pit? It is not our collective fault that they have the intellect of the average turnip. We should be angry, disgusted, and outraged, but not ashamed. That's the problem with these collective guilt trips — if everybody is to blame, then nobody is accountable. It is the perpetrators who ought to be ashamed. Of course, I may be splitting hairs. Maybe Dimsdale *meant* to write angry, disgusted, outraged, etc.

Memo Critic Christmas Fund: Re thesaurus for Dimsdale...

DTH staff writer David Ball got rather upset with Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young last month. You see, when Ball asked His Honor about division of neighborhoods along racial lines, Young answered only that "blacks and whites could live where they wanted to." Which caused Ball to be "sadly disappointed." But look, Mayor Young is right. If, and this is a big If, there has been no discrimination, and there are no artificial barriers which perpetuate racial divisions, then people ought to be allowed to live wherever they wish to live. What would you have the good mayor do — force blacks to move into predominantly white neighborhoods and vice versa? I should hope not. People in Atlanta today basically enjoy the same liberties students here at UNC enjoy, and here, in case you haven't noticed, a large percentage of black students who reside on campus choose to live on South Campus. You don't mind that, do you? Or are you planning to force these students to go north next year? Bigotry is eliminated one person at a time, one relationship at a time. Government's role is to enforce the laws that prohibit discriminatory practices, not to make everyone live in the same house.

The Forerunner, a national campus publication which claims to be "Taking the Lead in the Battle of Ideas" is once again arming its readers with intellectual peashooters. In what may be the silliest article of all time, they reveal the "startling facts" about what happened when school prayer was stopped. The article explains that the "measurable, tangible effect" of ending teacher-led school prayer was that "crime, venereal disease, pre-marital sex, illiteracy, suicide, drug use, public corruption, and other social ills began a dramatic increase..." Yeah, right. And can we also attribute the increased life expectancy, decreased poverty, and increased church membership achieved during the same period to the halting of school prayer? The fact the two things happen in the same vicinity doesn't establish a causal relationship between them. In this case it is far more likely that ending school prayer was the result of certain social changes which also led to the problems cited rather than the cause of those changes.

Memo to Critic Christmas Fund: Re Aristotle's Organon...

-Bob Lukefahr

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airtime or column-inches to explain what the Libertarian or New Alliance parties stand for. Yesiree, democracy (limit two, please) is alive and well.

- Rev. William Sloane Coffin, president of the nuclear disarmament group SANE/FREEZE, was quoted as saying, "The spread of nuclear power [he means weapons] has made necessary the goal of a warless world." So what you're saying then, Rev. Coffin, is that nuclear weapons are so powerful **no country** can start a war and hope to win. Well, this is progress! We believe you're catching on, after all. Oh, and in case you haven't heard, this novel strategy, which used to be called deterrence, has worked rather well for the past forty years. Now that we have that cleared up, about this SDI thing...

- It seems that those sneaky mass murderers at the CIA are up to no good again. *U.S. News and World Report* notes that they approved a resolution, which was presented to the KGB, that proposes a ban on covert military and paramilitary operations in the Third World. The pressure from the CIA Action Committee must have been too great.

• "We have a problem in North Carolina [that] people refuse to deal with," Dennis Schatzman, executive director of the N.C. NAACP, told the DTH last month. "White people generally feel black people are inferior, so they either don't look for them or claim to have [no jobs] available. It's a fact of life." So this is how one goes about easing racial tensions. Thanks for clearing that up, Dennis.

• My, how things change. The Communist Chinese are now being taught that "to get rich is glorious" and many are hard at work seeking glory. But a word of warning to our enterprising new friends: capitalism provides both he incentive and the means for making money, but once you've done so you will be subjected to endless ectures about why you hould feel guilty about it. No, we don't understand it, either.

On the Black Student Movement

Last month we reported that a proposed new minority scholarship would be funded out of the BSM's budget and therefore violated the University's affirmative action guidelines, which stipulate that no one is to be discriminated against on the basis of race. Fortunately we were wrong. The money for this scholarship is, according to BSM President Kenneth Perry, coming from "a private source," and **not** from school funds. We regret any confusion caused by this error. As David Hood explained in his article "Magazine supports self-reliance, not racism," which appeared in the *Daily Tar Heel* last month: "If the scholarship were to be funded with private money, then we withdraw our opposition to the proposal." Well, it is and we do.

How, you ask, could the CRITIC make such an egregious error? The answer depends on who you ask. According to Perry, "the Critic lied publicly to establish a cause for defunding the BSM." He also accused us of having "malicious intent" and of publicly defaming his organization. All of which is absolute nonsense, and he should know better.

First of all, the Critic didn't lie (i.e. intentionally deceive). We made an error based on what we read in the *Daily Tar Heel* (we know, we should have known better). The DTH reported that the BSM "received a stipend of $50,000 from a University source, part of which will be used as initial scholarship fund money..." Well, silly us. We thought that "from a University source" was synonymous with "from the University" — and thus our confusion.

All this was explained to Perry when he first contacted us about the mistake. Nevertheless, he proceeded to call us liars "with malicious intent" and accused us of public defamation. Well, for the record, the editors of this journal are not liars and we bear no malice toward the BSM or Perry. Furthermore, in spite of what you may have read, this University can neither "forbid the circulation of" this publication nor deny us "the use of University facilities" just because certain campus groups — even powerful ones — don't agree with us. Correct us if we are wrong — but isn't the BSM one of the members of the Coalition for **Freedom to Dissent**? Oh, well, maybe some forms of dissent are more equal than others...

— The Editors.

• Oh yeah, never mind, we tried that already. It even helped, a little. Remember: always hit the bureaucrat in the pocketbook to get his attention.

• Timeless trendinistas: In 1854 the student editors of UNC's *University Magazine* wrote, "The fire of rebellion is generally kindled by a certain class of students who spent their time at something else than with their textbooks. They talk loudly and pathetically of the gross injustices done them." At least there is one university tradition we know will endure.

• Remember the university's decision last year not to permit a Smith Center concert by U2 during fall semester exams? The concert was deemed too much of a distraction during crucial study time. Well, John Denver, cosmonaut, is scheduled to perform there Dec. 15. Look for even higher average exam scores this go 'round.

• No we haven't forgotten... Have the Happiest of Holiday Seasons... or don't, it's up to you, **that's** freedom of choice.

• Muammar Qadhafi offered to put up $5 million to keep Imelda Marcos out of jail. Sometimes it's good to have low friends in high places.

Last month Yassir Arafat requested an American visa so he ould address the United Nations in New York, but the State Department refused because he knows of, condones, and ends support to acts of terrorism. This is the same State Department that will welcome Gorbachev to the U.S. so he an address the United Nations. All of which goes to show that few thousand nuclear warheads still count for something in his world.

Forget the CGLA, let's defund the UN.

• Maybe there's something to gun control, after all. Case #1: in Pasadena, California, a man shoots himself in the leg after mistaking an earthquake for a prowler. Case #2: a man is injured by a shotgun blast. Who pulled the trigger? His dog.

• Reporting Case #2, Charlie Gaddy of WRAL-TV concluded: "No charges have yet been filed in the shooting." No comment...

PLAYING SANTA WITH STUDENT FEES

Privatize Student Publications

By David Hood

THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE REMARKED THAT IT is "tyrannical and sinful" to force one to pay for the spread of ideas with which one disagrees. For instance, it would clearly be unfair to try to force students to subsidize the printing of THE CAROLINA CRITIC, since many (most?) do not agree with all the opinions expressed in its pages. Yet there are a variety of publications on campus which receive money from every student, regardless of that student's desire to withhold those funds. These "state-run" publications include (among others) *The Daily Tar Heel*, *The Phoenix*, and *Black Ink.*

Why are individual students prevented from choosing which of these papers to fund? It is true that funding decisions are made by students elected for that purpose, but advocates of liberty have long argued that most such decisions not be left up to majority rule. Group action is no better than individual action. In fact it is often worse, since individuals in a minority lack autonomy and self-determination when denied the chance to make their own decisions. No one (in this country) argues that a given newspaper should be run by the state simply because we would be able to elect the officials who would run it.

However, here at Carolina we designate 16 percent of our student fees to operate just such a "state-run" paper, which this year totalled about $77,000. There are two main arguments which could be advanced in favor of funding *The Daily Tar Heel* in such a manner. First, it is argued that the DTH operates as a service to the University community, since it publicizes campus events and provides a forum for student writers to express themselves. Thus, the argument goes, it makes sense for the whole community to fund the paper since it benefits them directly.

Of course, the same could be said of *The* (Raleigh) *News and Observer*, which certainly provides the same sort of service to the whole eastern half of North Carolina. But in our market-based society, we try to allow the consumers to speak for themselves instead of through elected representatives. If the newspaper is a service to a consumer, he or she will pay for it; conversely, if the paper is not performing a useful service for the costs involved, then it will not be guaranteed money. In this way, the market provides the best way to gauge a product's value to its consumers — much better than bureaucrats or administrators. This quality control mechanism is lost when a publication is not directly answerable to its consumers, as is the case when *The Daily Tar Heel* is guaranteed funding regardless of its value to individual student-consumers. It could be that *The Chapel Hill Newspaper* or some other publication would be able to provide the service at a higher quality or a lesser cost.

This is not to say that the DTH is low-quality; it may very well be worth paying for. But there is no adequate way to find out its worth without resorting to the market process.

The second argument made in favor of coercive funding for the DTH is that it serves an educational function for the journalism students involved. After all, if the school pays for lasers in the chemistry labs, why not have it pay for the education of its journalism students by funding the DTH? Well, the answer is that the "University" is not paying for the DTH, students are. This is not just a meaningless distinction. If the DTH had to be funded out of the School of Journalism, for example, then its effectiveness as a teaching tool would have to be evaluated vis-a-vis other journalism programs, as well as in competition with other demands on the University's money.

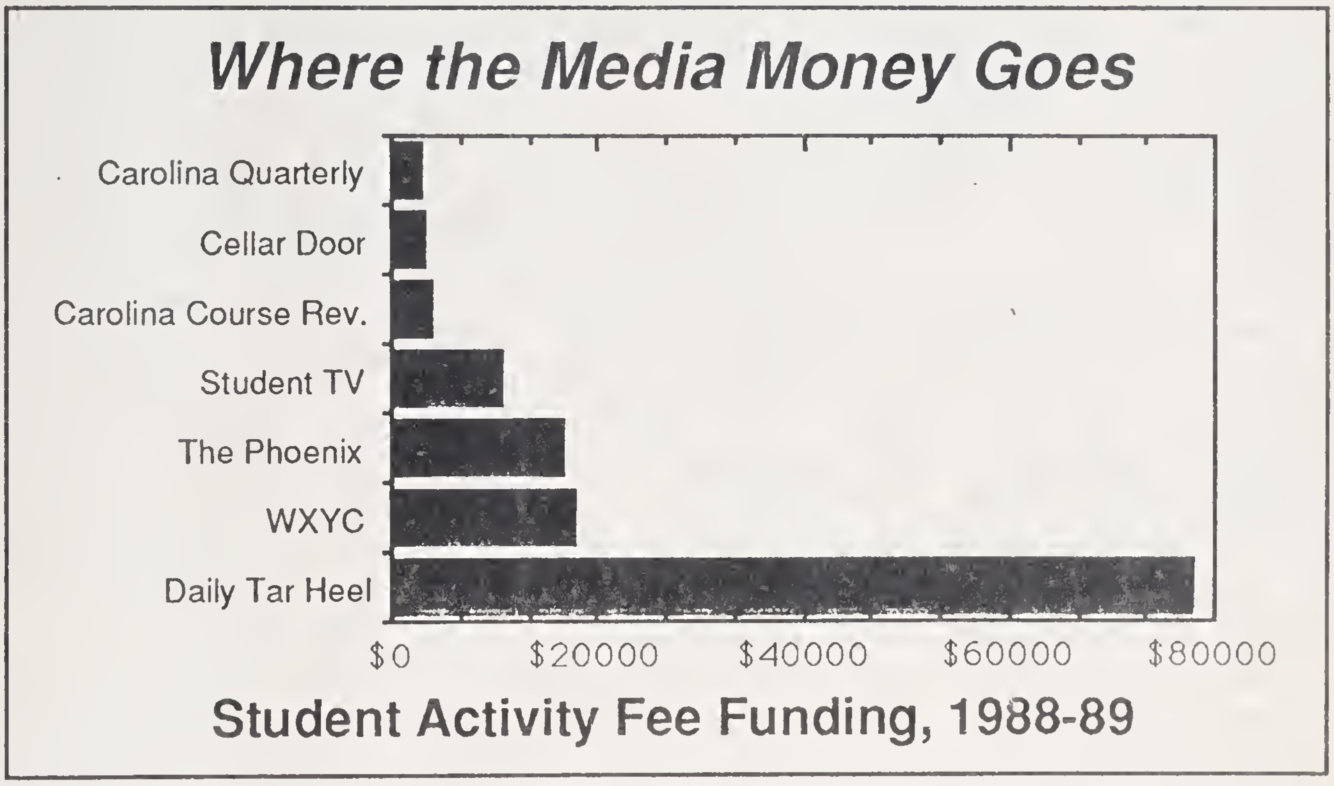
In addition, it is questionable that the only way to educate a future journalist is to provide he or she with an insulated monopoly newspaper in which to write. The newspaper business is just as prone to market forces as any other business; as well it should be, since this provides the quality control mechanism described above. Writers who are not being exposed to market forces are not being fully educated. We might as well have every student be forced to join the Student Credit Union in order to provide education for students interested in a banking career.

My point here is that *The Daily Tar Heel* should be privatized, or at least transferred to the university proper. There would be several possible funding avenues if student fees were withdrawn; including soliciting grants from charitable foundations, charging a fee per copy, or a combination of fewer copies printed and more advertising. Perhaps the most innocuous plan would be to keep the present system and allow individual students to get a partial refund on their student fees if they choose not to fund any given student group, including the DTH.

So far I have limited my analysis to only the main newspaper. *The Phoenix*, though, also deserves scrutiny from a market perspective. This publication serves as a "student newsweekly" and is funded primarily through student fees — about $16,000 in the current fiscal year. Its circulation is about 7000, which is roughly equivalent to that of THE CAROLINA CRITIC. According to editor Chris Kridler, the purpose is to provide an open forum alternative to the DTH; one in which longer pieces can run with little editing. She also extols its dedication to the interests of the university community. Does this justify involuntary funding of *The Phoenix* by student activity fees?

Not if the arguments made above about the DTH are true. Clearly the worth of *The Phoenix* to the student body could best be determined by market forces. Assistant Editor Donna Leinwand was quoted in the DTH as saying that since their funding came from student fees, "money is not a concern." But concern about money is the only way to assure quality control, as argued above. Kridler, while agreeing that privatization of most student fees would be "worth a try", argues that funding her publication assures that the longer, unedited style of writing is represented. Of course, if the student body would be unwilling to fund *The Phoenix* voluntarily, then just how valuable is this writing style?

In the case of *The Phoenix*, there is an additional reason to think about defunding. The DTH's weekly insert, known as *Omnibus*, covers many of the same topics and issues that *The Phoenix* does: music, plays, movie reviews, etc. There is little reason to have two state-run enterprises do the same thing, since competition cannot truly exist when funding is guaranteed. Kridler notes a difference between the two: essays about politics and the like which appear in her publication but not *Omnibus*. Of course, the latter could simply add such material to its pages, which would undercut the entire *raison d'être* for *The Phoenix*. At any rate, these papers could merge into one weekly that goes out with the DTH. This would solve *The Phoenix*'s perennial distribution problem, and there would be greater competition between writers for the more limited space, resulting in higher quality writing.



This proposal only applies, though, if we decide that we need to involuntarily fund a features-oriented paper at all. A privatized *Phoenix* could pursue advertising revenue, grants from people like the Knight-Ridder Foundation, or charge ten cents per copy, for example. If one truly believes that students want these publications, then there should be no problem securing the funding for them. And if there truly is a market for both *Omnibus* and *The Phoenix*, then students would fund both.

Another potential candidate for defunding is *Black Ink*, which is affiliated with the Black Student Movement. Its purpose, according to its masthead, is "to link and unify the black student community." Apparently the publication has had problems attracting a staff and audience, since it has come out only twice as I write this article. This seems to call into question its value to either the black community or the student body as a whole, since a paper with a real market would be more able to attract a following. Perhaps the problem is again the result of being a subsidized enterprise which has no impetus to improve its quality or marketability.

As with any such project, there is always the argument that it provides important educational value to its staff. Of course, writing for a publication with a large, diverse readership might be even more educational for the writers; also remember that in the absence of market forces, it is poor training for the real world, anyway. Another justification for its funding is that it helps to attract black students to Chapel Hill, much like the BSM itself purportedly does. Assuming that such special treatment due to race is a legitimate policy, it is still highly questionable that a publication with a chronic shortage of material could act as a "magnet" for anyone.

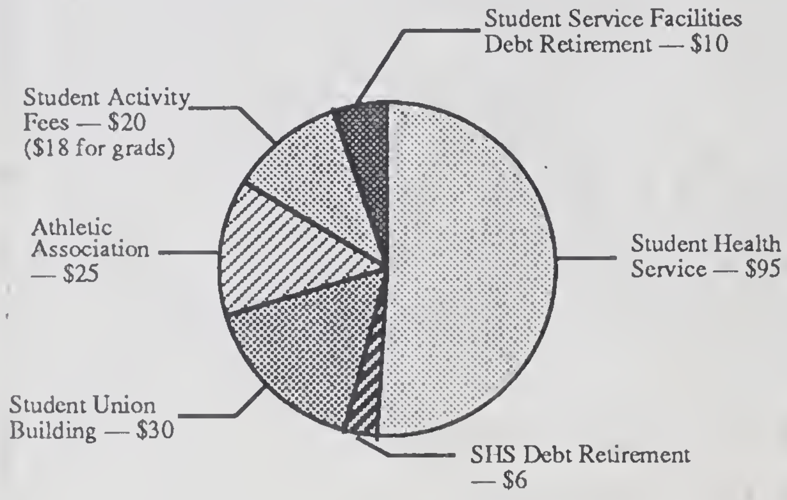
In short, there are few cogent reasons to have "state-run" papers like *The Daily Tar Heel*, *The Phoenix*, or *Black Ink*. Most, if not all of their functions could be funded voluntarily — if there were truly a market for such functions. In the case of *the catalyst* and The Carolina Critic, such voluntary funding has come from donations, subscriptions, advertising, and grants. For daily or weekly papers, it would also make sense to charge for them per copy by placing the papers in distribution boxes that commercial dailies like *The Charlotte Observer* use. Students could put a dime in the slot, or perhaps the system could use a card much like the copier/meal cards currently in use. Not only would this inject market forces into the campus publications; it would also likely cut down on the tremendous amount of litter that adorns the campus by the end of the day. Only enough copies of the DTH to satisfy its readership would be printed, since this would be a good way to cut costs.

Opposition to my proposal will take several forms. But after we dismiss all the silly arguments ("we've always done it this way", etc.) the basic counter-argument will come down to this: students would fail to fund programs which do benefit them. Which is, of course, another way of saying that students are unfit to make their own decisions regarding whether to read a newspaper, and which one to read. And this contention will likely come from the same people who yell about "student empowerment" and a "tyrannical administration." You figure it out.

As with most institutions in contemporary society, student publications should be injected with a healthy dose of liberty. I have focused on the pragmatic reasons in favor of privatizing these publications, but it should not be forgotten that there is also a philosophical dimension. Only by affirming freedom of choice can the UNC community truly meet the needs of its members. Only by affirming a person's right to fund publications at his or her discretion can we protect freedom of thought and opinion, doctrines which separate our nation from those statist tyrannies that rule much of the rest of the globe. Jefferson, as usual, was right from the beginning. Ω

David Hood is a first-year law student from Chapel Hill.

Where Your Student Fees Go



One semester's fees per student

Aerobics Taxes?

By Bob Lukefahr and John Jaynes

AS ANY COLLEGE STUDENT WILL TELL YOU, the single most difficult task many must complete while in pursuit of an education is finding enough money to pay the bills and keep the cashier at bay. For these students it is a constant struggle to balance the demands of their professors with those of their employer. Each cost increase adds to the already significant burden until some students, overwhelmed by expenses, simply drop out or worse, don't even try to pursue a university education. It is a struggle each of us see every day around campus. It is also one area in which students can make a real difference.

Controlling costs should be second in importance only to maintaining academic standards to both the University administration and the Student Congress. Far too often, however, both University administrators and student politicians forget about the many students who are having difficulty making ends meet. The latest example of this political tunnel vision is the new $3.5 million recreation center that has been proposed by the Carolina Athletic Association. According to the *Daily Tar Heel*, "the proposed center... would house a weight room, an aerobics area and a wellness support area." It will be paid for by (what else) an increase in student fees. But do we need it?

The University already has weight rooms, aerobic facilities, and a Wellness Center which is located at the Student Health Service. The CAA complains that these facilities are not adequate to meet students' needs. Maybe they're right, but if so the best solution might be to extend their hours and increase the number of aerobics classes, not to build yet another center. If the folks in the athletic department can't meet the needs of the students, then perhaps it's time for a personnel change.

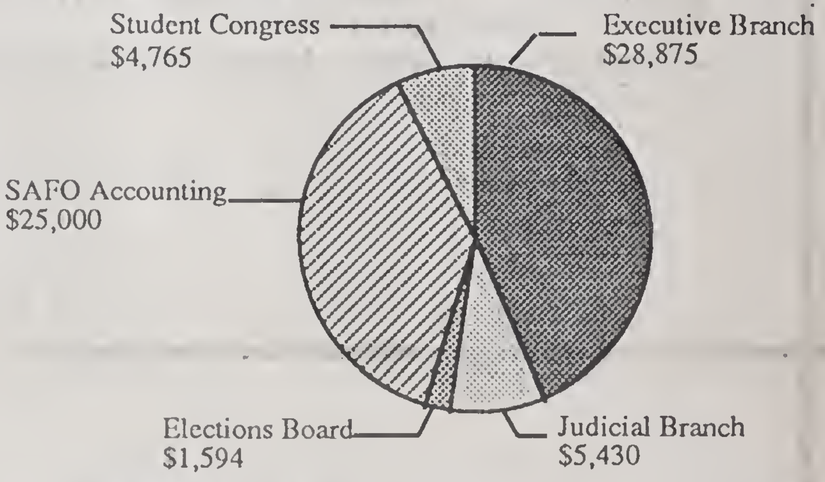
Of course, it is possible that the existing University facilities are simply not adequate, no matter how well managed, to meet the student demand for athletic and recreational facilities. If this is true — and it needs to be demonstrated — then it is certainly more fair to have the students, collectively, pay for a new student recreational center than to have the taxpayers of North Carolina pay for it instead. However, it is important to realize that those are **not** the only two choices; there are ways to do it without taxing anybody.

Imagine for a moment the town of Chapel Hill announcing that it is going to raise property taxes so that everyone can have a "free" membership at the Y. Once they quit laughing, outraged citizens would probably run the city council out of town. Carolina students should feel the same outrage. It isn't fair that all students be taxed to pay for a recreation center if that facility is used by only a few. Those students that are not satisfied with the facilities at Woollen and Fetzer gyms are free to join any one of the several local health clubs. No doubt many of them do just that. If the local economy can't meet the demand, then perhaps the University *should* consider building a recreation center — and letting the students that use it pay for it. If the students who would use the center are not willing to pay for it, why should other students do it for them?

It is perfectly possible that many or most students would find a recreation center desirable and useful, and be quite willing to pay for it. After all, we haven't heard too many people grousing about the $30 per semester we all pay for the Union building, and it's a little late to try to stop *that* one anyway. The recreation center should cost a half or a third of that. But remember, the question isn't whether we can afford it — it's whether we will *all* get our money's worth.

In any case, before this proposition even gets on the ballot the CAA should be asked to answer several questions: Why

Funding the Bureaucrats



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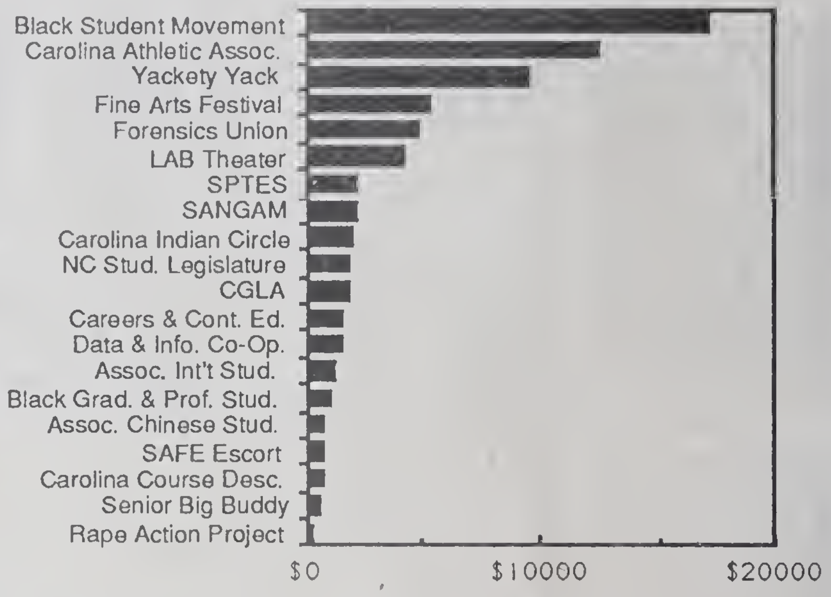
aren't the current facilities adequate? How many students are missing out on athletic services now because we don't have a recreation center? Why can't we make changes in operating hours, class scheduling etc., to insure that these students have access to the existing gyms? If we do build this center, how many people will use it? Is the need for this center so pressing that the student body is justified in forcing all students to pay an extra twenty or thirty dollars a year to fund it? How will raising student fees adversely affect students (especially working students)? Do the answers to these questions create a case for building the center that is so compelling that the student body at UNC should be willing to raise student taxes?

There are many new facilities the student body could build that would benefit some people. A student publishing center with computers, a printing facility, and nice offices for the editors and staff of campus publications comes quickly to mind. But is it fair to make everyone pay for it? Of course not. Before the CAA gets its $3.5 million it has a lot of explaining to do. Ω

Bob and John don't do *aerobics.*

Where the Rest Goes



(this is it except for the media, student government operations, Student Legal Services, and the Union).

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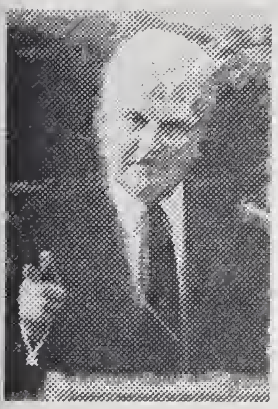

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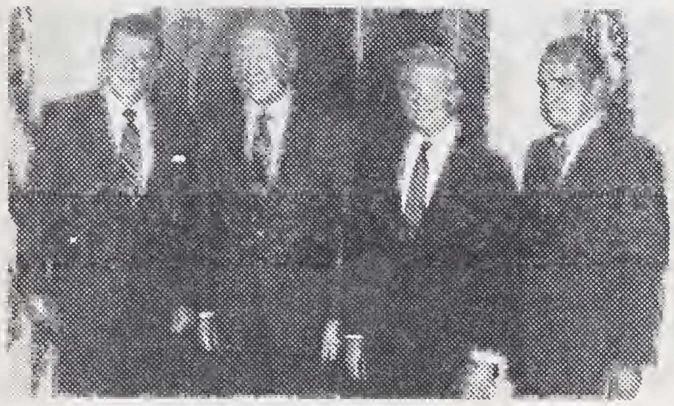

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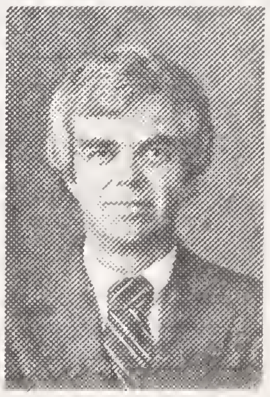

Martin Anderson

Edward Teller

The World Stage *By Michael Lowrey*

1992: WHEN THE WALLS COME DOWN

WE NOW HAVE SOME DATES AND events which are so important as to be remembered long afterward. The events of 1492 and 1776 come to mind, or the days September 1, 1939 and December 7, 1941. From literature, the years 1984 and 2001 stand out.

Now a new date serves as a bench mark — 1992. Still three years in the future, 1992 is when one of the most ambitious experiments in economics and politics of recent times will begin: the move by the twelve nations of the European Economic Community to become a single market.

A bit of background: the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market is an association of a dozen European (surprise!) nations, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, West Germany, France, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Great Britain, and Ireland, which aims to achieve better economic performance through cooperation. Traditionally, this has meant no tariffs between member nations, agreements on steel and iron production, and a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The latter amounts to an agricultural subsidy program run identically through all twelve nations and has been a hot spot for controversy. And yes, seas of excess milk and wine, tons of unused butter, and the like have been produced.

The basic change 1992 brings to this is the elimination of all barriers to trade and the flow of resources. For example, once a doctor, lawyer, or veterinarian is certified in one nation of the EEC, he could practice in any member nation with few, if any, restraints. Other non-customs barriers to trade, such as health requirements on food or limits on how much an individual can hold in a foreign financial institution would be standardized between all twelve nations or eliminated.

TIED WITH THE MOVE TO ONE market are efforts to equalize taxes between nations. This is necessary for the whole package to work, for unequal taxes could cause sudden capital movements and shockwaves through the whole system. The currencies of the various EEC nations are already tied together via the ECU, a basket of all the members' currencies. Individual currencies are allowed to float against each other, but only within limits established by the member nations..

If all this is to work, then economic policy must be closely coordinated between member nations. There are many tools to control economic and fiscal policy (taxation and spending decisions and monetary policy and so on) and they must be applied evenly. An often-expressed desire is, in fact, a single European currency, so one doesn't have to run to the bank after crossing one of Europe's many borders. Transaction costs would also be avoided.

Unfortunately, this is predicated on an assumption that one tax or monetary policy can be applied equally effectively across all twelve EEC member nations. This is nothing more than wishful thinking. The demands of agrarian Greece and industrial West Germany are likely to be quite different. Indeed, often the French, British, and West German economies are doing different things. Britain may want to control inflation, Germany slow growth, and France foster growth at the same time, as is the current case. It could be argued that the U.S. is too large and diverse for optimal control of its economy, for while we have general prosperity, Texas and other oil states as well as West Virginia are economically depressed regions. A more stimulative monetary policy might be helpful in those regions, but could cause inflation in other areas like California.

Another unfortunate side effect of the move to one market is the general bastardization or elimination of local culture. To have one big market, products must flow across borders and be easily sold. This means products called "sausage" in one place should be sold as "sausage" is another. But what happens if those "sausages" aren't thought of as "sausages" at all in a different region, but merely as preserved meat? Should it be sold as "sausage"? If it's not called "sausage" in the second area, can it or should it still be called "sausage" in the first? These are issues the EEC must decide for 1992 to bring success. The trend is toward *one* European definition of sausage, beer, or pasta, to be sure that such definitions are not just barriers to trade by a different name. With this comes a certain loss of local flavor, the charm of different places and cultures, and a victory for the bland and the T.V.-ized.

Forces that will also be accelerated include the desire by many Europeans for a greater role in world affairs. For many centuries, Europe was the center of world politics. Between France and Britain, a goodly part of the world was conquered, controlled, and colonized. The World Wars were basically about who would control Europe. Recently, the centers of power, where many decisions about the future of the various Western European nations are made, have shifted from Paris and London to Moscow and Washington. Though a nuclear power with a population of over 50 million, France, the nation of Napoleon, is only a second- or third-rate power today. It should not be a surprise when many Europeans seek a greater role in world affairs by combining into larger states.

In conclusion, 1992 will be a mixed bag economically and socially. The forces of increased competition will be set loose with much hope for growth and even greater general prosperity. At the same time, the EEC as a whole will be more economically difficult to manage, and culturally less interesting. Yet it may well be that such issues are of only secondary importance, for the real issue is that a unified Europe will have a greater role on the world stage. Ω

Lowrey is a graduate of the University in economics and political science who keeps promising to learn to use a word processor.

By Eric Brodin

VOLUNTEERISM: AMERICA'S SECRET STRENGTH

WE HAVE JUST SEEN THE CONCLUSION of a political campaign which literally involved millions of Americans spending millions of hours in volunteer work for the candidates of their choice, on the local, state, and national level. This is entirely proper. America has always been a nation of volunteers and volunteerism, ever since Benjamin Franklin started the first volunteer fire brigade. Alexis de Tocqueville observed this "neighbor helping neighbor" during his travels in America which he documented in *Democracy in America*. Many do not realize to what extent this "third sector" activity helps enormously, often in areas where a governmental program could, for one reason or the other, not work or not work as efficiently.

In 1987 the American people spent 5.6 million hours in unpaid, volunteer work. That contribution to the welfare of our country's citizens has been estimated to be worth $56 million. From he beginning of his administration in early 1981, President Ronald Reagan ought an extension of private sector nitiatives. "Volunteerism is an essential part of our plan to give government back to the people" he said n October 5, 1981 to the National Alliance of Business. He also announced a residential task force on private sector nitiatives.

Since that time charitable giving has risen y 77 per cent. At no time in our history, espite the economic up and down gyrations, as either the total or the percentage giving by mericans to charitable causes declined. I ave seen many local evidences of this as I tended the Autumn Festival at the Buies reek School near Dunn and a similar event at ape Fear Christian Academy. No one can ount the many hours PTA officers and other arents engage themselves in projects which mprove life in the local community. I was cently "delivery man" for a local church mi-annual barbecue where the volunteer orkers sold more than 300 dinners in six ours.

But also corporate America has been tive devoting some of its profits to socially sponsive investments. The health and life surance industry, for example, committed arly $1.3 billion in such socially desirable vestments. The Center for Corporate Public Involvement of the life and health insurance industry reported that 400,000 hours were spent by their employees in voluntary work on either loaned or released time.

Some quite remarkable (and encouraging) statistics are revealed when one takes a closer look at the various voluntary programs in our country. Of adult Americans, nearly half have done some volunteer work. This is as it should be given the traditional voluntary practices in America.

As the Reagan administration has sought to cut down on the federal involvement in many of these programs, which prior to 1932 were traditionally local and private sector responsibilities, there has been a need for an expansion of work by the non-state sector. Thus the government provided $103 million in 1982 to teach people to read, provide senior citizens counseling, organize foster grandparents program etc. Many of these programs start on a very local grassroots level, and reveal imagination and initiative.

Allstate Insurance Company organized a program to help the flood victims in Northbrook, Ill. By the time they had concluded their program 25,000 persons had benefited. There is an "Adopt a School" program where employer-sponsored tutoring programs help the level of local school achievements. John J. Phelan Jr., chairman and chief executive of the New York Stock Exchange and chairman of the President's board of advisors for private sector initiatives pointed out: "Of course investing in the community is not, by any means, simply altruism; it is an investment in the future business climate of this country."

Churches are, of course, the natural site of many of the expressions of Charity (the pure love of Christ). Recently the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), for example, donated funds to Rotary International which enabled them to immunize 800,000 children in Kenya and 480,000 in the Ivory Coast against polio. And the same story applies to many of our churches and synagogues across this land of plenty.

THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT. Were de Tocqueville to return to the United States in this century, he would find the same spirit of volunteerism and giving he found when he first came to these shores. He would find, as he did in the 1800s when he observed, "In a local community in America a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? He goes across the street, discusses it with his neighbor. And then what happens? A committee comes into existence and the committee begins to function in behalf of the need." President Reagan said in 1987 when he received the annual report from the United Way: "Today de Tocqueville's words have come to symbolize what is uniquely right about our nation." The preservation and expansion of that spirit is the responsibility of all of us in this blessed nation. Ω

Eric Brodin holds the Lundy Chair in Philosophy of Business at Campbell University.

The Faculy Rostrum is a new Critic feature that provides a forum through which members of the faculty can express their views on a variety of subjects. This is your chance to communicate with the student body while they are awake and paying attention. Faculty members interested in contributing articles should contact the editor. The stipend for contributions is our undying gratitude ... what more could any professor want?

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Essays

REFRACTIONS

IT'S TIME TO CLEAN OUT THE SMUT

By Jason James

PORNOGRAPHY. WE'VE ALL HEARD THE HYPE. The ACLU says it is protected by First Amendment free speech. Radical feminists say it degrades women. But what's going on? Pornography. We've all seen it. *Playboy* in 7-Elevens. The Over 21 section at the video store. This stuff is everywhere. With the growing popularity of pornography has come increasing concern over its effects and victims. The crimes range from the sad — prostitutes being forced to have sex in front of a camera — to the inhuman — snuff films where the victims are actually raped, tortured, and murdered on camera. Recently North Carolina took a tougher stand on pornography, with laws that made the sale of kiddie porn and film of other unlawful acts illegal. Unfortunately, these laws have not solved the problem. Porn still exists, the worst examples have just been made harder to find.

Who are the victims of pornography? Though it can be claimed that some women do it for the money, it is not always that simple. In many "adult" book stores, there are sections of magazines dealing only with children. Children with their fathers. Little girls being urinated on and forced to have sex with full grown men. Boys being spanked and whipped for their supposed crimes. These pictures are not all of actors — much is sent to the magazines by parents eager to show off their abused children. An Asian woman lynched, photographed, and presented as Oriental "art" by *Penthouse*. The mutilation of another woman's genitals with a knife. With all this going on, the victims, the "stars", are the ones who pay the price. The solution is simple. Outlaw pornography. Punish those caught selling it. It may not be eliminated, but if there is less around, there are fewer victims of these crimes.

One cause of the spread of pornography is the desensitization of its audience. The violent and degrading porn is for the audiences bored with the acceptable forms. Just like drug abusers, most consumers of pornography start with the tame stuff, the practically acceptable *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. But there are problems even here. These magazines hint at the bondage and submission which is so prevalent in sleazier publications. *Penthouse* did a spread on submission with ropes wrapped around a blindfolded woman. Many people get used to the psuedo-fantasy world created in these publications and start looking for more graphic materials. They look for people having sex on camera. Racist men look for domination of minorities to feed their bigotry. Others search for and find materials showing sex with nurses, teachers, and pregnant women. It seems clear that by reducing or eliminating the availability of porn the sexist, racist and violent attitudes it fosters will be reduced.

The scariest part is that all of the pornography mentioned, with the exception of the snuff films, is often legal. Any 18-year-old can purchase any of these materials in just about any town. Women who have been raped and photographed are unable to get the photos pulled from distribution. The ACLU fought and won in court the right to sell those photos by claiming that they are now protected under the First Amendment. Don't forget — this is a true story. The time has come to do something about it. Let's clean out the smut. Ω

James is a sophomore political science major from Chapel Hill.

THE DARTMOUTH REVIEW: PRECEDENT FOR REPRESSION?

By Bryan Wells

Liberals are fond of supporting the rights of women, gays, children, activists, the homeless, Nigerian students and an infinite number of other minority groups. This is a good thing. However, there is always a group whose name is conspicuously absent from the protected list... conservatives.

On November 5, in tiny Hanover, New Hampshire, an independent conservative newspaper, called *The Dartmouth Review*, printed an article by James Garret which has sparked a *60 Minutes* news segment, coverage in *The New York Times*, and countless news reports and editorials. This column satirically compared Dartmouth College President James O. Freedman, and his repressive policies towards the newspaper, to Adolf Hitler and the politics of Nazi Germany. The policies in question concern the suspension of three Review staffers because of a confrontation with a black professor and what editor-in-chief Harmeet Dhillon and National Review publisher William Rusher call "the bitter hostility of administration and faculty towards conservatism at Dartmouth."

In response to Garret's article, four associate faculty deans printed a full-page condemnation of the *Review* in the daily student paper, President Freedman accused the *Review* of "poisoning" the campus's "intellectual environment" in a speech to faculty, and faculty members wrote to outside alumni and advisors of the *Review*, encouraging them to cease their support of the publication.

I agree that James Garret's column was offensive to President Freedman and that in its eight years of existence the *Review* has offended many women, blacks, and homosexuals.

I also believe that it has the right to do so. According to Bill Grace, the executive editor of the paper: "the newspaper is simply conservative and does not take any crazy positions. Students at the newspaper oppose affirmative action because they feel it is a form of reverse discrimination." Editor Harmeet Dhillon continues: "The Review has a tradition of support for Jews and Israel." How is the comparison of Freedman to Hitler anti-Judaism? The position of the paper is that both are **bad**.

The point, in a larger context, is that these people have reasons for their beliefs that they have obviously thought about and are willing to defend. So have many women, blacks and some few liberals. So, I might add, have many people at THE CAROLINA CRITIC. Tritely said, free speech is a basic, onstitutional right. It is a dangerous precedent for a faculty or dministration to condemn student journalism on either the Right or Left. In other words, you don't have to read *The artmouth Review* or THE CAROLINA CRITIC. It's nice, however, hat you can.

ryan Wells is a sophomore and a member of the UNC Debate eam.

NATIONAL POLITICS

THE FINAL WORD ON THE "L" WORD

y Paul Cory

Liberal, liberal, liberal.

Did that scare you? Did it bring to mind politicians who are holden to the minorities and the poor, who despise America? id it bring up thoughts of massive deficits, higher taxes, and America too weak to defend itself? Did it bring up the idea total surrender to communism, and rampant government tervention in your life and business? If it did, George Bush n't take all the credit. He only took this definition of liberal d stretched it.

Since the election, many writers have castigated Bush's suse of the word liberal. They run out the dictionary finition of liberal, "broad-minded," "open-minded," and rogressive." They claim that Bush has ruined a perfectly fine rd, and that they are proud to be liberals.

What these defenders of the word "liberal" conveniently get is that George Bush did not have enough time to create l sell a new definition of "liberal." He succeeded in making eral" a bad word because Americans already had a negative w of the word. He twisted the meaning, but he only worked h what was already there.

"Liberal" has, in the political arena, had a negative notation to a majority of the American public for a long e. Liberals are seen as anti-American, anti-defense, pro-bigger government, pro-higher taxes, pro-criminals, pro-minorities, and pro-poor.

The biggest problems for the majority of Americans is liberals' perceived anti-Americanism. Constant criticism of the government and praise for our enemies, like the Sandinistas, (who are dictators just as bad as Somoza before them) and the liberals' anti-defense stands make people question their commitment to democracy and to the principles of this country.

The next largest problem for the liberals is their anti-defense stands. Liberals have opposed the Strategic Defense Initiative, the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, and the M-1 tank. Michael Dukakis, the liberal Democrat who ran for president, said he was in favor of modernizing America's land-based nuclear force, but opposed both the MX missile and the Midgetman missile, the only options currently available for doing so. They have consistently called for reductions in the defense budget. They seem to have forgotten that the average American is very aware of how strong the Soviet Union is, and how strong we are. Americans support a strong defense. Liberal opposition to keeping America's defenses strong is seen as stupid, and it makes people question liberals' patriotism. How much do they really care about this country if they aren't willing to defend it?

Illustrative of the liberal penchant for bigger government and higher taxes was Dukakis' day care proposal. With more working mothers, America needs reasonably priced day care. Dukakis wanted to solve the problem by setting up a new government agency that would run day care centers across the nation. He didn't even consider using private enterprise or tax breaks to working couples with children. His typical — liberal — response was to propose setting up an entire new government agency, a whole new bureaucracy funded by tax dollars, to take care of America's children. His plan would have not only brought the federal government into the business of raising children, something that most people oppose, it would have discriminated against those people who leave their kids with relatives and friends, as well as those people who prefer smaller, private day care centers to large government-run ones, and people without kids. All of those people would have to pay for a service that was of no use to them.

Furthermore, the Dukakis plan would have necessitated a tax increase. Since Dukakis pledged not to cut defense spending, would not have cut any of the entitlement programs, and had promised to cut the budget deficit, he would had to raise taxes to pay for his day care program. No wonder the Senate decided to go with Bush's plan of a tax refund for those people with children. The Senate realized something liberals like Dukakis have forgotten. Americans don't like big government. They want the government to defend them, enforce the laws, and leave them alone.

While many liberals scream that the current conservative administration's profligate spending is responsible for the need to raise taxes, the American people aren't that stupid. They realize that the president is not wholly responsible for our budget problems. Congress, particularly the fairly liberal House of Representatives, must bear the blame as well, and the public realizes this.

Liberal opposition to the death penalty helps foster the idea that liberals are soft on crime. It seems obvious to the average person that some people commit crimes that are so hideous that they deserve to die. But liberals keep fighting against the death penalty, and keep alienating the American public.

When I say the liberals have a problem because they are perceived as being pro-poor and pro-minorities, I am not implying that the American public is racist. But many Americans feel that liberals, in their attempt to make up for past discrimination against minorities, have gone toO far and created a system of reverse discrimination. Why should an underqualified person get a into an university or a job just because he or she is a member of a minority group? That is just as unfair as refusing to let a qualified person into a university or a job because they are a member of a minority group. To many Americans, there is no moral support for the liberal position on these issues.

Many Americans are also worried about liberal commitment to entitlement programs for the poor. Liberal opposition to welfare reform provisions that require welfare recipients to attend job training programs and do community service if they cannot find a job rubs people the wrong way. The idea that people should work for their money is deeply ingrained in the American psyche. There is nothing wrong with making the poor earn their keep.

These are the negative connotations that the word "liberal" had to the American public before George Bush. Bush took these negative connotations and hyped them; took them to their furthest extreme. He used them to kill Dukakis' candidacy.

But he didn't kill liberalism. Much of the Congress is liberal, and many states continue upon their liberal course with full support from their citizens. All Americans have not rejected liberalism. But on a national level, a majority of Americans have said they want a strong defense, no more tax increases, less government intervention in their lives, no more reverse racism, and for people to earn their living. They have said they are moderate, and they have said the liberals are out of touch. Ω

Paul Cory is a junior journalism major and all-around neat guy.

LEFTOVERS

THE DEATH PENALTY

(Continued from page 3)

punishment is to keep criminals from repeating their crimes, life imprisonment is a much cheaper option than electrocution. Taxpayers pay more for the lawyers, judges, and court time when the state attempts to enforce the death penalty than they do to put a man away for life. According to a recent study, the state of Florida spends approximately $5 million to execute one person. It costs far, far less to keep a man in jail for life than it does to attempt to execute him. By opting for life imprisonment over the death penalty, the state can both save money and keep murderers off the street. In a time when our government needs to cut costs as much as it can, wasting millions of dollars on implementing an immoral sentence can hardly be justified.

The randomness and racial bias of the death penalty deems it an unacceptable sentence in our system of justice. The death penalty is not uniformly enforced across the country because the decision to have a death penalty rests with the states. A decision of such magnitude should not be left to the states to decide, it should be decided at the national level. Of the 2,200 prisoners on death row in the United States, 1,200 of them are in Southern states. These figures would indicate that the South has either more people or more criminals, when in fact neither is the case. In addition, a study in Georgia determined that a black man has a four to 12 times greater chance of receiving the death penalty if he is accused of killing a white than if he is accused of killing a black. A rough correlation of these two findings indicates that a black killing a white in the Bible Belt has a much greater chance of going to the chair than does a white killing a black in the North. Such discriminatory dispensation of justice cannot be allowed.

The United States must attack its crime problem. No argument. It must guarantee that murderers and rapists do not have the opportunity to repeat their crimes. The death penalty certainly eliminates this opportunity, but at what cost? At the cost of putting innocent people to death? At the cost of executing blacks for crimes that whites are not executed for? At the cost of millions of dollars? The cost is much too high. Ω

Brad Beebe is a student at UNC.

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By Bob Lukefahr

IF YOU CAN'T CONVINCE 'EM, COERCE 'EM

NUCLEAR FREEZE ADVOCATES have been trying for more than a decade to convince the American people that we should stop producing nuclear weapons. They argue that we have "enough" weapons, and that if we would only halt our own modernization programs the Soviets, being basically pretty nice folks, would surely follow our lead. Fortunately, reason has prevailed and the U.S. has continued, however haphazardly, to modernize its aging nuclear deterrent. Now he anti-nuclear activists of a group named NFACT, realizing that their views will never revail in the democratic arena, are trying to se economic coercion to accomplish what heir ideas could not. They have organized a ation-wide boycott of General Electric in opes of forcing the company out of the uclear weapons business.

INFACT complains that GE and other efense contractors have too much influence ver the weapons procurement process in ongress. They believe that GE is not just an dependent defense contractor, but rather art of a military-industrial complex that *ontrols* defense contracts. They cite as vidence the fact that some GE executives sit government advisory boards, and that the mpany has contracts to estimate Soviet ilitary strength. According to INFACT, this ables GE to create a greater demand for eapons and increase its business in the ocess. But even if this were true, which is t very likely, a boycott would not be the lution.

Allegations that a military-industrial mplex controls defense contracts make ry little sense. If GE, for example, really ntrolled this process they could be expected act in their own interest, right? Well, ying heavily on a nuclear deterrent runs ntrary to those interests. Indeed, GE, like st other large defense contractors, would overjoyed if the Pentagon would shift its phasis from nuclear to conventional ces. Such a change in strategy would uire the Pentagon to order literally usands of new tanks, aircraft, and other h-priced conventional weapons. GE and er defense contractors would make a une. The fact that we continue to rely vily on our nuclear forces demonstrates either defense contractors don't control process or they are too stupid to know t's good for them. In either case they prove to be much less of a threat than INFACT would have you believe.

Does this mean that people in companies like GE *never* use their influence to create a demand for certain weapons systems? Of course not. One of the immutable laws of human nature is wherever there are people and large sums of money there will be corruption. The way to deal with this problem, however, is not to shut down GE, but instead to vigorously enforce the laws. If, as the people at INFACT claim, the current statutes do not adequately protect such corruption, then the need is for better laws — not fewer corporations.

But correcting faults in the procurement process is not the purpose of the GE boycott. INFACT's goal is to force GE to stop making nuclear weapons. In what can only be described as an act of extreme hubris, an organization that consists of twenty-three staffers nation-wide and claims to have 252,000 signatures on a petition, presumes to dictate to the rest of the country how it should provide for the common defense. It would be laughable if it weren't potentially so effective. Of course INFACT doesn't see it that way. They believe they speak for a majority of the American people on this subject. As evidence they cite a poll conducted earlier this year which found that almost 80 percent of the respondents believed that the U.S. had "enough" or "too many" nuclear weapons. But as the old saying goes; there are liars, damn liars, and statistics. In this case the survey was bogus from the start.

THE PEOPLE INTERVIEWED WERE asked which of the following three statements most closely represented their views: 1) the U.S. has too few nuclear weapons, 2) the U.S. has enough nuclear weapons, or 3) the U.S. has too many nuclear weapons. To the surprise of no one the vast majority of people chose either 2 or 3. The question was designed that way. Who can doubt that the outcome would have been very different if the question had been, do you favor continuing the modernization of nuclear forces? It is worth noting that in the only survey that actually counts, the November presidential election, there was *one* candidate that supported INFACT's position, and she received just over 200,000 votes. INFACT has no mandate from the American people.

Unfortunately, even small fringe groups like INFACT can have an enormous impact on a company like GE which, unlike most other defense contractors, depends on the sale of consumer and other non-military goods for most of its revenue. If INFACT's estimates are correct, there are over two million people participating in the boycott nationally. This means that over two million people are going around suggesting that that GE is taking advantage of the American taxpayer by doing "something wrong," and that will take its toll. It matters not that INFACT has no evidence that *anyone* at GE has violated *any* conflict of interest laws. It matters not whether the charges are true or false. What counts is what people believe, and even false charges, if repeated often enough, can be believed.

This is, of course, the idea. What the people at INFACT hope is that American consumers will refuse to support a company that is engaged in "questionable activities," and that the resulting loss of business will force the company to give in to INFACT's demands. What is likely to happen is nothing of the kind. Even if the boycott is fabulously successful at reducing GE's toaster sales, the effect will be to put the toaster-makers (hardly a threat to world peace) out of work. Since the largest stockholders in America are pension funds and mutual funds, a large drop in corporate profits will most likely affect the people least able to absorb the loss; the small investor. Finally, it is possible that the law of unintended consequences will take over and GE, seeing that its consumer products division is less profitable, will be forced to rely even more on military contracts.

This boycott just can't be justified. It will do nothing to further the cause of world peace. What it will do is discourage investment, put people out of work, increase defense costs by reducing competition, and allow a tiny minority to attempt to overturn the will of the majority. If the people at INFACT can convince the American people, through the force of their ideas, that halting nuclear weapons production is in the national interest then we shall do so. If not, they have no business trying to force their agenda through economic coercion. This Christmas boycott INFACT — buy GE. Ω

Bob Lukefahr is editor of the CRITIC, *and all he wants from Santa is an "A" in Russian.*

INTELLECTUAL AMMUNITION

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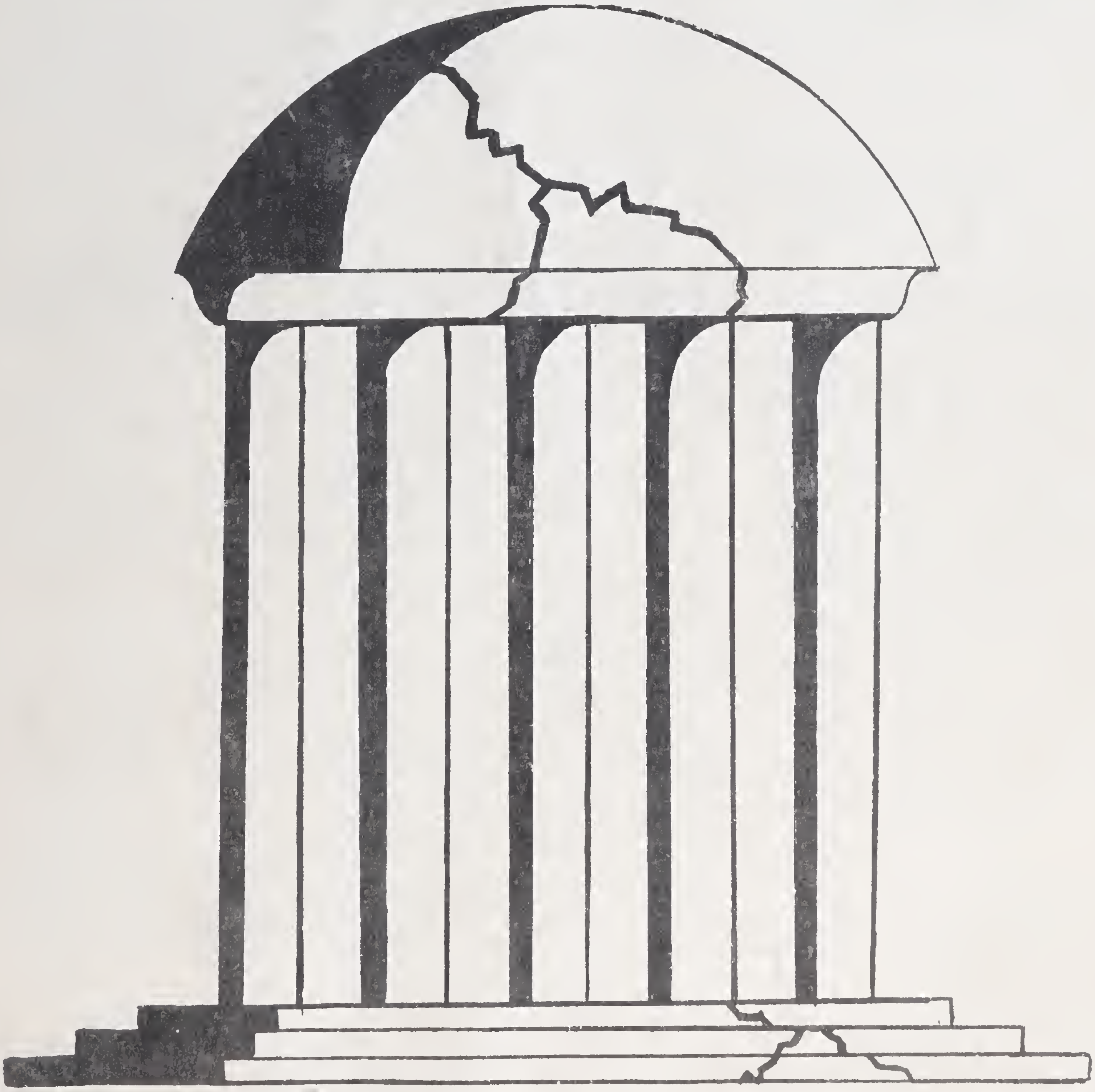
Vol. 2, No. 5
January 1989

Up Front:
Dear Mr. President

The CAROLINA CRITIC



THE DECLINE AND FALL OF CAROLINA?

ALSO INSIDE: DRUG LEGALIZATION FOR EVERYBODY, A LOOK AT EQUALITY, CARRBORO'S PROPERTY CZARS

The
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A Student Journal of Opinion

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The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., Box 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group, although we have been known to drink root beer on occasion. Subscriptions are $10 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, art, donations of cash, jewelry, small appliances, real estate, etc., are welcome.
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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Up Front:** *Dear Mr. President*
The Bush transition team forgot to call us for guidance, but Rick Henderson is sending the President a letter of advice anyway.

4 **Correspondence**
DTH staffer David Ball defends his criticism of Mayor Andrew Young.

6 **The Critical Eye**

12 **Cover Story:** *Is UNC Overrated?*
Brad Beebe, Charles Balan, and Anthony Woodlief discuss reforms.

16 **In the Zoo:** *Private Property Rights.*
An ordinance proposed by the Carrboro Historic Preservation Task Force will infringe upon the right to use private property, says David Hood.

17 **The Altered State:** *Third Party Politics.*
Libertarian Party member Rick Henderson explains how North Carolina law excludes third parties from the ballot box.

18 **Left Field:** *Drug Legalization.*
According to Kyle Hudson, legalization may be the ultimate weapon in the war on drugs.

19 **Essays**
Pogo is back and Rick Henderson says that America is in for a treat... John Jaynes explores the difference between equality of opportunity and equality of result.

23 **The World Stage:** *Dealing with Arafat.*
Michael Lowrey argues that it is time for free and open dialogue between the U.S. and the PLO.

An Economic Agenda for the New President

Dear Mr. President:

Well, you finally did it. Spoiled the plans of all the nay-sayers, and finally took the big prize. For that, you deserve heartiest congratulations. Of course, actually being in the White House the next four years won't be any picnic. But here's a bit of friendly advice for economic proposals you can use to justify that "mandate" the pundits claim you don't have.

First of all, I agree with Walter Williams and the other free market economists that between one-half and two-thirds of what the federal government does has no Constitutional justification. And, as your old buddy Milton Friedman has said, it seems that most government programs take money from the very rich and the very poor and distribute it to everyone else.

At the same time, I'm a realist. We won't close down the more odious agencies in Washington next week. It's better to pursue achievable goals, even if they aren't earth-shattering, than chase after the purity of Jeffersonian windmills. So here are my suggestions, all of which we could see come to pass during a Bush Administration.

1. A Federal budget freeze. You have placed deficit reduction as your top priority. At the same time, your "Read My Lips" pledge has all of the big spenders squirming. The proposal of a "Flexible Freeze," tying spending growth to economic growth, is one way to discipline Congress. Why not go one better? Freeze the overall amount of spending at current fiscal year levels.

I'm sure the folks at Citizens for a Sound Economy and the National Taxpayers Union have been pointing out to your staff that tax revenues should continue to grow by about $70 billion a year. With spending frozen, we could balance the budget in two years. In addition, the mandate for budgetary restraint is nationwide.

A spending freeze would serve another important purpose: it would put special interest groups in competition with each other for pieces of a fixed federal pie, instead of demanding that the pie be increased. New spending could only come by cutting existing programs. Even some of those legislators who have wet index fingers from checking the wind direction could go for this.

Finally, the freeze would protect you if we do have that dreaded recession. If a slowdown occurs, and tax revenues drop, at least the budget deficit won't get completely out of control. This is an issue you can take directly to the people, and score big victories in the "I'm one of you" sweepstakes.

2. No new taxes. This one is not news to you. Reduction or elimination of the capital gains tax, which you also favor, will be a terrific job-creator and investment-stimulator. If you can succeed in freezing spending, it will be time to consider further tax reductions. Not another "Tax Simplification" bill that makes things more complicated, but real rate reductions and other provisions that reduce the time we spend evading the IRS man.

3. Stable but slow monetary growth. A September Lou Harris poll showed nearly two-to-one support for non-inflationary actions by the Federal Reserve. But, short of showing Alan Greenspan copies of his old esssays for Ayn Rand which supported a gold standard, what can you do? Listen to Louis Rukeyser.

He claims that one reason the West German economy has been so unexciting and dependable (and stable) for the past four decades is the German central bank, the Bundesbank. The Chairman of the Bundesbank has one simple, overriding, philosophy: tell the people what your bank is going to do, and then do it.

In most cases, the Bundesbank announces that it will increase the money supply by three or four percent during the next fiscal year, and then the bankers and media go home. Another boring press conference. This policy may sound uninteresting, but it is important because investors then know where to put their marks (usually in areas that build the country's capital base) without worrying about the value of the family nest egg six months (or six years) from now.

I would recommend that you plan a luncheon date with Mr. Greenspan. Say to him, "Al, I know you want this economic expansion to keep moving forward as much as I do. At the same time, investors are nervous about the budget deficit and the value of the dollar. I'm going to make the moves necessary to control the deficit without a tax increase: I will propose a freeze in the total level of federal spending.

That should get us into balance within two years.

"Here's what I want you to do. Meet with the other Federal Reserve governors, and commit to a policy of slow but stable monetary growth. Let the money supply expand by between one and two percent a year. And announce it to the Congress and the American people. Then, live up to it. Let's see long-term capital investment surge, and keep this recovery on a roll.

"I know you guys are supposed to be independent, but gosh darn it, Al, you're a Republican, aren't you?"

4. **Go forward with deregulation and privatization initiatives.** This is one area which has, sadly, been placed on the back burner in recent years. The major deregulation and privatization efforts of the Reagan years were decontrolling oil prices and selling Conrail. Even Jimmy Carter deregulated air fares! The economy cries for more action.

Look at your friend Margaret Thatcher. How did she release the UK from the chains of socialism? She sold half the government! Well, maybe not half, but quite a bit. Anybody could buy a piece of the phone company, or Leyland Motors, or their local airport. Remember that: the local airport.

Airline deregulation here has allowed fares to plummet, and passenger totals to surge. Travel is even safer than before. But there is new pressure for re-regulation, and the reason is obvious: the skies are seen to be too crowded. Why? We haven't built any major new airports in fifteen years. The reason? They're all owned by the government!

One of your first actions as President could be to announce the sale of Dulles and National airports through a public stock offering. Then use whatever arm-twisting ability you have to encourage local governments to do the same.

Privatizing the airports would allow the new owners to raise funds for new airstrips and terminals from individual investors. No more waiting for lengthy bond initiatives, or tax increases. It might encourage transportation entrepreneurs to build brand new facilities. At the very least, it would improve air service and safety as airports in the same area fight to do the best job for the least money. You would save tax dollars, too.

There are many other areas for your deregulators and privatizers to start work: national parks, highways, and my personal favorite: Social Security. I know how much you are pledged to keeping Social Security solvent. But even Maggie Thatcher allows Britons to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts. Just close your eyes, click your heels together three times, and say aloud, "Privatize Social Security." Within minutes someone from the CATO Institute will be there to explain how it works.

There you have it, Mr. President. A four-plank policy for continued economic growth and guaranteed Presidential popularity. If these items look familiar, it's because they are the same four things Mr. Reagan promised us when he took office eight years ago. As Professor Friedman entitled one of his books: *Bright Promises, Dismal Performance.* Who says the Reagan Revolution has to end?

Best regards,
Rick Henderson Ω

Rick Henderson is a 1979 graduate of UNC who still lives in Chapel Hill and hasn't become a leftist yet.

Correspondence

To the editor:

In the "Across the Bows" section of the December Critic, Bob Lukefahr imples that, by attacking the problem of racial self-insulation, I am in some way attacking the right of people to live where they want to. That premise is entirely incorrect and misleading, given the focus of my article. I understand the basic concept of freedom of choice, but the crux of my argument was that the way this free choice is being employed by Atlanta's residents is detrimental to racial harmony. If blacks and whites choose to live in separate neighborhoods (I have never questioned their right to do so), then no progress is being made toward greater racial understanding. All that's being done is that lines are being drawn and overt conflict is avoided — it's a cease-fire rather than a full resolution of conflict. I do not, as Mr. Lukefahr suggests, advocate forced relocation of families. I also agree that bigotry is essentially eliminated "one person at a time." What Lukefahr fails to realize is that government, specifically Andrew Young, has the ability to influence these relationships through means other than legislation. He has a strong influence in shaping public opinion through his position as leader of the city, and by adopting a complacent attitude, he conveys the message that nothing more needs to be done and dampens societal movements to achieve greater integration. The government should, of course, not "make everyone live in the same house," but it can exercise its leadership to push for the elimination of racial misunderstanding by both blacks and whites. Perhaps if Lukefahr had read more than the first two paragraphs of my article, or understood the conclusion I was making, he would have seen that what he was attacking was a peripheral issue, not the focus of my argument.

David Ball

Bob Replies:

I am happy to hear that Mr. Ball now understands the basic concept of freedom of choice. He calls on Young to provide leadership, yet overlooks the fact that by his example as former U.N. ambassador, Mayor of Atlanta, etc., Young is demonstrating that whites and blacks can exist side by side in harmony. *This* is leadership. The fact that Atlantans "choose to live with people of their race" is not necessarily a "social problem." Apparently it never occurred to Ball that ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods might be the result of a common bond within the community, instead of fear or hate. As I said before, government should prohibit discriminatory practices, not work to eliminate cultural diversity. Anyway, thanks for reading.

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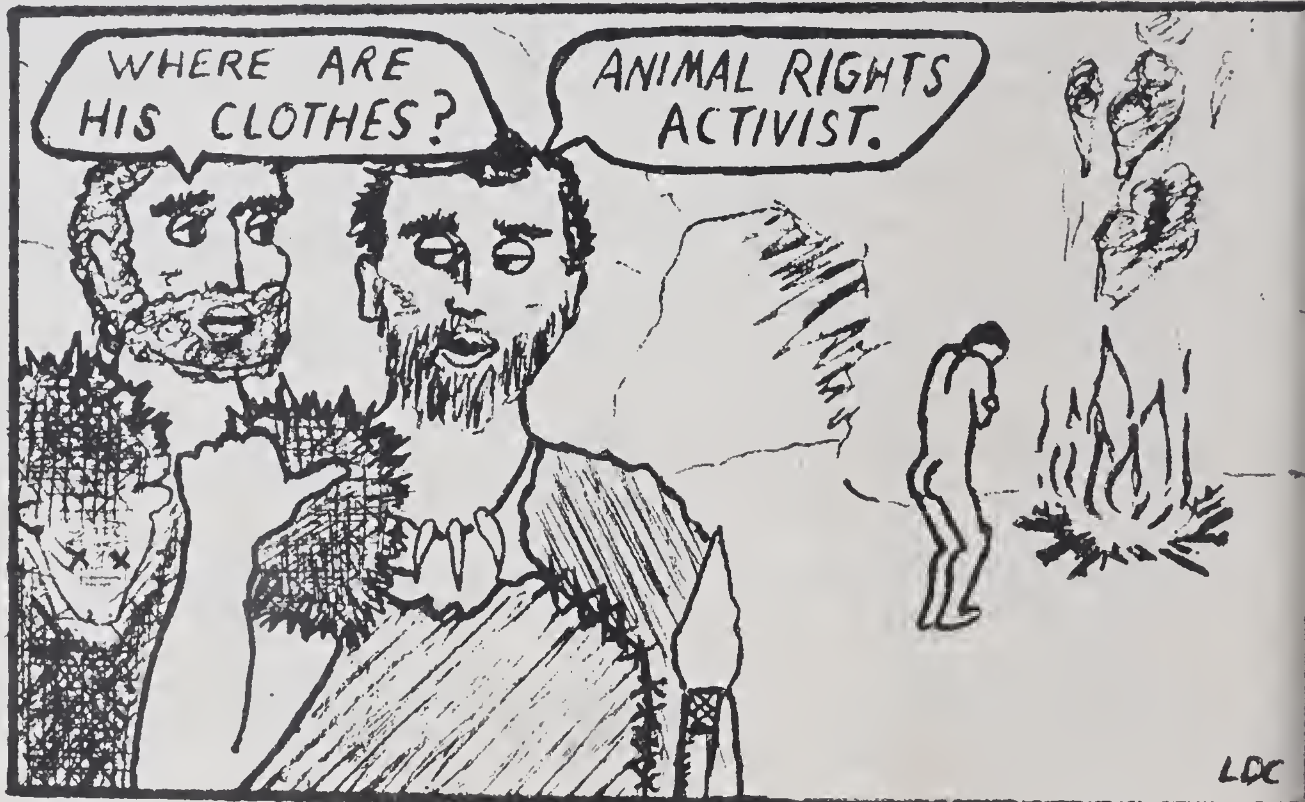
The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 5
January, 1989

• Welcome back! It's 1989, Lyndon LaRouche is in jail, Jack Kemp is at HUD, Dale McKinley is in Africa, and Bill Murray is filming *Ghostbusters II*. All's right with the world.

• The results are in... according to the *New York Times*, 62% of college graduates voted for Bush, as did a bare majority (50% to 48%) of postgraduates (all T.A.'s are of course suspect). Meanwhile Dukakis won a whopping 56% of the highly coveted high school drop-out vote. All of this proves what Susan Esterich said throughout the campaign: Dukakis' supporters *obviously* had a better grasp of the issues. Sow much fer elekshunn '88.


WHERE ARE HIS CLOTHES?
ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVIST.
LDC

• Arafat has recognized Israel's right to exist... and Shamir did the same for the Labour party.

• In a classic example of paying more for less, CBS Sports outbid NBC and ABC for exclusive network coverage of Major League Baseball, beginning in 1990. CBS will broadcast twelve regular-season games (as opposed to NBC's 30-game package), the All-Star Game, both League Championship Series and the World Series. All this will cost CBS $1 billion over four years, which makes the old package ($1.1 billion for 30 games a year over six years) look like a blue light special. The real downside of all this is that Brent Musberger will now be the number one baseball play-by-play man in America. Major League Baseball... here... on CBS.

• In a classic example of paying more for nothing, Jim Van Hecke, Chairman of the N.C. Democratic Party, took some heat recently when he used a party newsletter to promote his own campaign for chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Party members felt that Van Hecke should have used his own money to send out campaign literature. The good news is that even some Democratic insiders apparently think it's bad to use other people's money to advance one's political goals. Wish somebody would tell that to the General Assembly...

• No, The Critic has not gained a controlling interest in *the catalyst* — it just looks that way. Still, imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Now if they'd just filch some **content**...

• Well **surprise, surprise**, and go-o-llay, there is no money in the state's coffers to do all the things Gov. Martin promised to do during the campaign. It seems that Bob Jordan could have hammered the Governor over this issue during the campaign... but then, Jordan would have had to admit that there wasn't any money for his proposals either. This silence over state revenues almost smacks of collusion, doesn't it?

• Which reminds us of the bumper stickers being sported a few years ago which read: "I SUPPORT GOVERNOR MARTIN'S TAX CUTS." Don't hold your breath waiting for the Republicans to print up new ones which read: "I SUPPORT GOVERNOR MARTIN'S TAX INCREASES." Hey Jim, **can't you read lips?**

• Things are looking up for Moscow info-junkies — sort of. Since the first of the year, selected Soviet news stands (oxymoron?) in the city have been hawking Western publications. TASS explained that this is evidence of the "new openness." But the only paper to receive *any* kind of circulation, 350 copies a day, has been the radical British rag *The Guardian*. Forty copies of *The Financial Times* and the *International Herald Tribune* are also available for the reading enjoyment of 9 million Moscovites. Likewise, a few token copies of *Time* and *Newsweek* have cropped up. The irony in all this is that for serious, critical evaluations of Gorby's plans, Soviet citizens still have to turn to the pages of *Pravda*. All they get from "the" Western press, i.e., that which isn't turned back at the border, is bald-faced cheerleading for Gorbachev.

• The Soviets have announced that they are going to change the composition of their conventional forces in Europe to reflect a new, more defensive posture. They will cut 6% of those forces, which have been increased by 25% in the last two years. This is disarmament?

- Apparently the capabilities of the Stealth bomber/fighter are so secret even the Air Force doesn't know what it's good for... but at these prices it must be good for something!

- Piccasso once said, "if I spit, they will take my spit and frame it as great art." Walk through the Union gallery — they did.

- Adam Smith, call your office: In a study which confirms what we've suspected all along, a multiple-choice test given to 8,000 11th and 12th graders shows that young people in the U.S. don't know a damn thing about economics. This explains why so many students go to college as easy marks for the Marxism-Keynesian-Dependence-theory-spouting pseudo-intellectual grad students "teaching" economics. Only 45% actually knew what a deficit was (other than something said immediately before "tax increase" on TV), and just 34% knew that profit equals revenue minus costs. This first-ever "Test of Economic Literacy" shows yet another subject, along with, oh, geography, math, science, history... in which the American education system has failed. Can you say "ignorance", boys and girls?

- Tabloid TV has one big drawback compared to the real tabloids. You can't use it to line bird cages.

- So that shameless ambulance chaser Melvin "the Mooch" Belli is thundering about Pan Am's lapses regarding Flight 103,

Across the Bows

Bob,

Hey, did you see that five-part ad for the Democratic National Committee the DTH ran ight before exams? I'm talking about the eries called "The Reagan Legacy." I know he DTH gets student fees, but do they get noney from the Democrats too? Anyway, I ouldn't resist sending along a few comments n case you have some extra space in your Across The Bows column.

Rick

Rick:

Yes, I did notice those little pieces, and, rankly, I wondered why they didn't start with he phrase "Once upon a time" like most other airy tales. I guess it's a good thing that the world in which the rest of us live bears little esemblance to the world about which the TH writes. In any case, for you, there is ways room in ATB's. Fire when ready.

Bob

Starting December 2nd, readers of the *aily Tar Heel* were treated to a five-part ries of articles entitled "The Reagan egacy." On subject areas ranging from eficits to drugs, and from foreign policy to regulation, the basic statement made by the riters, and confirmed by "experts," was that **merica is much worse off than it was fore 1981, and Ronald Reagan is rsonally to blame.**

It's easy to criticize the shortcomings of e Reagan years. I've done quite a bit of that yself. But America, worse off than before? someone who lived through the times fore Ronnie, and remembers them well, let e tell you: **it ain't so.**

But everyone's entitled to an opinion, right? Unfortunately, the DTH reader could hardly tell that these columns were opinion pieces at all. And that, gentle reader, is why I choose to complain. These columns sink below even the DTH's usual standards.

With one exception each of these articles appeared on the front page. None of them were on the editorial page. Nowhere is their a disclaimer stating that these pieces were "Analysis." They were treated as news stories, while each one was nothing more than regurgitated opinions, with a few bits of commentary from the individual column writers. Perhaps to prove their authoritativeness, in three cases the headlines cited ubiquitous experts (e.g., "Experts Blame Reagan for Deficit").

In addition to these columns being bad news reporting, they weren't good editorials. For example, the DTH staffers cited several think tanks: the conservative Heritage Foundation, the left-of-center Brookings Institution, and the Marxist (no kidding, Marxist!) Institute for Policy Studies.

However, when quoting persons from these organizations, only Heritage was given any ideological description. The others' political positions were not described at all, inferring that these groups were non-partisan, or non-ideological. Nonsense! This lack of descriptive information misleads the readers into believing that the analysts were objective observers.

Next, the DTH used the term "expert" rather loosely. In one column, the vice-president of the local Teamsters Union chapter was given the same status as a White House official and a distinguished UNC professor (and was given more column inches than the other two combined). Remember that in the world of political commentary, one man's expert is the next man's ideological hack.

Finally, the main thrust of the columns is just plain wrong (cf. "The Other Reagan Legacy" on page 11). I am old enough to remember the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations. The Three Stooges, er, Presidents of the 1970s shared two talents: an innate ability to destroy the remaining vestiges of the free-market economy in America, and a desire to emulate the military (in-)competence of the Soviet Union. It seemed as if the U.S. groveled through the 1970s wearing a giant sign which read KICK ME.

President Reagan was far from perfect. But he did restore America's confidence in the blessings of economic freedom, and helped the country regain some of the international esteem his predecessors whizzed away.

There is a Reagan Legacy. It is the questioning of the nature of government in a free society. Ronald Reagan is largely responsible for the resurgence of the free market, classical liberal and libertarian studies in our universities. His administration has encouraged the development of market-oriented policy organizations and think tanks. And it has, I believe, helped restore the confidence of individual human beings in an increasingly dangerous world of statism. For whatever reason the DTH didn't see that.

Which leads me to believe that there are three possible reasons the DTH would publish such a series as "The Reagan Legacy." The writers are too young to remember the old days; they unquestioningly follow the opinions of people with an ideological axe to grind; or they haven't been paying attention these past eight years. You decide.

– Rick Henderson

eh? Rest assured, if anybody can find a way to blame the victim (an airline, which has lots of money) for losing one of its aircraft to a terrorist (who probably just spent all his on the bomb) it's good old Melvin. Let us remember that it was Belli who filed a suit on behalf of Belerian Andino, whose wife was injured in the 1986 DuPont Plaza Hotel fire in Puerto Rico, *despite the fact that Mr. Andino had been dead since 1974*! A federal judge fined Belli $5,000 for that little stunt and said Belli had failed to ascertain "a fundamental pre-requisite of Mr. Andino's claim — that he be alive." This should come as no surprise. Belli has long operated without a fundamen-tal pre-requisite for a member of the bar — a conscience.

• Something's amiss here… a few years back Stacy Keach was convicted of cocaine possession and later rewarded with a hit TV program. Last year Jim Bakker was indicted on 24 counts of fraud and rewarded with a new TV program. Last year Jimmy Swaggart admitted to cavorting with a whore, was defrocked, and then rewarded with a new TV program. All of which proves that in TV-land, no bad deed goes unrewarded.

• Meanwhile, outgoing HUD director Sam Pierce reduced his agency's budget from $28 billion to $8 billion prompting Newsweek to call him a failure. Which proves that in Washington, no good deed goes unpunished.

• From the wishful thinking dept.: According to the 1989 World Almanac, Democrat Buddy McKay won the race for the Florida Senate seat vacated by Lawton Chiles. This, no doubt, comes as something of a surprise to Republican Connie Mack who was recently sworn in as the freshman Senator from the Sunshine State.

• Meanwhile, Roy Innis, the reigning champion of tabloid TV (you may remember his title bouts on Geraldo and Mort Downey), went to trial for making a rather violent citizen's arrest on a man who was trying to steal his car. Innis said "He resisted. Frankly, I wasn't sorry." Hey, Roy, what happened to a "kinder, gentler America?"

• The prosecutor in the Innis case said "this family man, while plying his trade, was set upon brutally by Mr. Innis." That's right, Innis was prosecuted for attacking a fine, socially upstanding — car thief. "Dillinger" Innis was acquitted — this time.

• In December Louis Rukeyser, host of the television show *Wall Street Week*, called capitalism the "economic success story of the year." He noted that, "from Montreal to Moscow, from Shanghai to Singapore, those who once revered Karl Marx are discovering the merits of the free market." That same month Garraud Etienne, editor of the *Black Ink*, revealed that "the real problem is: the inherent exploitation found within the capitalist system. No matter what your ideological framework is, all must realize that a capitalist system involves inequity and exploitation." We hope that this year *perestroika* will finally make its influence felt at the *Black Ink*.

Capitalism at Work

• The *New Republic* (motto: we know everything, so you don't

Antagonistic Aphorisms

History is a nightmare from which we are trying to awake.

— James Joyce

Well-being is not a state of mind or disposition of character. If it were, it might belong to a vegetable-man whose whole existence was passed in sleep.

— Aristotle

If there is a special hell for writers, it would be the forced contemplation of their own works.

— John Dos Passos

He who desires to live tranquilly without having anything to fear from other men, ought to make himself friends; those whom he cannot make friends of, he should, at least, avoid rendering enemies.

— Epicurus

When your impartial attitude declares, in effect, that neither the good nor the evil may expect anything from you — whom do you betray and whom do you encourage?

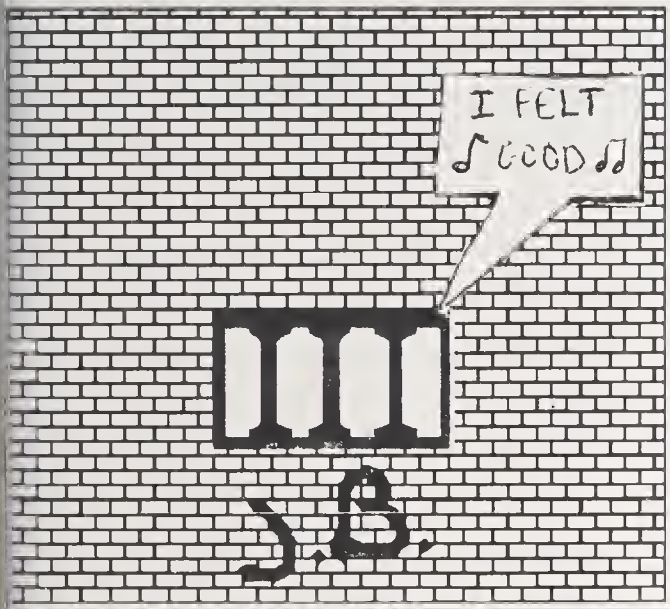
— Ayn Rand

Between complete arbitrariness and complete determination is there a path?

— Chinese proverb

have to) has a new staffer. Our own John Hood has been hired on as a slave laborer for Fred Barnes and Morton Kondrake. Expect an endorsement for Thomas Sowell in 1992.

• The Rev. Al Sharpton, of Tawana Brawley fame, has decided that the Godfather of Soul, James Brown, did not get a fair shake last month in an Aiken, S.C. courtroom. Brown was sentenced to six years in prison (out of a possible thirty) for trying to run down police officers with his pick-up truck. On Brown's penalty Sharpton opined, "The world would not have done this to Bach, Beethoven, or Brahms." Nor is it likely that any of those composers, jacked-up on PCP, would have led police on a two-state, high-speed chase after hey had their tires shot out, and then broken nto a "sore-foot" dance while being andcuffed. For her part, Brown's wife drienne, who joined Sharpton in a six-person rayer vigil for the Godfather's release, said The world, people are [sic] laughing at us." rue, all too true.



Shortly after the bombing of Pan Am Flight 03, well-known terrorist and PLO Chief asser Arafat gave the West a lesson in how to eal with these kind of problems when he said e PLO will "hunt down and kill" those sponsible. Is anybody listening?

The times they are a-changin'... the *New York imes* reports that 20% of geneticists surveyed approve of portion when the fetus turns out to be the wrong sex. And to ink, just fifteen years ago Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote, concurring with the Roe v. Wade decision, "clearly today the ourt rejects the notion of abortion on demand." On demand, ell! Now it's on whim.

Once again the University bureaucracy is re-inventing the heel and then charging you for it. The Student Health Service has moved into the "forefront" of the battle against AIDS by offering "free" testing for all students. Never mind that free testing has been available all along through the N.C. Department of Health, never mind that the SHS program won't advance our knowledge of the disease one iota since they refuse to compile any statistics: this is progress!

• Oh, sorry, we got that backwards. The Student Health Service is charging you for it, then re-inventing the wheel.

Who Needs National Public Radio?

WUNC radio, the National Public Radio affiliate based at the University, is asking the N.C. General Assembly for $2.5 million in capital funds so that they can relocate their studios and upgrade their broadcast tower. NPR affiliates don't accept advertising dollars, so their operating budgets come from listener contributions, corporate and foundation grants, and from (you guessed it) the taxpayers.

On WUNC and other NPR stations between one-fourth and one-third of the programming is news. NPR claims to be independent and non-partisan, but even the casual listener can detect the collectivist tone of NPR news stories (NPR is also known as Radio Sandinista in some circles). Political commentators include Michael Harrington, head of the Democratic Socialists of America, but no free marketeers. Is our government promoting a specific political ideology?

Since, in addition to news and public affairs, NPR affiliates broadcast predominantly classical and jazz music, we find ourselves asking taxpayers to finance the entertainment preferences of the well-heeled. As Milton Friedman once asked, how can one justify taxing the working poor so that wealthy persons can pay less for their opera tickets? The same may be asked about the tax dollars supporting classical and jazz radio stations like WUNC.

WUNC and NPR often defend their demand for tax dollars by claiming that the type of programming they offer is not available elsewhere. Fortunately this is not true. There is, in fact, a classical station in the area that receives no government support. It's on the air 24 hours a day (as opposed to 19 for WUNC), provides news and public affairs programming of high caliber, and actually plays "popular" composers (Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, etc.), along with the lesser-known. It's WCPE in Raleigh.

WCPE has been on the air for more than a decade, and operates on a budget about ten percent the size of WUNC's. They receive no subsidies from the government, and none from any university. They operate entirely on support from listeners and corporate donations, and yet run no commercials. Believe it or not, the people who listen to the station actually pay for its operations.

WCPE is a perfect example of how a quality station, funded voluntarily, can be operated, in the same market as an NPR station. If Beethoven knew they were taxing everyone so a few could hear his music, why, he'd probably roll over.

Clipboard

That Was The Year That Was: "July: In the ongoing Presidential campaign, the Democrats, warned by top compaign strategist Walter Mondale that they are in grave danger of winning several states, nominate Michael 'The Human Quaalude' Dukakis, who celebrates by re-taking his SAT tests." — Syndicated humor columnist Dave Barry, in his review of 1988.

Quayle Shooting?: "Why did [President] Bush pick Quayle? For the same reason Caligula married his horse — to show that he could do anything and get away with it." — Rex May (aka cartoonist Baloo), writing in *Liberty*:

Is it Getting Warmer in Here?: "Existing data show no evidence of the greenhouse effect. This is more or less the view expressed in scientific journals, where articles are subject to peer review... Congressional testimony and interviews in the press are not subject to peer review, and that is how unsubstantiated and misleading statements come to dominate public discussion...[W]ith regard to detecting [climate] change with existing data, it is not a question of the evidence being tenuous. It is a question of there being no evidence at all." — Oceanographic statistician Andrew R. Solow, writing in *The New York Times*.

The Rainbow Conspiracy?: "The white liberals and their black elite cohorts have destroyed black businesses because they want to keep the black race in a condition of dependency." — James H. Meredith, the first black man to enter the University of Mississippi, writing in the *Washington Times*.

Nice Work If You Can Get It: "Over the past four decades, the amount of money going to support higher education has grown by leaps and bounds...What the massive and record inflows of money to the universities have...brought is primarily a reduced teaching schedule for professors, more research grants to professors, more leaves for professors and other goodies for professors. Often this has meant fewer and larger classes for students and more students being taught by graduate teaching assistants rather than by faculty members." —Economist and syndicated columnist Thomas Sowell, is his review of the book *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education.*

A Thousand Points of Light?: "The United Way, the American Red Cross and the American Cancer Society...are to charity what GM is to industry. Charity too needs its entrepenuers, dreaming on a different scale, and perhaps genius ripens most fruitfully in a free and private space." — Nancy Gibbs, *Time*

This Won't Hurt a Bit: "Washington insiders...have rolled out long-discredited economic models to prove that higher taxes won't hurt the economy. They are, in effect, arguing that those extra taxes might hurt your pocketbook, wreck your family budget, deny you that new car or a private education for your children, but extra taxes will not hurt the economy, which is independent of you and me." —Paul Craig Roberts in *Business Week.*

Take That, Dan Rostenkowski: "Any politician who says a tax increase will balance the budget is a liar." — Economist and sydicated columnist Walter Williams.

Take That, DTH: "When we attempt an over all survey of President Reagan's term in office, covering events both foreign and domestic, one thing stands out. It is that he achieved the most difficult of all political tasks: changing attitudes and perceptions about what is possible. From the strong fortress of his convictions, he set out to enlarge freedom the world over at a time when freedom was in retreat — and he succeeded. It is not merely that freedom now advances while collectivism is in retreat — important though that is. It is that freedom is the idea that everywhere captures men's minds while collectivism can do no more than enslave their bodies. This is the measure of change that President Reagan has wrought." — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, writing in *National Review.*

Military Insignifica

Sloppy Shopping?: "Simply, put, the major problem at the Pentagon is that we are not getting what we need: the right forces at the lowest cost. Too frequently, we are not getting the right forces at all. ...The current absurdity of Persian Gulf naval operations being run by a thousand-person bureaucracy in Tampa speaks for itself." — John Lehman, Fmr. Sec. of the Navy, in his book *Command of the Seas.*

So Secret Not Even They Know: General Makhnat Gareev, Deputy Chief of the Soviet General Staff, revealed in a recent interview with *Jane's Defence Weekly*, that Western names for Soviet military equipment are more commonly used in the Red Army than the proper Russian designations.

Technicality, Technicalities: The United States will convert 133 Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs) into Sea Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCMs!). But weren't all GLCMs covered by the INF accords signed back in 1987, and supposed to be destroyed, you say? Yes, but that restriction only applies to missiles actually delivered before the signing date, not those still at the manufacturer's plant; hence, no violation.

Safest Fishing Anywhere: South Africa has given a patrol boat to the nation of Malawi — the only black African nation with which it maintains diplomatic ties. The trouble is that Malawi is land-locked which means the boat will have to be used on Lake Malawi, Africa's third largest lake.

Expensive Junk: Over the year ending October 31, 1988 NATO Air Forces crashed over 100 front-line fighter aircraft worth over $1 billion. Leading the alliance in crashes was the USAF with 38 followed by France (15) and Great Britain (9).

- For some inexplicable reason Gov. Michael Dukakis is not going to seek another term as chief executive of the People's Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

- This Dec. 22nd a federal law went into effect which requires all in-ground tanks at gas stations to be registered, tested regularly, have daily inventories, and be equipped with a spill catch system. Sounds good, right? But many mom-and-pop stations can afford neither the new, leakproof tanks nor the up to $1 million worth of insurance coverage the new law requires, and thus are going belly-up. But of course, saving the environment is worth any price. And ten years from now people will be yelling about how the Big Oil Companies have Taken Over The Industry and Forced The Independent Stations Out Of Business. Oh well...

• Then again, maybe the environmental movement is covertly financed by Exxon. Nahhh... it's really a plot by OPEC. Or the Ayatollah. Or the Martians. Read all about it at your local supermarket checkout counter, along with this month's Elvis sightings.

• The Chicago Housing Authority now has stricter visitation rules than Boston University. George Orwell, are you listening?

• "How do you deal with an ex-lover who simply can't understand why you aren't friends with her and her current lover?" This burning issue was raised by UNC lesbian activist Liz Stiles in the December issue of *Lambda*. Well, Liz, we think that by embarassing the hell out of her in a campus publication you may just have solved the problem.

The Other Reagan Legacy

Last month the *Daily Tar Heel* spent a great deal of ink trying to convince the University community that the Reagan presidency was an abject failure. Their series "The Reagan Legacy" often sounded more like a Dukakis stump speech than a news article. Relying on rhetoric from a collection of "experts" like the Marxists at the Institute for Policy Studies, they left the impression that Reagan's terms in office were a disaster. But unless you've been living on another planet for the last eight years, you should know better. By and large, America really is "better off now" than it was eight years ago. Of course, claims like that should be supported with real facts, not just quotes from "experts."

Eighteen million new jobs have been created in this decade, and more than half of those created since 1982 pay over $20,000 a year. After-tax income for the median U.S. family has increased 10.2 percent *after* adjusting for inflation. More Americans are working than ever before, both in numerical terms and as a percentage of the population.

The "misery index" of inflation plus unemployment has fallen from 20.7 percent during 1979 to 9.9 percent in the first quarter of 1988. Unemployment has fallen to 5.4 percent — a fifteen-year low. We are enjoying the longest sustained period of peacetime economic growth in U.S. history: six years and counting. Inflation has fallen from the stratospheric double-digit highs of the late Carter years to slightly *negative* levels during the mid-1980s and is now hovering around 4 percent a year; the specter of worthless money no longer haunts America.

But what about the poor? Between 1982 and 1986 the number of people living below the poverty line fell by three million; the poverty rate for black Americans fell by 12.6 percent, the largest drop in twenty years; and the poverty rate among the elderly is the lowest ever recorded.

What about the dreaded twin deficits? The budget deficit for 1988 is predicted to be 3.1 percent of GNP, compared to 2.8 percent in 1980 (Carter's last budget), and about 2.6 percent next year. Yes, Reagan presided over the largest peacetime deficits in history — but now they are going *down*! The trade deficit is going down too, and U.S. exports are the largest ever.

The successes of the Reagan era have not been limited to the economic arena. Freedom is on the march around the world. El Salvador, South Korea, Argentina, and the Philippines now have democratically elected governments. Communism has been eradicated from Grenada, and is in retreat in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Angola. It is beginning to lose its appeal in China, Vietnam, and the various republics attached to the Soviet Union. Even Moscow is beginning to realize the costs of rigid central control, and that freedom pays off. In many countries around the world, the socialist dream is tarnishing. Free markets have become the revolutionary new ideal. (Even the French Socialists are pushing privatization!)

Reagan also presided over the restoration of America's armed forces. When he arrived in office he was confronted with a military which was demoralized, underfunded, understaffed and micromanaged by the White House. The B-1 bomber fleet has replaced the oldest B-52s, ahead of schedule and under budget. Antiquated Titan missiles have been replaced by Peacekeeper MX missiles. The Army is equipped with effective new weapons like the Stinger missile and the M-1 tank. New carrier task forces and other ships have rejuvenated America's sea power. And last but not least, we now have spare parts!

Not only was the equipment improved, but the quality of personnel skyrocketed as military pay was increased. Today more than 90 percent of the enlisted force have high school diplomas or college credit, and morale is higher than at any time in recent history. America's renewed strength has restored her confidence, bolstered the NATO alliance, and brought the Soviets back to the bargaining table, and the Reagan administration negotiated the first *reduction* of nuclear forces in the history of the world.

Of course, Ronald Reagan cannot take credit for all these successes; but he has been responsible for many of them. He has also had his failures; nevertheless these facts paint a far different picture than that of the "experts" in the *DTH*.

If Reagan's administration has been a disaster, may we always have such disasters!

A CRITICAL LOOK AT CAROLINA

Undergraduate Education: Beyond the Rankings

by Brad Beebe

The undergraduate experience at Carolina is a most popular topic of conversation in and around the university community. Needless to say, the majority opinion is resoundingly positive. People are proud of their school, and they enjoy talking about it. No doubt our school does deserve much of the praise given to it by the media and academics alike. It is important to remember, however, that all is not perfect in the Southern Part of Heaven. As much as many of us would like to believe the opposite, this is not the Harvard of the South, and the undergraduate education offered here is far from Ivy League.

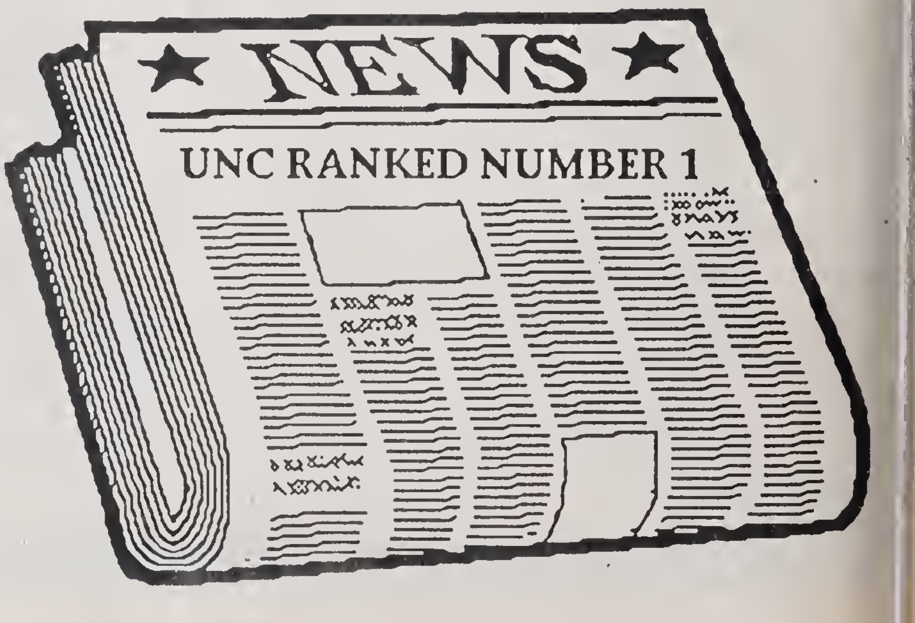
A true "Public Ivy" should have professors actually teaching students, not only juniors and seniors, but underclassmen as well. At Carolina, teaching assistants do most of the teaching in the General College. These people are not much different from the people they are supposed to be instructing. Both undergraduates and TA's are about the same age, both have exams and grades to worry about, and both have to deal with common collegiate problems like finding the money to pay next semester's tuition. Few, if any, teaching assistants have had any teacher training, and many of them have no desire to teach. They do so merely because it is a degree requirement. If you are a science student, you're lucky if your TA even speaks English. Who cares whether the instructor is qualified or not when you can't even understand him?

> *A true "Public Ivy" should have professors actually teaching students.*

The main reason that many students never lay eyes on a real professor until their junior year is that the University establishment does not reward teaching. It pays plenty of lip service to it, but make no mistake, research is king here. It rules in the business school with professors competing for consulting jobs, and it rules in the political science department with professors competing for lucrative book contracts. Quality research brings respect from the "outside" world, quality teaching does not. Another reason why professors don't seem to care much about teaching is because the administration does not take their recommendations seriously. Faculty resolutions from divestment to parking have been virtually ignored for years. Why should professors care if the administration wants to see more emphasis on teaching when they are given such little respect?

The issue of respect plays a major role in the debate over faculty salaries, and consequently, quality teaching. Although the majority local opinion is that they should be raised (surprise!), there are some, including writers for this magazine, who believe they should not. Leaving that argument alone for a while, another issue arises: how salaries should be determined. Professor salaries are set system-wide. A professor at Chapel Hill and a professor at Winston-Salem State both have their salaries determined by the same set of standards, which basically involves number of years employed and tenure status. It can only harm our flagship institution when its teacher salaries are tied to those of its satellite, and may we say lesser, institutions. Nowhere in the UNC system are professors paid more for being better teachers. When pay is based on length of service and tenure, instead of teaching, obviously professors are going to be concerned, not about how well they are teaching, but about how long they have been teaching and how close they are to getting that all-important tenure.

The percentage of in-state versus out-of-state students is another reason why the undergraduate experience at UNC is not what it's cracked up to be. When the University is required to have 82% of its students be North Carolina residents, it becomes impossible to compete for students with schools having less stringent, or even no, residency quotas. North Carolina's public schools may not be the worst in the nation, but they are certainly not near the top. And even if North Carolina did have a top-notch public school system, it is nearly impossible to recruit a high-quality student body from just one state. No single state has a monopoly on smart people. This bias in favor of in-state students is, unfortunately, endemic to all state-supported universities. There is no way that state legislators can ask their constituents to pay for the education of people who don't pay taxes and expect to win re-election. A good move,



however, would be to raise the percentage of out-of-state students into the 25-30% range, like other top-rated state schools have done.

If the undergraduate situation is so bad, then why is Carolina ranked so high in surveys of college administrators and admission officials? It is ranked so high because these surveys represent the opinions of people who do not experience undergraduate life every day. They don't take into account the fact that your class has 450 people. They don't reflect the fact that your TA couldn't answer your question because he doesn't know that much more than you do, or the fact that he really did know the answer, but couldn't put it into English. They don't show that your professor really doesn't care about teaching because nobody rewards him for it. Their statistics don't always prove what is claimed of them.

It is not at all impossible to graduate from this school without writing a ten-page paper.

Additionally, the strength of our graduate and professional schools, and of our research, cannot help but affect the reputation of our undergraduate program and the school as a whole — even if these college officials claim to be ranking only the undergraduate programs, they cannot avoid being influenced by that reputation. Few undergraduate programs get the press attention that a new research facility or a new business school dean does, and no doubt people are influenced by this.

The quality of course offerings is not, however, a detriment to the quality of education here. By word of mouth and by looking through the course guide, one quickly learns that there are enough difficult classes in every department to challenge even the most intelligent student. The problem is that most of them are almost impossible to get. Those of us who have just suffered through drop-add need not be reminded of this. There never seems to be a problem getting into Sociology 10, but getting into upper-level courses can be quite a challenge. Even those with the best Social Security numbers are lucky to get a philosophy course.

Secondly, even if these more difficult classes were available, most students are not required to take them. Most majors require only a few upper-level courses in the major; Political Science, for example, requires only a single 100-level course. It is not at all impossible to graduate from this school without writing a ten-page paper. In fact, a political science professor at this school once said that because of this fact he made sure that his classes had a lengthy paper requirement so that he could do his part to ensure that at least some students were required to do what he considered, quite realistically, to be college level work.

Nobody at this school is required to write a thesis in order to graduate. This will come as no surprise to many, since they do not consider a thesis to be a legitimate graduation requirement. What they would be surprised to learn, however, is that many of schools that we love to compare ourselves with require, or at least encourage, students to write theses. There's not too much encouragement here.

The quality of the undergraduate program at Carolina is either good or bad, depending on the other programs with which it is compared. It is certainly well above most state-supported schools, a position that gets little refutation here or elsewhere. When one compares it to more selective schools and when one compares the reality with our fanciful illusion, the outcome is quite different. Many problems become evident. Hopefully their solutions will also, along with the will to enact them. Ω

Brad Beebe is a junior Poli Sci major from Atlanta, Georgia — who is doing an honors thesis.

Going it Alone: The Failure of the Advisor System

by Charles Balan

Undeniably one of the most difficult tasks facing an undergraduate student is to choose a major and appropriate courses. Most undergraduates I know have changed their majors at least twice since they started their niversity studies. In fact, I and many others I know have hanged their majors three times or more.

Even when a student has decided on a major, there are still he matters of considering which courses will fulfill the equirements of the major; deciding which electives will best nhance his or her education; and determining the courses to ctually take. Then there remains the matter of actually getting nto the required courses in time to graduate on schedule. deally these are matters in which our advising system should help us. It should assist us, starting from square one, in determining our interests and abilities and the course of study we should pursue; then in discovering how to attain the maximum benefit from our undergraduate education; and then in signing up for specific classes. Unfortunately, our current advising system is incapable of helping us in precisely these matters.

The General College advising system and most of the separate colleges' advising systems, are severely strained, and are insufficient to meet the needs of fourteen thousand undergraduates. This is common knowledge to all students, of course, and should be common knowledge to the administration. However, in case anyone in the administration is unaware of the problem, let me give an example of a typical advising appointment .

The person in question is a first-semester junior named Joe, who has declared a major in English. He declared this major because he made a B in both his freshman English classes, and he feels he can keep up a good QPA in English. Joe is badly in need of sound advice, because he is uncertain what courses he should take to enhance this major, or even if this is the right major for him. With these doubts in mind, he decides to make an appointment with his advisor, Dr. X. Unfortunately, Dr. X's advising hours are during Joe's class hours, so he must skip a class in order to meet with Dr. X. Finally, the day of the appointment comes, and after waiting for 30 minutes past his appointment time, Joe goes into Dr. X's office for his ten-minute appointment. The appointment time passes in the following manner:

Dr. X: Hello, Joe; let me see your file.

Joe: Here it is. I wanted to ask...

Dr. X: I see here you're an English major. Well, that's just great. You can sign up for Shakespeare, Milton, and Dostoyevsky. Hmmm, that doesn't sound right... oh, of course, we need Chaucer in there too. Chaucer was English, wasn't he?

Joe: Uh, I guess so, but what I wanted...

Dr. X: Great, you'll like that. Let's see now — you still need a third semester of a foreign language and another math... or is it four maths and two different languages... oh well, doesn't matter now, we'll deal with it when you're ready to graduate. Okay, now we need a perspective — which perspective course did you want to take, Joe?

Joe: Uh, well Dr. X, I'm not really sure about...

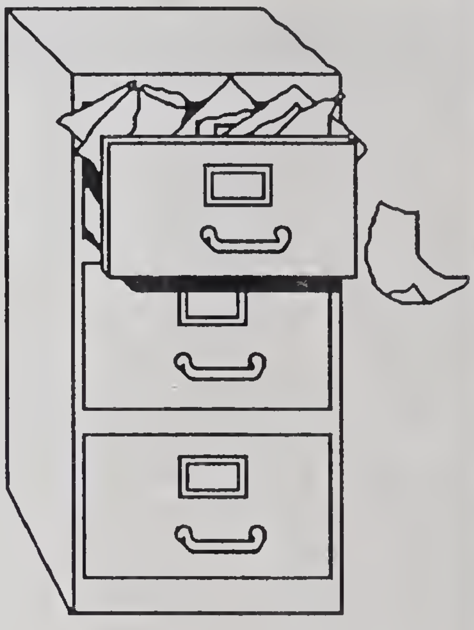
Dr. X: You mean to tell me that you haven't figured out by this time which perspectives you want to take? Heck, Joe, how do you expect me to help you if you haven't got an idea of what you want to do?? Now you take this catalogue... no, this one's mine, you get one from the General College downstairs, and...

Joe: They're all out of catalogues, Dr. X. No one has any. I've looked all over campus.

Dr. X: Oh, well, check the library. Anyway, you go and figure out what courses you want to take and then make another appointment with me and I'll get you all signed up. Okay? Thanks — NEXT!

Anyway, you go and figure out what courses you want to take...

I could recount other stories as well, such as the following one from my own experience: I was told by one advisor that there are quite a lot of seniors in the School of Arts and Sciences who need to take 18 hours to graduate in May. It struck me as strange that these seniors hadn't been advised previously that if they didn't take care of matters earlier, they would have to take a full load their last semester. The worst part of this story is that these seniors were not allowed to pre-register for all of the 18 hours! (Watch out, drop-add — desperate seniors on the loose!)



The point of this article is not to complain about the advisors. There are as many who work hard to help their students as there are those who are uncaring. The tragedy of the present system is that the advisors who truly want to help are grossly overworked and definitely underpaid. Most advisors are trying to deal with teaching classes, playing the research/publishing game to obtain the all-valuable tenure, and attempting to sidestep political maneuverings in their various college departments. As a result, when the time comes for them to deal one-on-one with a student in need, guess who gets the short end of the stick? (Hint: It isn't the tenure.)

But why is this such a problem in a University with such an outstanding reputation? As stated earlier, this problem is common knowledge. Why has nothing been done about it? I understand that a peer-advising system is now being initiated. This is really great and it is a needed aid for those poor schleps (freshmen and sophomore) who are really lost. Nevertheless, all undergraduates need advising, and need it done properly.

Some solutions have been offered in the past — apparently none have been adopted. Why can't we have full-time advisors and offices devoted to helping the undergraduate develop his university career? Why is the Student Development and Counseling Office off-campus in an obscure building? Wouldn't it make sense to have this office and the advising office close to each other — maybe in the same building? And what about increasing the number of Development and Counseling staff and turning over the role of advisor to those qualified people? Why are such simple solutions ignored or put off, while new generations of students receive inadequate advice? Let's put some of our student muscle behind one of the worst campus problems directly affecting students. Let's make this a Student Body election issue. Some of us remember the ARA food service battle. We can win this one too. Remember, a mind is a terrible thing to waste! Ω

Charles hopes to graduate this May if he can pick up the last course he needs — the one he wasn't allowed to pre-register for by his advisor

Student Government: Institutionalized Mediocrity

by Anthony Woodlief

Whenever we consider student government here at UNC, which is at best a rare occurrence for most, our consideration usually entails only an examination of the substance of student government operations, i.e., how our money is spent. Perhaps a more pertinent question would be not what our student government does, but what justifications arise for the perpetual existence of this institution of mediocrity. When the very existence of student government is questioned, certain reflexive defenses arise. The activist replies that student government gives students a voice in the affairs of the University. The future bureaucrat replies that student government provides a number of services to students. The ubiquitous student council type claims that student government provides future politicians with leadership experience (read: experience spending other people's money). Similar excuses and justifications abound, detailing either the representation, ervices, or practical experience that student government allegedly provides.

But how well does student government perform in these capacities? Questions can be raised as to how much epresentation student government really provides for students. The extremely low voter turnout in every election held on ampus makes any claims that elected officials truly represent tudent opinion ludicrous. Indeed, the only people who seem to vote consistently are fraternity members, who have repeatedly lected their own to the office of Student Body President. It eems that the best campaign funds are not those spent on osters but on fraternity dues. Critics may attribute low voter urnout to student apathy, but if students were offered a eferendum to eliminate student government altogether, the allot boxes would probably overflow. If apathy does exist, it s not because students are ignorant, it is because they perceive ttle real value in the product of their vote.

Student government is certainly not, to any significant egree, a representative voice for students. On those matters which concern students, independent student groups have roven to be more effective than student government, unless ne considers the formation of (normally ineffective) ommittees to be action. This exemplifies the fact that students an and do act when they feel action is necessary, and they don't eed self-proclaimed leaders speaking for them.

As for the argument that student government provides ervices to students, I agree wholeheartedly. The question is hether these services are worth their cost to the student opulation as a whole, or merely serve the desires of a select few the expense of the rest. There is no question that the Student ongress allocates most, if not all, of its funds to special terests; from the Black Student Movement to the N.C. Student egislature. Any argument that these and other fee-funded oups are essential, and that they "enhance the learning environment" at UNC, should be subjected to the free market test. If a group is really supported and desired by enough students it can exist without forced funding, as do the majority of groups at UNC. If a group can't exist without forced funding it is obviously not valuable to enough students. Any claims that such a group is essential to the UNC environment can be thrown out the window.

The Executive Branch supposedly provides students with the services of representation and leadership. Student government officials are hardly representative of the student body, either in composition or action, nor are they leaders. This is not to say that those involved with student government don't work to make the voice of students heard, but they can hardly speak for the rest of us with much authority since most students don't value their services enough to bother voting in campus elections.

Even the value of the Judicial Branch should be questioned. Upholding a standard of conduct and honor at UNC is certainly a worthy goal, but the reality is that most students don't understand or care for the Honor Code, until they are brought before some amateur tribunal for Honor Code violations that probably could be handled more justly and efficiently between themselves and faculty members.

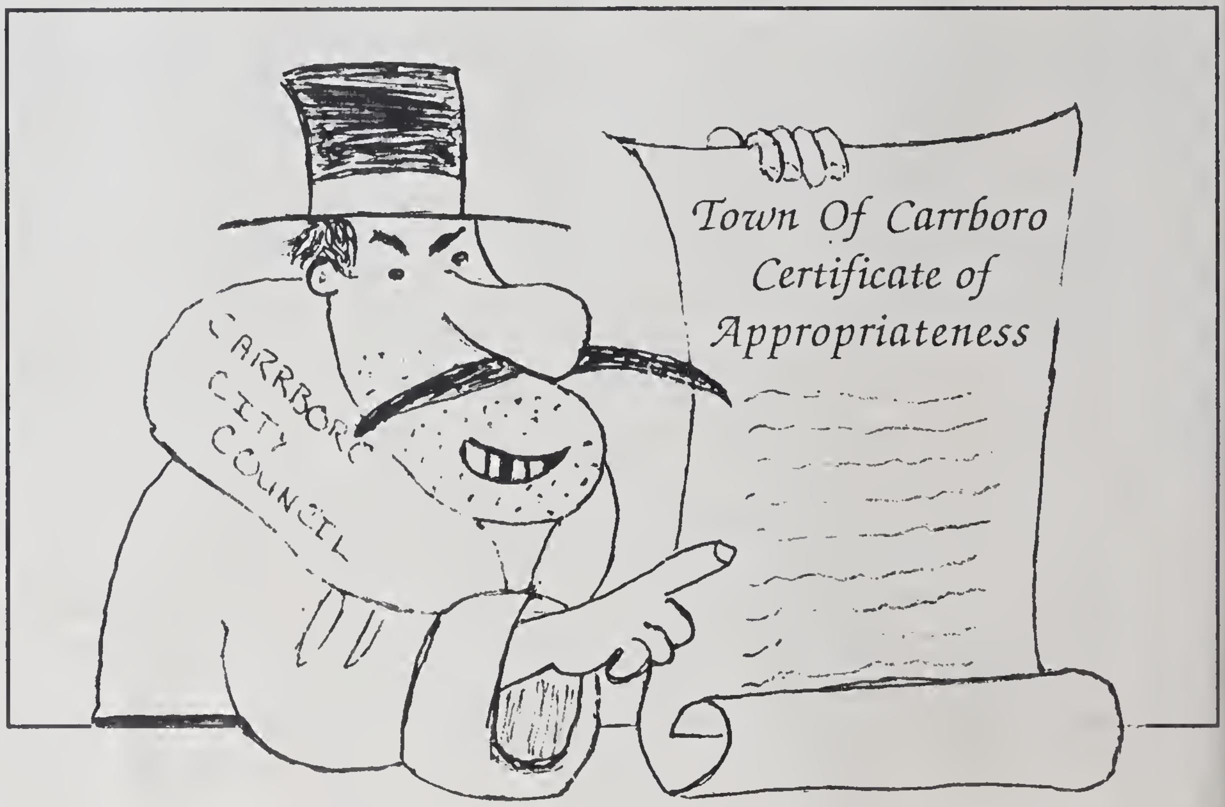
My favorite argument for the existence of student government comes from the statists among us, who claim that student government gives students a chance to participate in government and prepare for a possible career in public service (read: parasitism). This is a self-serving justification. Politics involves spending other people's money and making them do what they don't want to do. The last thing we should want is for these people to have practice at such legalized forms of theft and coercion in college.

With campus elections imminent, it is time to reconsider the need for much, if not all, of our student government. I respect the hard work done by those involved with student government, but the reality is that the majority of students neither need nor ask for the "services" of student government. It is unfair to force all students to fund the special interests of a few, or to pay for a bureaucracy that is not efficient, effective, or representative of the body from which it takes its funds. Let those who desire the services of student government pay for them, but don't coerce the rest into footing the bill as well. For those who disagree with my estimation of student appreciation of student government, I propose a simple challenge. Make the student fees that go to student government optional, and see what kind of budget you end up with. That's freedom of choice, and it's a freedom that students and parents who pay student fees at UNC should demand. Ω

Anthony Woodlief is a junior political science major and a founding member of Libertarian Anarchists for Themselves.

In the Zoo *By David Hood*

IN DEFENSE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS



What does it mean to "own" property? The usual legal answer would be that a landowner has "exclusive control over the use and transferrability" of his land. Indeed, private control over these facets of real property (land) forms the backbone of our Anglo-American system of property rights which separates us from those economic systems that emphasize state control over the land. The American Founding Fathers held the latter in such disdain that they wrote the Fifth Amendment, which held that these private interests in land could not be taken for public use without "just compensation."

Unfortunately, this expressly written provision in the Bill of Rights has not been followed. Today's landowner faces a myriad of state and local regulations which dictate how he can exercise the "use" of his own property, from zoning laws to "blue" laws. Rarely do any of these restrictions include any provision for compensating landowners who have had to give up their rights to "use" their property in order to achieve such "public" purposes. The notion that land belongs to individuals rather than to some nebulous "community" is dying — and with it, a part of our constitutional heritage.

The Town of Carrboro is trying to do its part to snuff out property rights. Its Historic Preservation Task Force has proposed a new ordinance that would make it more difficult for landowners to make changes to their property. If one is in the proposed "Neighborhood Preservation District," then any change in the property could be questioned by a neighborhood commission and delayed up to 180 days. A landowner in the "Local Historic District" would have to obtain a "Certificate of Appropriateness" in order to install, say, aluminum siding on the front of his house. Mayor Eleanor Kinnaird hopes the ordinance will help to preserve Carrboro's history, and make the respective districts into a "showpiece" for the town.

All this would come, of course, at the expense of property owners. Foregoing or delaying property developments can be extremely bothersome, when not quite costly. Sounds to me like private property is being "taken" for public use (historic preservation) without any compensation, "just" or otherwise.

Violation of the Fifth Amendment is not the only problem with such "historic preservation" laws. Recent economic theories and evidence have fingered government itself as one of the worst stewards when it comes to managing important resources. The fact is that private citizens have much more of an interest in maintaining the quality of their land than does any bureaucrat or other busybody sitting on a "neighborhood commission."

Consider exactly what such a commission proposes to do. It will decide how important historic preservation is to the citizens of Carrboro, and how such a value stacks up against the higher economic productivity which the land could yield if private owners were allowed to make the decisions. Austrian economists Ludwig von Mises and F. A. Hayek proved sixty years ago that government can rarely amass enough information to make these kinds of decisions correctly, and that the only efficacious way to decide between competing views would be to let the market decide. In a free market, a proposed change from residential to commercial purposes would be directly answerable to public opinion — residents angry about the destruction of their "historic district" would likely boycott any business established on said property. And if they did not, then their true interests would have been served by providing a business which they patronized.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE LANDowner who simply wants to mess up the aesthetics of the neighborhood by putting aluminum siding on his majestic old home? This is where the "Certificates of Appropriateness" come in. Shouldn't adjoining landowners have the right to protect their high property values from coming down?

As Ayn Rand put it, "at whose expense?" Preventing someone from fulfilling his dreams with respect to his property violates the "use" criterion that we normally associate with ownership. The landowner would be forced to provide historical continuity to the rest of the neighborhood at the expense of his own utility. This hardly seems fair, and he is again not being compensated as the Fifth Amendment requires. No, he has not had the property itself seized; but the ability to *use* the property should come with the deed. A person has no property if he is told how to use it regardless of his own wishes.

Another issue at stake with this "Certificate of Appropriateness" nonsense: freedom of expression. Architecture is just as much of an art as is painting or sculpture. Allowing a commission to decide what form of architecture will be allowed is much like allowing a commission to decide how paintings will be painted. It is censorship, nothing less. If the First Amendment confers artistic protection to graffiti artists and flag-burners, then it should certainly do so with respect to one's architectural choices. The use of aluminum siding on one's home should be considered analogous to the use of red paint in

(continued on page 22)

ltered State

By Rick Henderson

GETTING THIRD PARTIES ON THE BALLOT

THE 1984 LIBERTARIAN PARTY residential candidate, David Bergland, likes point out that in a recent poll of high school udents, 51% of them believed that the U.S. onstitution limited the number of political arties to two. (How many of you collegiate aders believe that as well?) While it's true at no political party has usurped the territory the Democrats or the Republicans since 356, there is no logical or Constitutional ason why a greater number of party choices n't appear on the ballot. The reason we n't have more choices isn't logical; it's gislative.

The Constitution makes no mention of litical parties, but does give Congress and e states the ability to set rules about ections and voting qualifications. Congress s deferred most of the rule making to the ate legislatures. Not surprisingly, there are different sets of ballot qualifications for rties and candidates. Interestingly enough, orth Carolina may have the toughest ballot quirements of the lot.

As a former member of a minority party, Libertarian Party, let me describe some of legal roadblocks the entrenched parties ow up in front of those who try to compete th the status quo.

In most states, for any political party to in ballot status it must either: petition the te legislature for access to the ballot by llecting signatures from registered voters o want the party on the ballot; or, if the ty already has ballot status, it must run ndidates for office who receive some nimal number of votes. For example, in C., a party retains ballot status if its ndidates for Governor or President eived 10% of the vote in the previous ction.

The number of signatures required to gain lot status varies from state to state. Some es require only a few hundred; others uire a percentage of voters to sign itions, which can run into thousands of natures. These signatures must be verified the party's expense) by state election cials. A few states allow a permanent slot the ballot for a party that conducts one cessful ballot drive, as long as it continues run candidates and pay filing fees (an mple is South Carolina); most, like North olina, require parties to get the minimum ber of votes, or, failing that, go through entire petitioning process before each eral election.

In the interest of limiting competition, it's not unusual for state legislatures to change ballot access laws dramatically. For example, here at home, potential parties had to collect 10,000 verified signatures to gain ballot status in 1975; when the Libertarian and Socialist Workers Parties did that, the General Assembly then upped the ante. They rewrote the laws to require any person signing the petition to agree to change his registration to the new party.

As you might imagine, it would be nearly impossible to get 10,000 persons to agree to change their registrations to a new party affiliation. This law was successfully challenged in the courts; the ruling was that a person can endorse freedom of choice without being forced to change his established affiliation. The courts have normally ruled that a political party should show some minimal amount of support to gain ballot status, but laws to regulate ballot access should not be unreasonably prohibitive. Able to use less controversial ballot petitions, the Libertarian, Socialist Workers, and American Parties gained ballot access after the 1980 elections. Still, you see the monopolistic tendencies of the powers that be.

AFTER THE 1984 ELECTIONS, THE General Assembly dealt a devastating blow to all minority parties. The ballot access laws were changed again. This time, for any party to gain ballot status, it must collect the signatures of two percent of the registered voters in the state (approximately 45,000 signatures). The parties also had to use a state-approved petition form with a confusing statement vaguely suggesting that the signers would become members of the party.

Since about one-third of all signatures collected on a ballot petition can't be verified (the signers really aren't registered voters, they move before the signatures are checked, etc.), the new law basically required parties to collect 67,000 signatures. It normally costs between 50 to 60 cents to collect and verify each signature. So a new party would have to raise thirty to forty thousand dollars to conduct a successful ballot drive. Then it could raise money for its election campaign.

Thirty or forty thousand dollars may sound like a piddling amount in these days of $10 million Senate campaigns, but for a small organization, that's a lot of money just to get on the ballot. I haven't seen membership figures for the American Party, but the Socialist Workers and Libertarian Parties each had around one hundred dues-paying members in 1984. Since persons belonging to minority parties usually aren't very affluent, even that amount of money was more than the typical minority party could raise.

SOAP BOX
APPROVED
PARTIES ONLY

Court challenges to the new law were contemplated. The challenges were abandoned when state judges commented off the record that the new law would stand up in court. (Apparently to avoid the embarrassment of losing another legal battle, legislators let these judges preview the text of the new law before it came to a vote.)

So the Libertarian, American, and Socialist Workers Parties were not on the ballot in 1986 or 1988. There was, however, a minority choice this past November. The New Alliance Party, an interesting conglomeration of disaffected leftists, supporters of black separatist Louis Farrakhan, and disgruntled Jacksonites, collected enough signatures to qualify in all 50 states; NAP Presidential candidate Lenora Fulani received around 5,700 votes in North Carolina (about one-fourth of one percent).

The reader may legitimately ask: what's the big deal? Why should anyone get upset about the ballot status of a party that, at the best of times, might garner one percent of the vote?

The point is that minority parties are often ideological. The Libertarians promote limited government and the free market; the Socialist Workers want to redistribute wealth and property; the NAP bashes "wealthy white men" and supports power for "women of color." Some of these ideas have become

(continued on page 22)

The View from Left Field *By Kyle Hudson*

LEGALIZATION ISN'T JUST FOR LIBERTARIANS

AMERICA IS A NATION UNDER THE influence of drugs. I don't mean those who suffer under the pain of addiction, or those caught in the self-perpetuating cycle of drugs and crime, or even those millions of Americans who occasionally use recreational drugs. The whole nation is held in thrall by the so-called "drug issue." Drugs are the debate topic *du jour* on America's social agenda. It seems that everyone in the country has suddenly become convinced that drugs are America's number one problem. Unfortunately the whole drug discussion is clouded by paranoia. Nowhere does this hysteria make itself more clear than in the debate over what just may be the answer to the problem — drug legalization.

For most Americans, drug legalization is a hard pill to swallow. This is because most of us view illicit drugs as somehow inherently "wrong." But what is the basis for this type of judgement? Marijuana, cocaine, and heroin are dangerous. So is race-car driving. No one has suggested outlawing the latter. Vague feelings of wrongness, of taboo, are no basis for sound public policy. Unfortunately, middle-class Americans are ill-informed about drugs and probably the effects of legalization, and politicians are quick to pander to their worst fears and biases instead of encouraging meaningful discussion.

The first argument for legalization is the civil libertarian's stand, John Stuart Mill's idea that governments should only restrict the rights of the individual to prevent harm to other citizens. "Over himself," Mill wrote, "over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign." Libertarians have advanced this line of argument for years; they contend that the government has no right to say what its citizens can or cannot put into their bodies.

But the idea of drug legalization is no longer the sole domain of the libertarians. Politicians and commentators from across the political spectrum are now calling for a more serious look at the legalization option. Why? Because of the frustrations and failures of the "war on drugs." Few people outside the lunatic fringe of libertarianism believe that total individual autonomy can work in our society. For example, if it were an indisputable fact that keeping drugs illegal would be of tangible benefit to society as a whole, I would be perfectly willing to accept the partial limitation of personal liberties that drug prohibition entails. Most proponents of legalization agree.

My point is that we must balance a theoretical concern for personal liberty with practical concerns of public policy. If it could be proven that drug legalization would turn American into the "nation of zombies" feared by New York's Senator Alfonse D'Amato, then legalization would be out of the question. But I believe that legalization would make things better, not worse. If this is the case, there is no justification for keeping drugs illegal.

WHY SHOULD WE CONSIDER what seems such an extreme tactic? Because there is a strong argument that, under a system of legalization, drugs would actually be less of a problem than they are now. Presently, the greatest problem generated by drugs is crime, especially among the poor and young in our inner cities. Because drugs are illegal, pushers can command exorbitant prices for their wares. Because drug-running promises such large profits, many people, not all of them poor, are attracted to the idea of pushing. Crime ensues when drug lords battle each other over turf and profit, and when addicts resort to crime to meet astronomically inflated prices. The federal government now spends some three billion dollars each year on drug enforcement measures that barely scratch the surface of the problem. Legalization would in one fell swoop put the drug lords out of business, decrease crimes of desperation on the part of addicts, and free up billions of federal dollars for more profitable enterprises.

Legalization does not necessarily add up to the "heroin in the vending machine for kids" nightmares of the proponents of drug prohibition. Those who favor legalization have offered a multitude of ideas for implementation of a policy that could reduce crime without leading to a decadent, drug-abusing society. The government could implement strict price controls to prevent the resurgence of a black market, while at the same time taxing the sale of drugs. This could produce, according to estimates by legalization supporter Ethan Nedelmann, an additional 10 billion dollars of revenue for programs aimed at treatment and education instead of futile attempts to eliminate the supply of drugs to our society. At the same time, federal authorities could make sure that the drugs available on the market are pure, thus less dangerous, and could prohibit the sale of drugs to minors. Driving or working under the influence of drugs would still carry harsh penalties.

But, argue the proponents of prohibition, legalizing drugs would still make things worse in the long run. Maybe gang warfare in the inner cities would come to an end, but at what cost? There would be an explosion in drug use as more and more people rush to experiment with newly legalized drugs. This, so the argument goes, would be a fate worse than the present drug quandary.

I contend that, under a well-regulated system of legalized drugs, we would be better off. There might be some increase in crimes committed by those under the influence of drugs, but there would still be an overall drop in crime. And, while I have no doubt that drug use would increase, at least for awhile, I am not persuaded that this would lead to a society of addicts. If all drugs were made legal, yes, experimentation would increase among those, especially in the middle class, who are now deterred by the financial and legal costs of drug use. But would abuse of hard drugs skyrocket? I doubt it. The greatest increase would be in marijuana, a relatively benign drug. I seriously doubt that, upon legalization, the masses of the middle class would rush out to inject heroin into their veins. They would not, simply because hard drugs, legal or not, have a bad reputation. They are scary.

Diverting the attention and resources of the government away from a failed policy of drug prohibition would allow strict control and massive efforts at education and treatment. Legalization, coupled with strict regulation (the sale of drugs in a generic form only through licensed government dealers, and laws against drug advertising) could make drugs seem less glamorous. Drug abuse would be a less tantalizing escape for the poor and alienated, who would have more access to facts and help. True, use, especially of marijuana, might increase, but *abuse*, in the long run, would probably drop.

Any policy towards drugs should represent a balance between maximum personal freedom and the well-being of society as a whole. Legalization might accomplish that end. But my purpose here is not to offer a wholehearted endorsement of drug legalization. Such a move would be a bold social experiment, risky at best. But legalization is an idea worth serious consideration. The debate over drugs must be

(continued on page 22)

REFRACTIONS

POGO'S BACK AND BETTER THAN EVER

y Rick Henderson

On January 8th, a cultural event of landmark proportions curred: after a fifteen-year layoff, *Pogo* once again appears the nation's comics pages.

For those of you who aren't familiar with the antics of the kefenokee Swamp denizens, prepare for what could be the at of your lives. If you don't read the comics now, it wouldn't tter anyway.

Pogo was created by Walt Kelly in the mid-1940s from the nnants of a comic book entitled *Bumbazine and Albert the ligator*. Bumbazine was a child who lived in the Okefenokee vamp and played with an unusual group of talking animals. bert was interesting in that he wanted to eat everything that sn't nailed down, including some of the other characters.

Bumbazine was soon written out; Kelly said that, as the only man character, he wasn't as believable as the animals. Albert s tamed by making him funny instead of threatening, and the ic book was converted into comic strip form, starring Pogo sum.

The comic strip first appeared in newspapers in 1948, gained onal syndication in the early 1950s, and was arguably the t popular (if not most controversial) item on the funny pages ng the '50s. *Pogo* discussed religion, politics, love, the nb, and even the tax man as no comic strip before or since d do. There's no doubt that the popular "topical" strips of y — *Doonesbury*, *Bloom County*, *Shoe*, even *The Far Side* — owe a great debt to the vision of Walt Kelly.

What happened to *Pogo*? In 1973, Kelly died. But his widow, Selby, and his son (who drew the strip for several years after Walt's vision failed) continued to produce it for another couple of years.

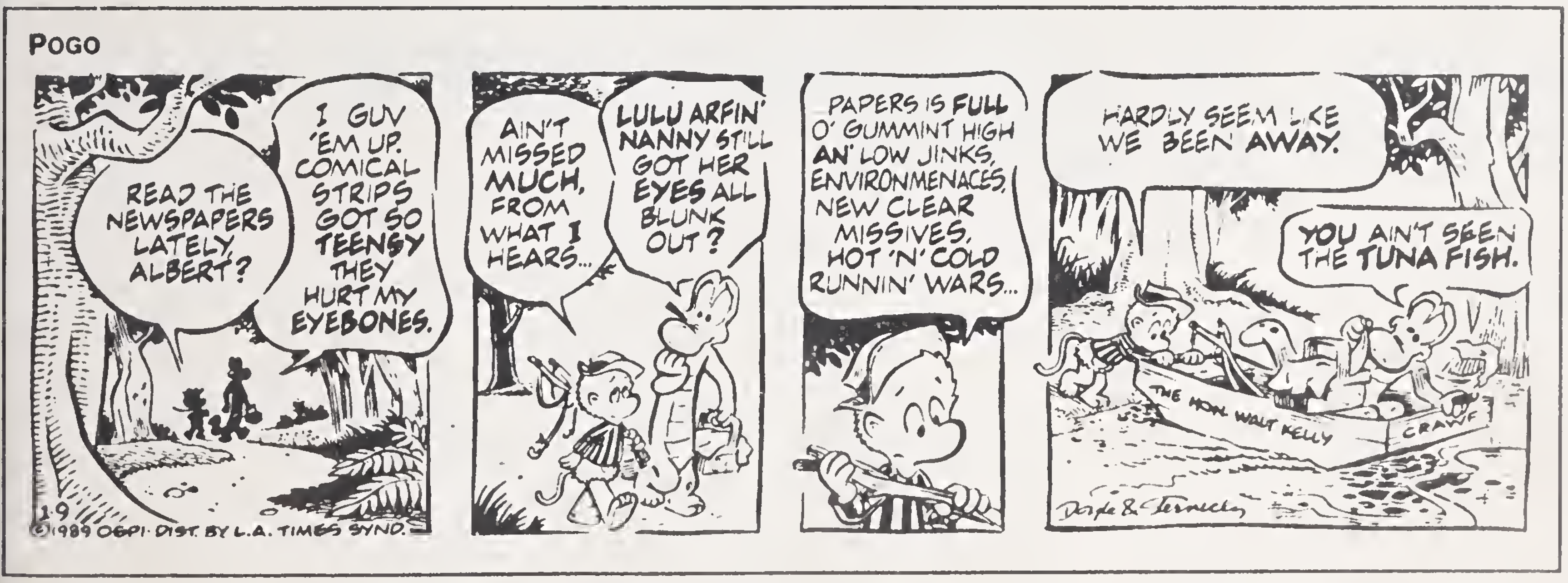
The mid-70s were the years of the Incredible Shrinking Comic Strip. In an effort to place as many comics as possible on one page of newsprint, newspapers across the country started severely reducing the size allotted to each strip. Shrinking the strips made those comics which had lots of words or intricate artwork more difficult to appreciate; *Pogo* featured both.

The Kellys tried to encourage both the syndicators and the newspapers to preserve the size of their work, but to no avail. For that reason, and because they felt unable to come up with the constant flow of material that a daily strip demands, they retired *Pogo* in 1975. Since then, a regular stream of *Pogo* anthologies has been published, but nothing new from the Kellys or the Okefenokee Swamp residents.

This began to change a couple of years ago. Two Chicagoans, Larry Doyle and Neal Sternecky, recently completed negotiations with the Kelly family to bring *Pogo* back. Doyle and Sternecky produced a daily strip for the University of Illinois newspaper when they were students in the late '70s. Even though they were only vaguely aware of *Pogo*'s existence, readers of their comic commented that the two strips were quite similar.

Doyle went to the library to become familiar with *Pogo*, and found that he and Sternecky understood what Walt Kelly was trying to do. The Los Angeles Times Syndicate put Doyle and Sternecky in touch with Selby Kelly, and negotiations to renew *Pogo* commenced.

One of the reasons it has taken two years to complete negotiations is Selby Kelly's insistence that *Pogo* must not be shrunk to postage-stamp size by the newspapers that carry it. I first heard of the return of *Pogo* in 1986; Mrs. Kelly was adamant about that point. We must assume that, if *Pogo* is back,


POGO
READ THE NEWSPAPERS LATELY, ALBERT?
I GUV 'EM UP. COMICAL STRIPS GOT SO TEENSY THEY HURT MY EYEBONES.
AIN'T MISSED MUCH, FROM WHAT I HEARS...
LULU ARFIN' NANNY STILL GOT HER EYES ALL BLUNK OUT?
PAPERS IS FULL O' GUMMINT HIGH AN' LOW JINKS, ENVIRONMENACES, NEW CLEAR MISSIVES, HOT 'N' COLD RUNNIN' WARS...
HARDLY SEEM LIKE WE BEEN AWAY.
YOU AIN'T SEEN THE TUNA FISH.
THE HON. WALT KELLY
CRAWF
1-9
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Doyle & Sternecky

it will be larger than anything else on the comics page.

Anyway, *Pogo* has returned, currently carried by 200 newspapers (including the Durham Morning Herald). As of this writing (mid-December), I have seen only a sample panel. But, as a *Pogo* lover for some fifteen years, I know that Messrs. Doyle and Sternecky have enormous shoes to fill.

There are three major legacies of Walt Kelly the new writers will have to take on:

1. Kelly's artistic skills. Jeff MacNelly, creator of *Shoe* (and, for my money, the visually richest cartoonist around today), admits that, compared to Kelly, "I'm not even close." To see how visually stunning a daily comic strip can be, go to Davis Library and check out any of the *Pogo* anthologies there. To MacNelly, Kelly's "mastery of black and white was so complete that I remember being disappointed with the *Pogo* Sunday pages — the color always seemed to get in the way of the drawing."
2. Kelly's use of language and humor. The bizarre dialects spoken by the characters provided a picture of Americana that rivalled even Mark Twain. Kelly is, of course, attributed with the phrase, "We have met the enemy and he is us." But a glance at *Pogo* strips provides such phrases as: "Who would of thunk it?", "Don't take life serious — it ain't nohow permanent," and "Pogo's for President and I'm for Vice."

Pretty pictures and crafty language aside, it was Kelly's humor that made *Pogo* great. Just check out "The Great Thinkin' Contest of 1955"; watch Albert try to understand his 1040 tax form in April of 1956; or see how P. T. Bridgeport tries to manage the presidential campaign of a character who can only say, "Jes' fine," in 1960, to see what I mean.

3. Kelly's politics. During the McCarthy anti-communist "witch hunts" of the early 1950s, Kelly introduced a character named Simple J. Malarkey, who went around the swamp investigating everyone. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover became a bulldog. Two regular characters, Deacon Mushrat and Molester Mole, could have been Jerry Falwell's mentors.

But Kelly was far from a doctrinaire liberal. Any time something went wrong, the swamp critters would usually blame "the gummermint." One of the strip's principal characters, Howland Owl, was perhaps the archetypal social planner — always causing worse problems than the ones he tried to solve.

Pogo even took on the superficial nature of the newsweeklies. When the swamp residents decided that Pogo should run for President (without asking our hero, of course), *Newslife* magazine sent a reporter to interview the candidate. Despite the fact that Pogo is a possum, *Newslife*'s crack research staff had determined that Pogo is a rabbit — and would not accept physical evidence to the contrary. Kelly said that a candidate not making the cover of at least one "major omniscient newsweekl[y] is like entering a freckle contest without your skin." The *Newslife* reporter left the swamp unconvinced.

Pogo is back. Old fans who worry the the strip won't be the same may be right; but the Kellys will keep a hand on things. Doyle said that Selby Kelly will review the strips before they go to press, serving as a "quality control" officer. But, other than making sure the new writers don't "endorse Lyndon LaRouche," they will retain a lot of editorial freedom. Let's hope they can recapture the spirit, and the magic, that made *Pogo* a reader's delight for some twenty-five years. Ω

Rick Henderson is a graduate of UNC in political science, and not as old as he may sound.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY VERSUS EQUALITY OF RESULTS

By John Jaynes

> *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.* — The Declaration of Independence of the United States.

Freedom and equality. It's got a nice ring to it, as in the French Revolution's "Freedom, equality, and brotherhood!" Yet "equality" and "freedom" have come to mean, to some people, almost opposite things. Freedom is still usually associated with equality of opportunity. Equality sometimes is too, but it is now often used to mean equality of results. The latter concept can be called "social justice" or other nice-sounding things; but in fact it has little to do with either freedom or justice.

Equality of opportunity holds that people should not be prevented from developing and using their abilities for arbitrary reasons (race, gender, religion, social class, etc.). Classical liberalism or libertarianism argues that people should not have their freedoms taken away for the "benefit of society" without a truly compelling reason. When people lose equality of opportunity, they lose freedom, and their potentials lie unused — to the detriment of society.

When people's talents are wasted in this way, society (really all the individuals in the society) is deprived of their services; resources (human and otherwise) must be shifted to cover the shortfall. In general, everyone is made worse off by this; a few may benefit, but at the expense of others.

If a woman wants to be a doctor, but is told that this is "not women's work," perhaps some (male) doctors will benefit by charging higher fees, but the public at large must pay more for the same medical services. And, of course, the would-be doctor must find another career in which she is less interested, and probably less successful. The same goes for racial discrimination, religious biases, and so on. Equality of opportunity works — and those who want to build a society without it must explain why their society would be better despite being less free, poorer, and less fair.

Equality of results holds that people should be prevented, partially or completely, from succeeding or failing at what they do. If this sounds confusing, it is. But it can be as imple as “steal from the rich and give to the oor,” or “people shouldn’t be allowed to make lots of money when there are poor eople,” or even (as a socialist acquaintance f mine once argued) that “everybody should e paid the same salary no matter what they o.” This is not the same thing as arguing that is good for “society” to help the poor using ax dollars or whatever, or even arguing that it immoral to let some starve in the midst of lenty. The philosophy of equality of results olds that succeeding where others have ailed is itself somehow unjust or immoral, in e same way that liberalism holds that eeping a man from being a major-league aseball player because he has black skin is njust, immoral, and wasteful.

In its proper context, “all men are created qual” means that all people are equal under e law and in the eyes of government, despite at one is a rich man or another is a Senator’s ughter. Interpreted literally, however, it is tuous nonsense. Clearly all men are *not* eated equal; they have unique and different rengths and weaknesses. The doctrine of uality of results tries to ignore this fact, to at people as if they really *were* the same. It eks to remove the consequences of the fferences between individuals. If one rson makes more money than another, this unfair; so the government or some other ency must take money away from the first d give it to the second. No matter that the st person may have spent years learning to nd-carve wood and spends ten hours a day ing it, while the other washes cars when he ls like it and bums around the beach when doesn’t; they still “should” make the same ount of money, or both have a “right” to a ir” income, or some such thing.

Okay, I admit it, I don’t understand it e her.

Let’s look at the consequences of this d trine of equality of results. It may be a lied to wealth, or income, or even to job p formance. If the government places a h vy tax on wealth (accumulated money and p perty) and distributes the proceeds to p ple with less wealth, it equalizes the d ribution of wealth. It also creates an i entive for people to spend their money on t gs that don’t last instead of saving it. Why s e your money and invest it in building a b iness when you will only lose it to wealth t es in a few years? Why not take a trip to Rio o uy a crate of champagne — at least then y can keep the fun you had. Similarly, if the ernment pays out income-tax money to ple with lower incomes, there is less ntive to work. Why work overtime if you er see most of the money? And if you re ive this income- or wealth-equalizing m ey, since you can’t be required to work or do anything else in order to get it, you will literally get “money for nothing” — and will therefore be likely to work less too. The more “equality,” the less income, or wealth, or whatever.

To give a most extreme example, it is a very different situation where working another hour a day gets you a hundred dollars more a month, and where working another hour a day gets you (and the ten thousand other people in your town) a penny more a month.

There are even worse possibilities. Imagine equality of results in the classroom. Some average level of performance is set, and those who can’t make it get help until they can — while those who can make it are simply ignored until they fall far enough behind. Or, for truly die-hard equalitarians, those who are too far ahead should be punished for “making their fellow students feel inferior.” (I *sincerely* hope that this example is entirely fictional — but I fear it may not be.)

Sometimes equality of results is just nonsense, pure and simple. We might be able to “redistribute” the wealth-building talents of a Donald Trump, by grabbing and parceling out the wealth, but what about the musical ability of a J. S. Bach or even a Paul McCartney? Redistributing the money gained just doesn’t do the job (and in Bach’s case would be a pittance anyway). How can we “equalize” Stephen Hawking’s physical insight? Brian Boitano’s figure skating? Michael Jordan’s basketball ability?

To put it bluntly: to the extent that one supports the idea of equality of results, one supports the enshrining of mediocrity, the rewarding of failure, and the punishment of success, in whatever sphere of endeavor the principle is applied. Abilities are wasted by removing many of the incentives to develop and use them — just as they are when equality of opportunity is lacking.

By now the equality-of-results boosters are undoubtably yelling “But what about the real world! What about racial and sexual discrimination! What about unemployment! What about class privilege! What about...”

This is probably the best argument they have. In an imperfect world, some of the inequalities of results between people will not be due to their own abilities and desires, but to differing privileges and hardships: to inequalities of opportunity. And equality of results will, completely or partially, erase these “unfair” inequalities.

But it will also erase *all* inequalities! It will still have all the ill effects catalogued above. We will not discriminate against people for trying to “go where they aren’t wanted” — instead we will discriminate against those who work hard, those who succeed! Is this an improvement?

Well, sometimes it may be. If a few percent of the population owns all of the land, and the rest are forced to farm it for them, there is clearly a huge waste of human talent. Forced redistribution of land and wealth is one way to begin using that ability more efficiently; but if it continues, it will itself waste talent. The ex-peasant who runs his farm well will not be rewarded — so why bother?

The real question to be asked is not “is it an improvement?” but “is it the best solution?”. It should be clear by now that equality of opportunity is less wasteful and more fair than equality of results, and tends to result in a freer and richer society (in both monetary and non-monetary terms). If “justice” refers to just treatment for individuals, and not merely groups of individuals, it is also a more just one.

Consider the joke “we discriminate against everyone — but equally!” This idea is actually implemented in the form of affirmative action. This is a fairer system than one where groups of people are denied opportunities, but it still denies opportunities to individuals. Suppose black people, as a group, go to lower-quality schools. Their true abilities are hidden. We can correct for the inequality of opportunity this causes by requiring lower grades and test scores for entrance to colleges for blacks than members of other racial groups. This removes the discrimination against blacks as a group.

But it requires a white student from a West Virginia coal-mining town to have higher grades than a black student from an affluent suburb of Los Angeles; and it requires that the black student be preferred *purely because he is black*! This is not “reverse racism,” it is racism, pure and simple. It wastes human talent too. If colleges gave special treatment in admissions to people based on the fact they were disadvantaged, not on their race, there would be equality of opportunity. This is much harder to do than, say, impose racial quotas in an affirmative-action program; but it has the advantages of fairness and efficient use of human abilities.

While equality of opportunity is better than equality of results, it *is* much harder to actually put it into practice. Indeed, true equality of opportunity is impossible. No two people will ever really have the same opportunities, any more than they will have the same experiences. It is much easier to tax away people’s salaries and then give them back uniformly. (That is, if people will let you!) Of course, it is also much easier to pick out a “guilty” party by “rounding up the usual suspects” and picking one at random than to have an investigation and trial — but easy and fair are not the same.

Some people attack equality of opportunity because it doesn't "right past wrongs." They maintain that people who are white, male, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant are "bound to get pretty much what we want" due to past discrimination. Therefore they must be made to pay for the sins of their forebears. Even if we accept the dubious theory that the guilt for the sins of the fathers be visited on the sons (and presumably the daughters), what if your ancestors never oppressed anybody? A person is guilty because people who share his ethnic origin, religion, and gender once wronged others? Sounds like prejudice to me...

When can one say, all wrongs have been righted, it's okay to treat people fairly now? It is literally *impossible* to right all past wrongs. (I haven't heard too many proposals to make the European, Asian and African Americans give the U.S. back to the Native Americans.) Which wrongs are we going to pick? How? Doesn't it make more sense to avoid present and future mistakes, if we can, than to dwell on past ones? We can try to keep people now from paying the price for past mistakes, from being denied opportunities because of them; but that's a far different thing.

Equality of opportunity applauds success and demands that all be given a proper chance to achieve it. It encourages people to do their best, while helping others to do the same. It rewards individual initiative and excellence. Equality of results tolerates success, but asks that the successful feel guilty for it, and encourages people to "fit in." It demands conformity, and stifles dreams.

Our society does not come very close to an equal-opportunity society. The example of a woman wanting to be a doctor is often inapplicable now; but what if she is the child of a welfare mother in Harlem? Will she get the chance to make her contribution to society? Probably not; and we are all poorer, spiritually and economically, for that. Yet we must beware of simple solutions which don't really solve the problem, and can even make things worse. We will not quickly or easily improve equality of opportunity; clumsy half-measures like racial quotas may sometimes be the best we can do. But we can do no better by trying to move towards equality of results instead. We must never lose sight of the goal: to give all Americans Liberty and an even chance at the pursuit of Happiness. Ω

John Jaynes is a graduate student in physics who is unequalled.

THE LEFTOVERS

ALTERED STATES

(Continued from page 17)

adopted by the mainstream parties. The best example of this was the perennial Socialist Presidential candidate Norman Thomas. He was always on the ballot in the '30s and '40s. He never won, but his ideas became so pervasive that he could truthfully say, "I didn't have to win; both major parties stole my platform."

When ballot access isn't prohibitive, the marketplace of political ideas is full of choices. Policy proposals, from the sensible to the loony, receive a full hearing. The best (or the most attractive) often become adopted by the mainstream. And, in the case when a minority candidate is influential enough to be taken seriously (George Wallace in 1968, or John Anderson in 1980), the mainstream candidates often have to take stands on their issues. The voters are better served, as well.

When the two established parties have a stranglehold on the political process, political debate is stifled. Politics tends to be played "between the 40-yard lines," as a Critic article recently stated.

There also is the danger that a well-organized minority might try to take control of an ideologically mushy mainstream party, as Pat Robertson and Jesse Jackson have attempted to do. They could even succeed, as the loony Lyndon LaRouchies did with Illinois Democrats in 1986, in having their bizarre candidates nominated for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State.

The only people who are truly hurt by easy ballot access laws are the lazy, monolithic mainstream parties. They will go to great lengths to monopolize your voting choices. I love to recall that in the last general election in Marxist Nicaragua, there were eight political parties on the ballot. When will our state legislatures legalize freedom of choice here in America? Ω

Rick Henderson is a 1979 graduate of the University, and former Executive Committee member of the Libertarian Party of North Carolina.

LEFT FIELD

(Continued from page 18)

elevated from its current level of empty rhetoric, hysteria, outdated taboo, and fascist police solutions.

If the proposed model holds true, legalization could reduce crime without a significant cost to society. The precious resources now tied up in a losing battle against drug lords (and, in the case of overzealous Reaganite drug warriors, our personal freedoms) could go to educate the public and heal the addict. Hopefully, there would emerge a society of maximum personal freedom, where drug-related crime is a thing of the past and people, out of intelligence and respect for themselves, not coercion, treat drugs in an intelligent and prudent manner. Ω

Kyle Hudson is a sophomore history major, a senior editor for the Carolina Critic, *and is one of the many editors of* the catalyst.

IN THE ZOO

(Continued from page 18)

a painting or the use of hyperbole in a magazine article.

Let's bring Ayn Rand back into this. Remember her book The *Fountainhead*, made into a movie starring Patricia Neal and Gregory Peck? The antagonists had their own architectural commission — a group telling the protagonist how to build buildings. As Rand pointed out, such collective control over aesthetic expression stifles creativity and violates individual autonomy. It should be remembered that one man's historic building is another man's rickety eyesore. If we are to stick up for the notion of private property rights at all these decisions should be left to the landowner, not to a jury of state-sponsored busybodies.

It's one thing to argue the need for historic preservation — but quite another to force others to provide such a service for us. Establishing community control over individual architectural decisions in the name of historic preservation is a little like forcing movie directors to film in black-and-white in the name of cinematic preservation. Let's let the color back in. Ω

David Hood, a first-year law student from Carrboro, is publisher of The Carolina Critic

By Michael Lowrey

GIVING THE PLO A FAIR SHAKE

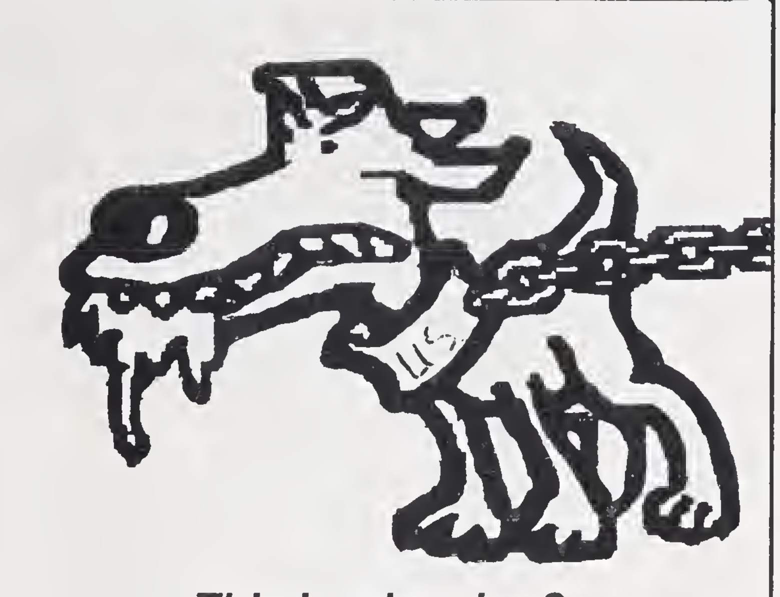
IT WAS IN MANY WAYS A STRANGE vent as Secretary of State George Shultz nnounced that the United States was going to art a dialogue with the PLO. Had someone ut hallucinogenic mushrooms in the ashington water supply? Was this the same onald Reagan whose administration was rhaps the most pro-Israeli ever? Was this e same George Shultz who denied Yasser rafat a visa to speak at the United Nations r, what some reports suggest, were timately personal reasons?

Beneath the surface, talking to the O is less surprising. It is a move, as tually all moves in international ations are, of self-interest. When ael opposes arms sales by the United ates to Arab nations, it acts not out of me philosophical belief that the Arabs uld do better to invest the money in tter schools or more agricultural bsidies; rather they oppose the sales cause they feel it is a threat to their urity. The U.S. move towards the O is a similar action, based on nerica's own separate fundamental erests and perspectives.

The Israelis' basic objective is their n security, narrowly defined. Israel's h in 1948 was marked by a bloody war. ce then three major conflicts plus all too nerous skirmishes, raids, and terrorist nbings have followed. From this, Israel learned that its security over less than ndly neighbors rests ultimately on its itary superiority. Equality or some form of rrence is not enough, as the bombing raid Iraq's nuclear reactor showed (Iraq was ged to have had plans to use the reactor to e atomic weapons; Israel is believed to ady have nuclear weapons). Security fers, such as the West Bank, are also rded as necessary.

Simply put, tension and open warfare in rest of the world is beneficial for Israel. more conflict in the world, the greater the and for Israeli weapons, allowing Israel read its large research and development overhead costs to other nations. national attention on other parts of the d also allows Israel a freer hand in its gn and defense policies. The death of a stone-throwing Palestinians would go ly unnoticed in a world full of terror, ression, and warfare, yet stick out rkably (and carry a high political cost) if re unique on this planet.

Especially beneficial to Israel has been the Iran-Iraq war. Here are two of Israel's strongest rivals and threats, one (Iran) expressing a desire to lead an Islamic fundamentalist surge on to Jerusalem, the other (Iraq) an old foe, exhausted after some eight years of undesired warfare. Most of the remaining Middle Eastern Islamic nations have been polarized by the struggle. Clearly, in this environment, no coalition could form to seriously challenge Israel militarily. In a region of Qaddafys, Khomenis and Saddam Husseins, this is no great loss, nor is a policy based on military superiority difficult to understand.



This is a lap dog?

THE UNITED STATES' INTERESTS in the region are broader than Israeli interests. No power in the Middle East is, by any stretch of the imagination, a real military threat to America. So why does the U.S. even care about the Middle East? America, as a superpower, has defined (since World War II) its role as that of a global leader, standing for such principles as free navigation, which it defended during the Iran-Iraq War. With this definition comes a key role in conflict resolution throughout the world. In practice, the United States wants to be the peacemaker, the honest broker in the world, always able to step in and help end a bloody fight somewhere.

This role is especially important to the United States in the Middle East. Perhaps nowhere in the world have we had as much recent success as an outside power able to shape the affairs of a region. The Camp David accords, for example, with the United States able to bring Egypt and Israel together, were the move of the decade.

Time is a factor which is not in the United States' favor. The world status quo is generally pro-American; we have little to gain but much to lose through conflict in the world. If the United States can't produce peace at the bargaining table in the current environment, it will be seen as politically (if not militarily) impotent in the region. Future attempts at peace would likely come at an international peace conference, with the United States invited, but not in charge, or ominously, on the battlefield or by terrorist bombing. Peace sooner rather than later also allows us to reduce the $3 billion a year we give both Israel and Egypt and reduce our military presence in the area; these are certainly nice things to do in an era of large budget deficits.

By talking to a PLO which now recognizes Israel and renounces terrorism, the United States sends the clear message to Israel that its current military policies and proposal for the West Bank and Gaza Strip are unrealistic. In essence the Israelis, at little political or economic cost, have been able to simultaneously control, use as a buffer, and settle the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights for over 20 years without extending political rights to the local Palestinian residents. It is a grand example of maximum security. This arrangement has also allowed the Israeli government to satisfy its more conservative citizens, who consider the West Bank to be theirs by religious right, while keeping a very close eye on potential enemies and still avoiding major ethnic problems in Israel proper. The U.S. also avoids the embarrassment of setting higher standards of behavior for the PLO, and escapes some of the criticism that it's merely an Israeli lap dog.

The next challenge for the United States is to convince the Israelis that they no longer need to rely on military superiority. No peace treaty will end all violence in the Middle East, for any accord will leave someone (extremist Palestinians or Jews who will never accept the existence of the other side) unhappy enough to plant bombs. Yet until Israel feels it can be safer by talking than by using military force, its fundamental differences of interest with the U.S. will keep it from the bargaining table.

Ω

Michael Lowrey is someone who writes in hieroglyphics, and is requested to enclose a rosetta stone.

STUDENTS

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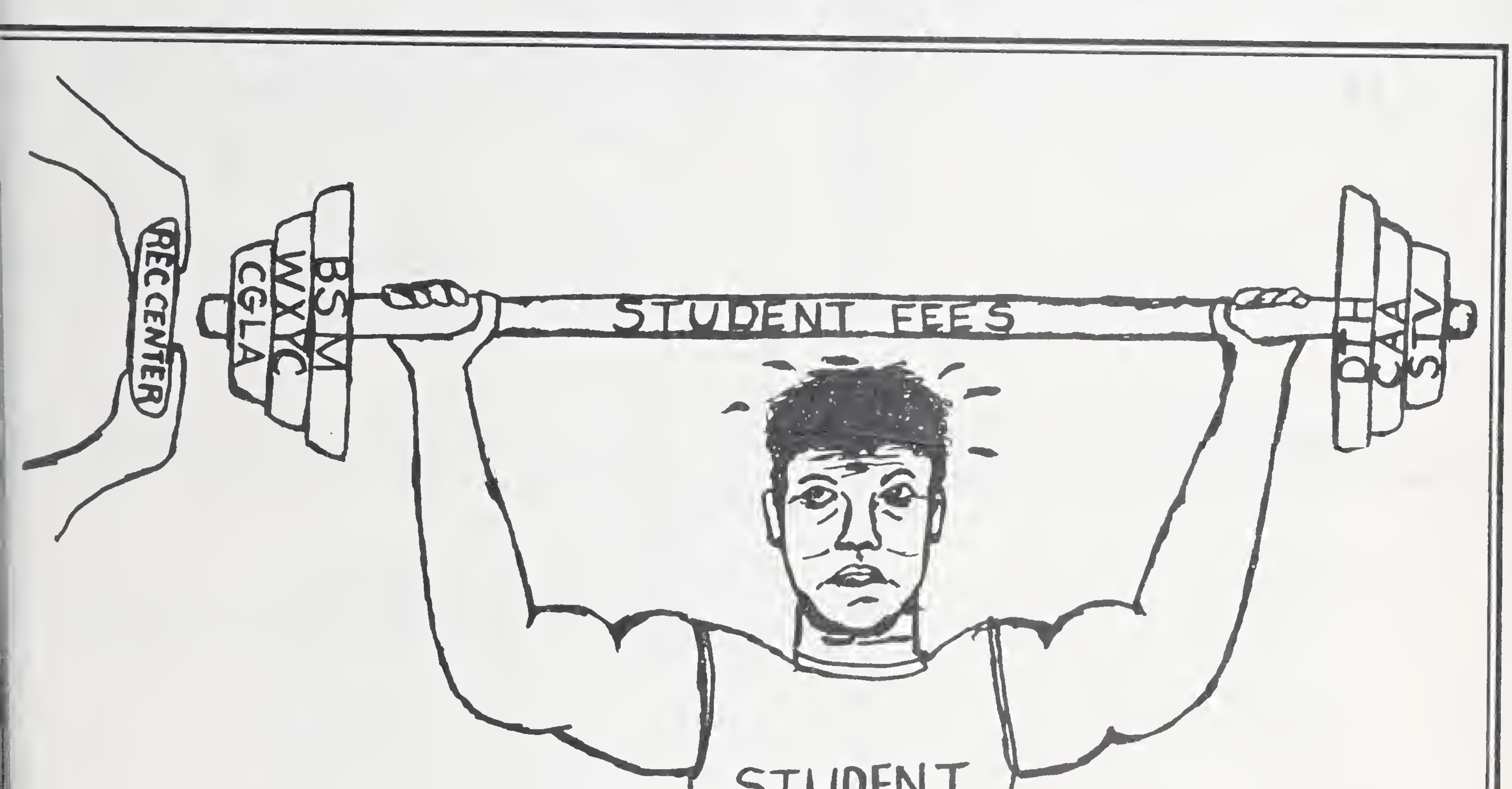
Vol. 2, No. 6
February 1989

Left Field
Pride and Presidents

The
CAROLINA CRITIC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DO WE NEED A REC CENTER?

STUDENT FEES AND APATHY

SO INSIDE: INTERVIEW WITH LIVING COLOUR; THE STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT CANDIDATES SPEAK; PROP 42 DEBATE; THE STEALTH BOMBER

The
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A Student Journal of Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., Box 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group, so there. Subscriptions are $10 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, art, copies of *Sports Illustrated's* swimsuit issue are welcome. Opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necesssarily reflect those of the editorial staff.
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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Critic Debate:** *The NCAA's Prop 42*
Rick Henderson and B. Carter Craft disagre
over the new athletic scholarship restrictions.

6 **Correspondence**

8 **The Critical Eye**

14 **Cover Story:** *The Proposed Rec Center*
Publisher David Hood and CAA Presiden
Carol Geer argue for and against.

16 *Student Fees A La Carte*
Students should be able to pick the things the
want to fund, says Brad Beebe.

17 *Student Apathy*
Anthony Woodlief explains the real reaso
behind student apathy.

18 *Presidential Candidates*
Trey Loughran, Brien Lewis, and Kevin Sisso
answer questions from Chris Osborn.

20 **Altered State:** *Boss Hogg Leaves.*
The reign of Liston Ramsey I comes to an en
and Rick Henderson was there.

22 *Living Colour On Black and White.*
In this Connie Smith interview, the band dis
cusses success and breaking stereotypes.

24 **Essays**
Rick Henderson on the proposed gas tax.
Channing Rouse uncovers the Stealth bombe

29 **Left Field:** *Pride and Presidents.*
The Reagan Legacy, national pride, and Kyl
Hudson.

30 **The World Stage:** *Japan*
Michael Lowrey says Japan is not ready to b
a world power.

31 **National Truss:** *Overturning Roe v. Wade*
What to do next.

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STUDENT GOVERNMENT IS BENEFIT TO STUDENTS

AS SO OFTEN HAPPENS, THE CAROLINA CRITIC has dissolved into the meaningless (read: unresearched) abstractions that are such music to the ears of a pure classical liberal. Anthony Woodlief in "Student Government: Institutionalized Mediocrity" (January 1989), proves not only that he knows nothing about the actual workings of student government, but that he is uninformed as to its purpose as well.

The purpose of student government, despite Woodlief's ramblings about a "representative voice" and a playground for future politicians is this: to provide a check against the workings of a massive bureaucracy whose opinion of "what is best" often don't coincide with the opinions of students. To that end, student government has fought a long and hard battle: convincing those with all the power that students have the right to govern themselves is not easy, but the fact that we discipline ourselves shows that our accomplishments are significant, and our purpose worthwhile.

For anyone who wants to know what student government has meant to this University, I refer them to *The Story of Student Government in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, by Professor Emeritus Albert Coates and his wife, Gladys. I doubt that Professor Coates would have spent forty years of his life writing about something that he felt was insignificant. Read, Mr. Woodlief, about the fight to discipline ourselves, read about the fight to gain control over our money, read about the fight to allow radical speakers to speak, read about the fight to have the drop deadline extended (yes, it would already be time to be making those final decisions on which classes to keep if it wasn't for this mediocre institution).

One could even say, "Ah, but what has student government done this year?" It has fought to retain sophomore parking, is fighting for student seating in the Smith Center, has gotten students involved in city government, and has worked to improve the food service, just for starters. The list does go on, but you get the picture.

To quote Mr. Woodlief, "If apathy does exist, it is not because students are ignorant, it is because they perceive little real value in the product of their vote." Apathy does exist. It exists because students are ignorant. There is value in students' votes — they just don't know it. Don't mistake me, it would be difficult for a student to be informed on this campus. The only news source that covers student government regularly is the DTH, and often even they are ill-informed, proof that, yes, the system is far from perfect.

Is student government representative of student opinion? Mr. Woodlief says "No" because most students don't vote. But in a certain, very important way, student government is representative. It is representative because, unlike most governments, any student can walk into the student government offices and not just voice their opinion, but join a decision-making body.

When Mr. Woodlief says that independent student groups are more effective than student government, one can only assume that he means groups such as the CIA Action Committee. If so, one must wonder what exactly he means. Student government was not formed to be a reactionary group serving the interests of a minority. This is not to slight the CIAAC — they serve their purpose very well. If however, Mr. Woodlief was thinking more along the lines of SAFE Escort or the Tutoring Program, then perhaps he would be interested to know that both groups, as well as many others, were formed under student government and then made autonomous. Interestingly enough, both of these groups are struggling independently, and the Tutoring Program has gone so far as to request to be brought *back* to student government.

Mr. Woodlief also suggests that the undergraduate court be dissolved and that students handle their problems directly with the faculty member who is involved. Aside from the fact that many cases in the court don't involve faculty, does Mr. Woodlief really believe that a student will be able to reach a "satisfactory" agreement with a faculty member who holds all the cards? This solution reduces the students to simply puppets of the will of the faculty — the antithesis of student governance.

The sad truth about UNC Student Government, as I found myself telling a friend today, is that we are more popular nationally than we are on our home campus. I called several hundred schools this summer for a project, and student leaders from all over told me that they had heard about student government at Chapel Hill; yes, it's true, other schools wish they had what we've got.

Mr. Woodlief concludes by making a proposal that is far too common in the Critic: make funding, in this case for student government, optional, and then see what kind of funding we get. Apparently Mr. Woodlief does not realize that all student activity fees go initially to student government — that's one of our jobs, to handle those fees. If he speaks more specifically about the activity fees retained as student government's operating budget, well, even I'll agree that our budget would be near zero if the fees were optional. Haven't you taken Econ 10, Anthony? No one is going to fund something that they think the other guy might fund for them. Your market economy ideals are great, but they just don't always work.

Let's envision a Chapel Hill without student government. The first thing that happens: student parking is abolished altogether. The DTH is censored by the administration, which controls funding. Students are removed totally from the lower level of the SAC. More North Campus dorms are turned into offices (the location is so nice for offices). They build a nice highway right over Frat Court. Minority recruitment falls off (yes, student government is actively involved in minority recruitment). Royalties go back into some random trust fund rather than to scholarships, book prices skyrocket. Numerous student organizations, support groups for many students, fold. Student tutoring fails. Any student that any faculty member decides was cheating gets expelled (or maybe Anthony has time to listen to cases about cheat sheets). Of course, the Union closes (or maybe Anthony has time to pick movies for us, too).

I think maybe Mr. Woodlief's assertion that student government is ineffective and invisible is a little like the man who couldn't see the sun because of the glare.

Bill Hildebolt
Chairman, Special Interests Committee of the Executive Branch
sophomore, economics/political science

ANTHONY WOODLIEF RESPONDS

MR. HILDEBOLT'S INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND the substance of my arguments does not detract from their significance. In my opening paragraph, I stated that one of the excuses for student government is that it "gives students a voice in the affairs of the University." Although this is hardly as eloquent as Mr. Hildebolt's assertion that student government's purpose is "to provide a check against the workings of a massive bureaucracy," the statements are essentially the same, although Hildebolt conviently ignores the similarity, taking it upon himself to enlighten me with a point I have already accepted as a given. I do not deny that student government exists to represent students, I question its ability to do so.

Hildebolt assumes that since certain parts of student government have an open-door policy toward students, this implies a form of representation. If students don't take advantage of this, however, there is no such representation. Don't confuse the capacity for representation with the actual thing.

I find it interesting that Hildebolt asserts that "student government was not formed to be a reactionary group serving the interests of a minority," yet he is Chairman of the **Special Interests Committee** of the Executive Branch. Student government too often serves narrow interests, at the expense of the majority of students, who, far from being stupid (you won't score on the political scene by calling the voters ignorant, Hildebolt), know full well that they don't benefit from much of the expenditure of their fees. Even Hildebolt concedes that students would not fund student government if given a choice, and then insults my intelligence by offering a half-baked economic explanation for this. The proper term, Bill, is the free-rider effect, and one way to get around it is to charge a user fee for services (I did take Econ 10, by the way, and I received an A).

Hildebolt paints an imaginative and self-serving picture of life at UNC without student government. I have no doubt that student government has done commendable things in the past, but I ask whether it truly serves the interests of the majority of those it claims to represent, and whether a large majority of its functions are necessary. Hildebolt suggests I don't see the sun because of the glare. If there is such a glare, it doesn't appear in his arguments, which are woefully dim. I'm glad to see that members of student government are reading the CRITIC, however. Thanks for your reply.

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
meets
Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
2nd floor, Bingham Hall

ON VOLUNTEERISM AND AMERICA

"THE FACULTY ROSTRUM", THE CRITIC'S newest feature, seems to be an excellent forum for additional members of the academic community to express their views in a student publication. This feature should prove to be a worthy addition to the Critic's high-quality (if closed-minded) journalism. I must take great exception with the topic and glossy-eyed idealism of the first contributor, however. With all due respect to a professor of his stature, Dr. Eric Brodin sounds as if he is arguing the weak side of a debate over American volunteerism.

In "Volunteerism: America's Secret Strength", Dr. Brodin begins his glorified exultation of volunteerism in America today by stating that "America has always been a nation of volunteers and volunteerism...", and concludes by claiming that today "...the spirit of volunteerism ... is the same" as when Alexis de Tocqueville visited America in the 1830's. If these Dr. Brodin's claims are true, they are refuted rather than supported by the statistics that he quotes.

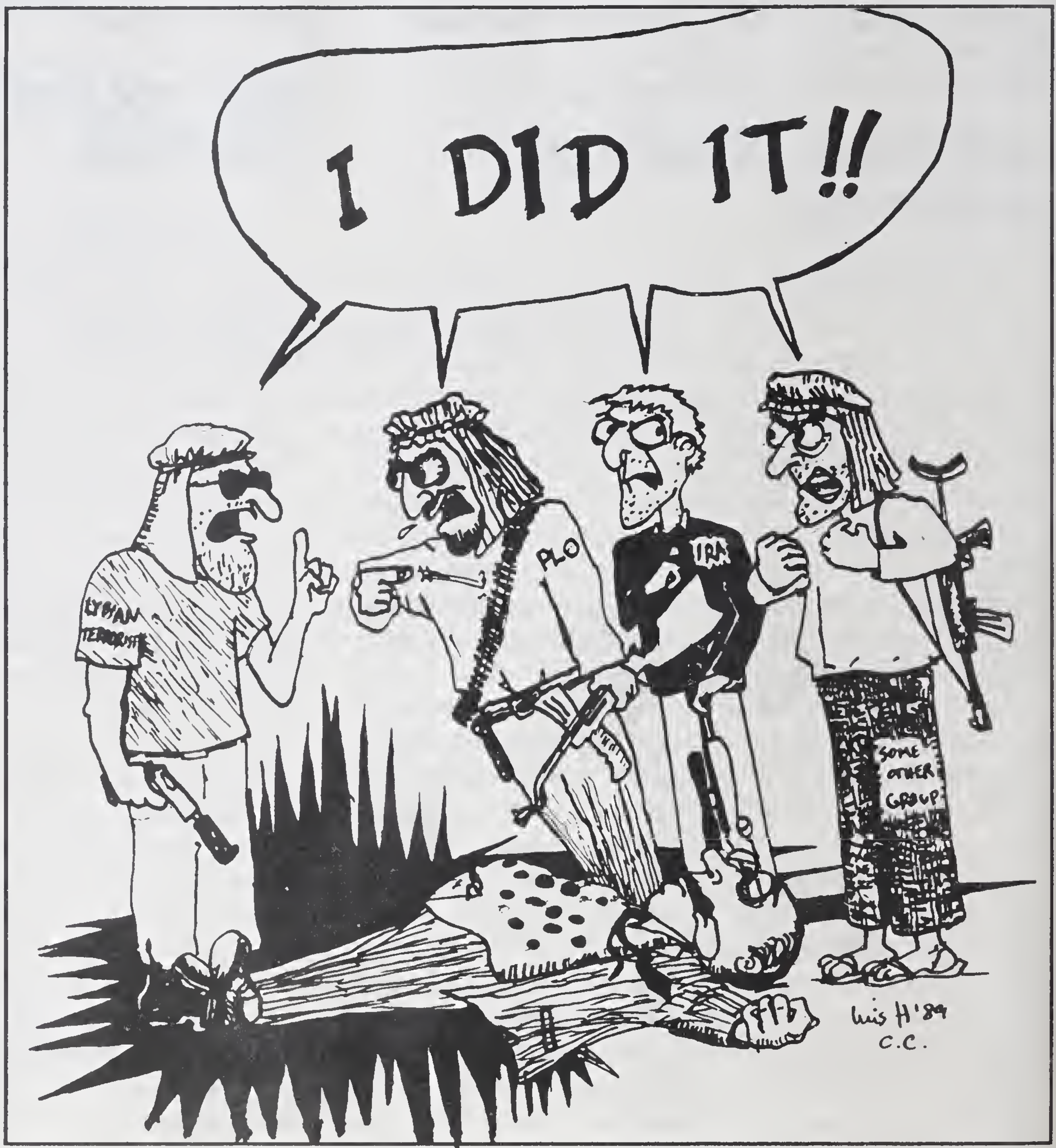
Dr. Brodin begins his blind march through "remarkable and encouraging" statistics by rejoicing that "in 1987 the American people spent 5.6 million hours in unpaid, volunteer work." If we assume there are about 240 million Americans today, then a conservative estimate would put the number of adults at at least 150 million. If half of these — 75 million — did "some volunteer work", adding up to 5.6 million hours, then we can figure that half of adult Americans did an average of 5 **minutes** of volunteer work in 1987, and the other half did **none!!!** Is this how "it should be, given the traditional voluntary practices in America?"

President Bush's much-maligned conception of "a thousand points of light" is certainly preferable to government-sponsored handouts to every group or person in need. If conservative politicians and their supporters are serious about efforts to limit government involvement and financing of social programs, then they **must** take the lead in providing these "thousand points" of private charity. Gloating over "the spirit of American volunteerism", as Dr. Brodin does, does nothing to alleviate the strain of social spending on the American taxpayer, but instead pats ourselves on the back for volunteering 5 minutes a year. In light of the statistics Dr. Brodin presents, all such talk of "a thousand points of light" is empty and hypocritical. The development and expansion of this conception is only possible when **all** Americans strive to exemplify the "neighbor helping neighbor" that de Tocqueville documented in his travels.

Andrew R. Pflaum
sophomore, political science

The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 6
February, 1989



- On January 20th, President Bush told the nation that there is a "new breeze blowing" in Washington. Four days later, nine students and teachers at a Hillsborough school had to be rushed to the hospital, after being overcome by the smell of "sewer gas." Is there a connection?

- Just when you thought it was safe to watch TV, the DTH reports that "General College," the student-produced soap opera on STV, will be broadcast nationally across the country on the National College Television Network. GC adds new meaning to the phrase "amateur dramatic production." You wonder why some RTVMP professor doesn't step in and say to the responsible students: "Don't air this. This is bad." Sonya Rokes, an actress on the series, offered a sobering thought. She said that, with the new exposure given by nationwide broadcasts of General College, "we will not just be seen by our peers and our families. We will be representing the University." God help us all.

- Little-Did-We-Know Dept: a reader of *U.S. News and World Report* wrote, "What has Reagan meant to America? Ask 80,000 dead and dying AIDS patients." And we thought the disease came from unsafe sex. No wonder Ron looks so tired all the time.

- In the last election, North Carolina placed 47th (out of the 50 states plus D.C.) in the percentage of eligible persons who actually voted. Only 44 percent of the state's voting-age population cast ballots. Needless to say, some election officials were outraged. Ken Eudy, director of the Democrats, said: "We're at the crisis stage. We need to have more people participating in the selection of our leaders." Of course, Eudy didn't say anything about the "leaders" the parties chose for us to select. Curtis Gans, a representative of the group who collected the survey data, put it into proper perspective: "We had abysmal, vacuous elections, and people responded appropriately." Student government candidates, are you listening?

- In the spirit of a kinder, gentler nation, Brit Hume has replaced Sam Donaldson as ABC's chief White House correspondent.

- The State Education Committee has decreed that a new type of history test will be given to Soviet high school students. They will actually be allowed to think and disagree with the standard party line. This probably comes as something of a disappointment to most Soviet students since last year's tests were cancelled while officials rewrote history. Maybe there are some advantages to communism after all.

- While the Reds are busy rewriting their history to be the way it (more than likely) happened, rather than the way they hoped it had, they should take note of the nineteenth-century British withdrawal from Afghanistan. Of a force of 16,500, one surgeon escaped alive.

- "Gimme that ole time religion." According to UNC Professor

Across the Bows

Uncontested DTH editorial candidate Sharon Kebschull omises “to continue the coverage that [urrent editor Jean Lutes] has encouraged us t do.” Darn: we hoped things would improve.

Jean Lutes admits that “insults, no matter how creative they may be, ve little effect on administrative [and e torial?] policies.” Flattery’ll get you n where, Jean.

Clifton Toth writes in a letter to the DTH that sexism can even be found i he 25th century. It seems that Toth is upset v h our friends at the United Federation of P nets who still view “minorities and women o power or intellegence... as somehow e eptional.” He claims that there are not n rly enough women and minorities piloting s ships on the TV program Star Trek: The N xt Generation. He also noted that when a b ck woman did become a starship captain, e and her ship [were] neutralized within first half hour.” We therefore propose an F C ban on the neutralization of star ships p oted by black females in the first half-hour o any science-fiction program. Social p gress gets *so* complicated sometimes.

Dr. Jerome Gilbert, assistant professor, Department of Surgery, in letter to the DTH: “I’m sorry, but how the T Heels perform has no bearing on my life. I sh them well, and I hope they win, but my li will go on whether they win or lose.” O iously Memorial Hospital has its pr rities mixed up.

DTH staffer Daniel Conover recently criticized the privately funded inauguration of President George Bush. His ideological twin, David Lohse, wrote the DTH a few days later, decrying the fact that the $30 million, which could have been used for charitable purposes, was instead wasted on the inauguration. Oh, come on, guys. America’s total charitable donations exceeded $300 billion over the past four years. So less than one dollar out of each ten thousand voluntarily contributed went to inaugurate the new President. This is hardly a spending spree. Incidentally, it takes the federal government less than two minutes to spend $30 million of **in**voluntary “contributions” any other day.

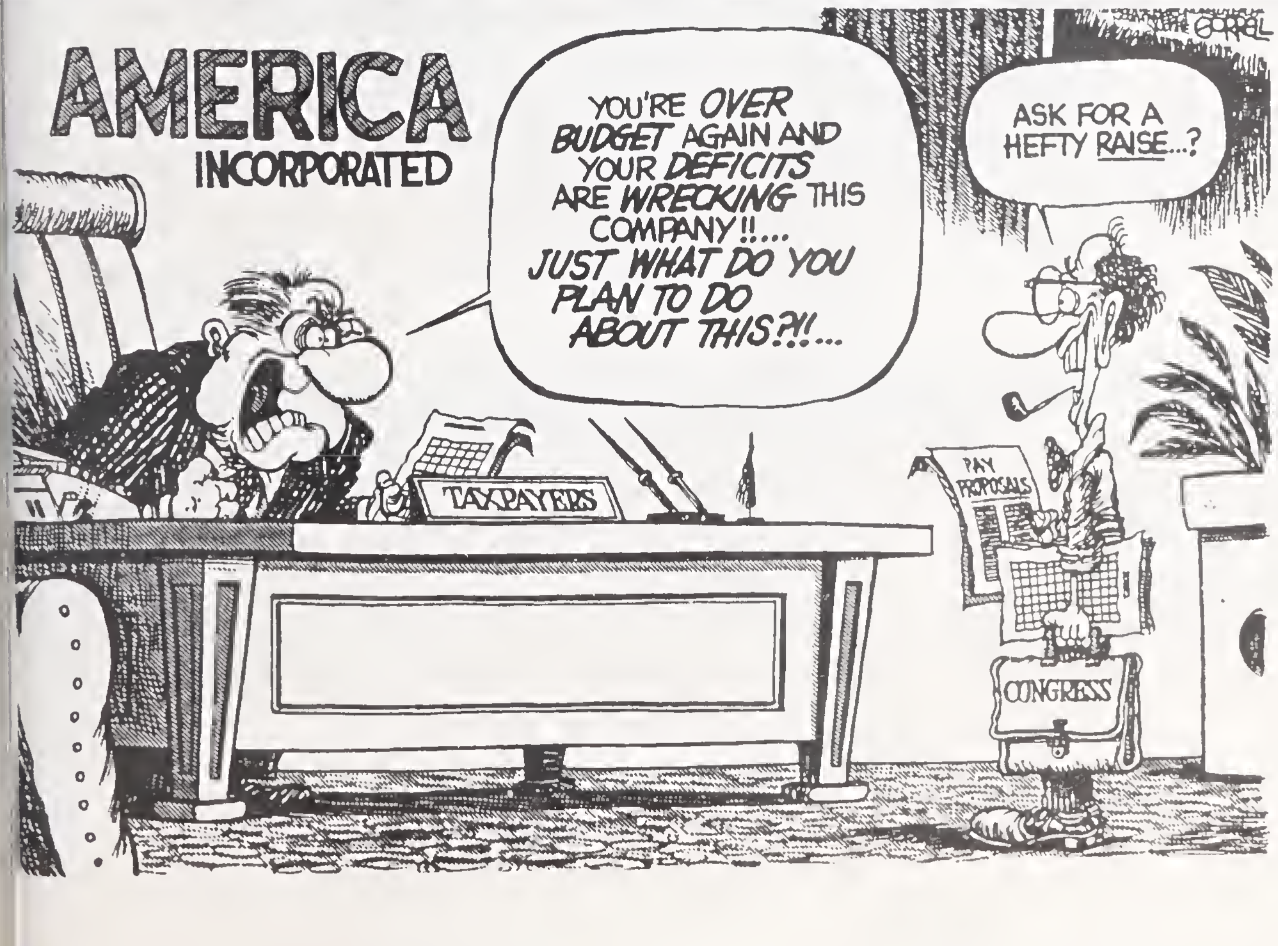
DTH editorial writer David Starnes says he’s happy George Bush wants to be the Education President. So are we. The President’s No New Taxes pledge, according to Dave, negates the President’s “resolve to radically improve the state of America’s educational system.” Dave ignores the fact that the United States spends more per capita on education than any nation in the world. Since 1960, the average class size has shrunk, federal spending has more than tripled, and the federal government has added over 260 new childrens’ programs. Yet by any objective standard (test scores, international rankings, etc.), educational performance has plummeted. The more power we cede to distant educrats, the worse things seem to get. So what’s Dave’s solution? President Bush should “come through with the [federal] money to educate.” Do you think that just for once, more federal intervention may not be the solution?

Not surprisingly, the idea that states and local governments should set their own educational priorities sounds to Dave like “passing the buck.” When will DTH editorial writers realize that taxing people locally, sending the money to a Washington bureacracy, and having them send it back to the communities (with strings attached) is no way to run an efficient education system? Bill Bennett, won’t you please come back?

Last month DTH guest writer Michael Spirtas tried to convince us that: “The recent election proved beyond any doubt that intelligence is weakness in a presidential candidate.” Which *obviously* explains why the American people elected George Bush, Phi Beta Kappa, Yale University (’48), and former adjunct professor at Rice University. Boy, are you guys sore losers! We are beginning to suspect, however, is that intelligence is not a requirement for DTH columnists.

Junior education major Alice Lutman wrote to the DTH, saying that defunding the CGLA and wiping out homosexuality would be regrettable, because “you and I would have nothing to laugh at.” Don’t worry, Alice: there will always be a DTH.

-Lukefahr & Henderson

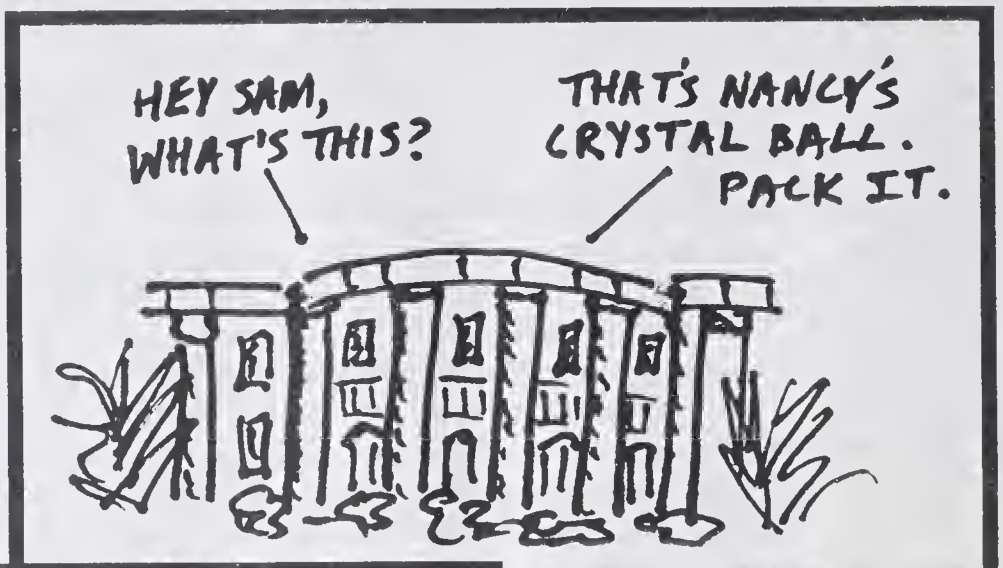

AMERICA INCORPORATED
YOU'RE OVER BUDGET AGAIN AND YOUR DEFICITS ARE WRECKING THIS COMPANY!!.... JUST WHAT DO YOU PLAN TO DO ABOUT THIS?!!...
ASK FOR A HEFTY RAISE...?
TAXPAYERS
PAY PROPOSALS
CONGRESS
GORRELL

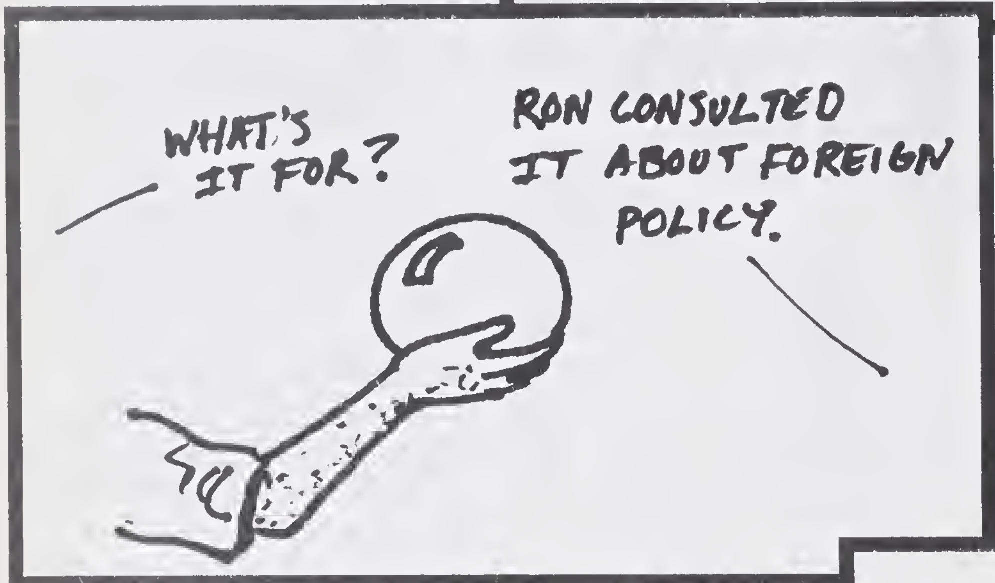
Robert Rupen, Ayatollah Khomeini sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev advising him to give up communism, which is dead anyway, and read the Koran. Further advice comes from our own Vice-President Dan Quayle who said “hatred of God” is the source of Soviet domestic problems. It’s difficult to say with certainty, but it appears as if this little catechism is having an effect. Last month, Gorbachev called Soviet involvement in Afghanistan a “sin.”

- Memo: State Department Visa Bureau. Re: Passport for Jimmy Swaggart.

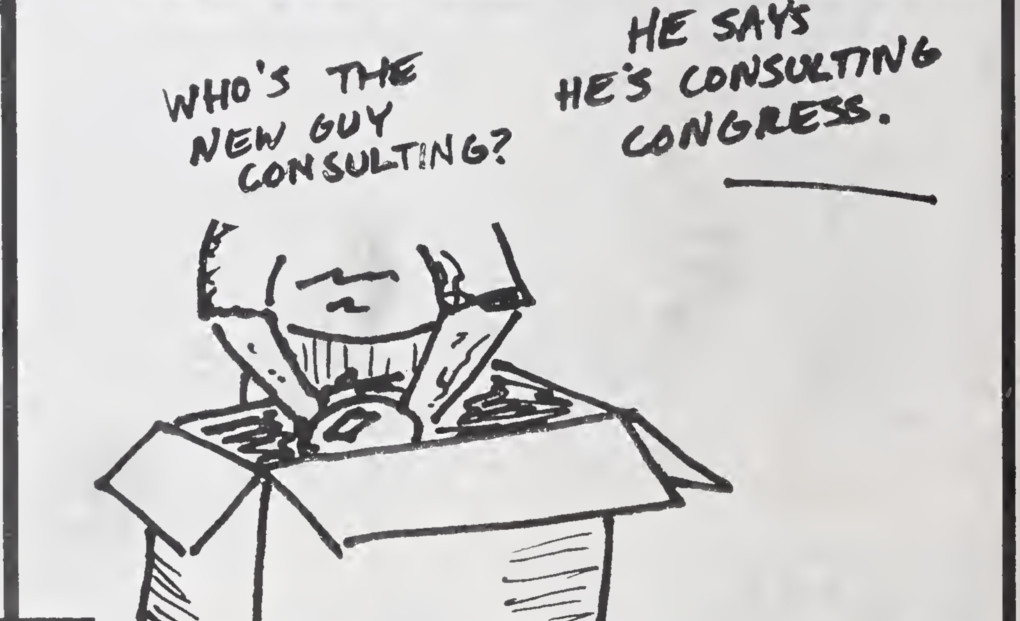
• The Associated Press reported that a divorced, former public relations executive with neither a college degree nor a seminary degree has become the first woman bishop in the 2000 year tradition of the Anglican Church.

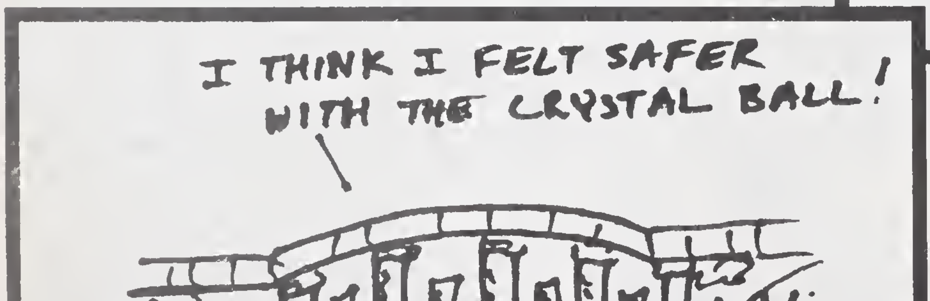
• Remember the tax "simplification" of 1986? It seems that it eliminated tax breaks for housing contractors, and possibly slowed growth in Carrboro. At least that's what Planning Director Roy Williford said after conceding that supply outstripped demand. "The other theory is that changes in the tax laws made it less attractive to build. But that's just a theory. I don't really know anything about tax laws." Since he said it, we won't.


HEY SAM, WHAT'S THIS?
THAT'S NANCY'S CRYSTAL BALL. PACK IT.
ES


WHAT'S IT FOR?
RON CONSULTED IT ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY.

• Robin Williams had audiences laughing at Bush/Quayle jokes during the campaign and was stunned when they won anyway. He seems to forget that we pick comedians to laugh at and leaders to run the country. Quayle was just a bonus.


WHO'S THE NEW GUY CONSULTING?
HE SAYS HE'S CONSULTING CONGRESS.


I THINK I FELT SAFER WITH THE CRYSTAL BALL!
ES

• Okay, we'll admit it. If you live east of Greensboro, the *Raleigh News and Observer* is the only daily newspaper you can find that takes more than five minutes to digest (once you get by the Sports and Comics, of course). Its news coverage is plenty good. Its editorials leave, well, something to be desired.

During the recent overthrow of Speaker of the House Liston Ramsey, the *N&O*, longtime proponents of a one-party state, had the unenviable task of ripping Democrats. For years, the paper has savaged all Republicans, all business owners, the private property system, and the profit motive in general, but now it's even attacking Democrats!

And of course, there was the anticipated series of anti-Republican and anti-corporation editorials that tried to shame the legislators into voting for the "progressive" back room pork-barreling that made Ramsey famous from Manteo to Murphy.

Some observers have called the *N&O* "The Red Rag from Raleigh," or "The English Edition of *Pravda*," but even in the Soviet Union they are experimenting with glasnost, perestroika, and other unpronounceables. Riddle me this, Batman: Which major Southern daily newspaper is to the left of Mikhail Gorbachev?

We've always been suspicious of a newspaper that constantly attacks the free enterprise system but doesn't mind running its own operation profitably. Okay, editor Claude Sitton, if you hate profit so much, why don't you set your subscription and advertising rates so that the *N&O* can't make money?

Cooling Off the Green House

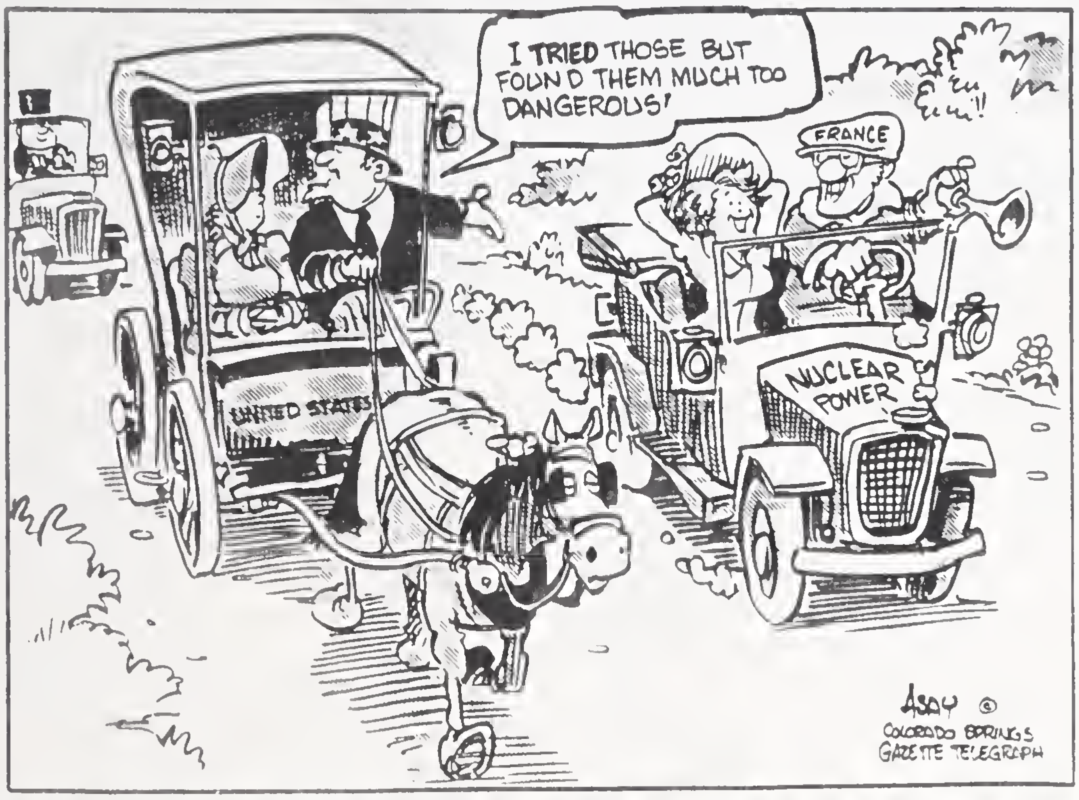
Good news in the energy production field. A new type of nuclear power plant, called an integral fast reactor, may be less than a decade away from providing the safe, inexpensive electric power we've awaited all these years.

The January 23 issue of *Insight* magazine featured an article about the new reactors and their benefits. First, they are extremely fuel-efficient. While today's water-cooled reactors require about 200 tons of fresh radioactive fuel a year to operate, an integral fast reactor will need only about one ton.

Also according to Department of Energy scientists, the new reactor "will produce less toxic waste than traditional plants and reprocess most of its own hazardous fission products." Additionally, the plants feature a cooling system based on liquid sodium instead of heavy water. This new method means that, in case of a cooling failure (such as those at Three Mile Island or Chernobyl), "the reactor simply would simply stop reacting. Fission would cease, the reactor would turn off and cool down."

Jerry D. Griffith, a deputy secreatary at DOE, points out that these new reactors will run nearly pollution-free. He says, "these reactors can compete economically with coal-fired plants and existing nuclear plants, but without the pollution from burning coal, the potential hazards of a light water reactor or the large capital investment necessary to build... a central fuel processing facility... If someday in the future we can generate all U.S. electric power exclusively with integral fast reactors, then the atmosphere would essentially be free of pollution from utilities."

Facing the prospects of "greenhouse effects" (real or imagined), gas taxes and the problem of hazardous waste disposal, this new technology will provide welcome relief to both the environment and to consumers' pocketbooks.


I TRIED THOSE BUT FOUND THEM MUCH TOO DANGEROUS!
FRANCE
NUCLEAR POWER
UNITED STATES
ASAY ©
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

- In nearly four out of every ten colleges, students can graduate without ever taking a course in history. Nearly half of colleges don't require a course in English or American literature. The search for a well-rounded education is more elusive than Dr. Doolittle's pink sea snail.

- In the December issue of the Forerunner, James Quayle (our new veep's dad) recalls "a young man who described himself as a 'nobody' and who is now an unemployed truck driver, enlisted in the Indiana Guard at the same time as Dan and served in the same unit with him." He later points out that "he (the nobody) and Danny had entered at the same rank and came out with the same rank." We're reassured to know that our new VP is in the same league with a "nobody" unemployed truck driver. And they say our leaders aren't as good as they used to be.

- Noted machismo expert Jon Bon Jovi recently went to the USSR and offered this bit of advice to foreign policy experts confused over change in the Soviet Union. "That's all I'm doing, man, showing them that men are men, regardless of East or West." No word yet on when he finishes his political science thesis.

- UNC President C.D. Spangler decided to enter the LBO sweepstakes by placing a bid for RJR-Nabisco during that company's recent takeover. Along with that story, we learned that President Spangler is on the board of directors of Jefferson-Pilot Insurance Company. While we shouldn't discourage the President from wearing several hats (though at last check he only had one head), we should pay attention to what William Friday, Mr. Spangler's predecessor, said on this matter. Mr. Friday never sat on a corporate board during his 30-year tenure as UNC President because there "was so much happening and so much changing that I didn't have time."

- Speaking of RJR-Nabisco, sure it cost $25 billion, but most leveraged buyouts cost under $1 million. This has become one of the most popular ways for entrepreneurs to get into a small business. But the current push in Congress for regulation could discourage these buyouts and ultimately hurt the growth of the economy and small businesses. Another case of performing brain surgery with a ice pick. Dr. Jason Voorhees, please call

Clipboard

PRESIDENT FOR SALE? Yelena Bonner, wife of Andrei Sakharov: "I think he will be overthrown soon. I would not bet 10 rubles on Gorbachev."

BUY A THRIFT, GET A CHECK: Lloyd Bentsen (remember him?), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee: "I mean the thrift industry is in terrible shape. It's reached the point where if you buy a toaster, you get a free savings and loan."

WHAT'S IN A NAME? Civil Rights activist Bayard Rustin, writing in 1971: "Why seek to change the name? 'Negro' is a fine word. Etymologically and phonetically it is much better, more logical than 'African' or 'colored' or any of the various hyphenated circumlocutions."

THE CHANCELLOR SPEAKS: UNC-CH Chancellor Paul Hardin: "We favor the general direction of Proposition 42 because it moves in the general direction of academic integrity."

42, 48, PROPOSITION, HIKE! Walter Williams, in his syndicated column: "College coaches and administrators are upset over [the new NCAA academic standards] because [they] threaten the money-making part of their operation. But that's their problem. Black people must have a different agenda–to figure out how to stop black politicians, civil rights organizations, the education establishment, and white liberals from fulfillinng the Ku Klux Klan's dream of black education."

HIT 'EM AGAIN, HARDER, HARDER! "[Coach] John Thompson of Georgetown wants the best basketball team money can buy, so to speak, and any scholastic standards, by their nature, will tend to limit his talent pool...Once upon a time, civil-rights leaders condemned racial double standards. Now they demand them, apparently with no thought of what they are implying about both their cause and their constituency. It's obvious that civil-rights leaders don't have to pass aptitude tests."–from "The Week," in NATIONAL REVIEW.

GOOD MORNING, MR. NADER. Henry Fairlie, in THE NEW REPUBLIC: "[T]he desire for a risk-free society is one of the most debilitating influences in America today, progressively enfeebling the economy with a mass of safety regulations and a widespread fear of liability rulings, and threatening to create an unbuoyant and uninventive society."

VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA! Syndicated columnist Jeff Greenfield: "However overdrawn the "thousand points of light" image was, there is something deeply right about the encouragement of voluntary associations for civic betterment–something that has always been part of the Eastern Establishment of which George Bush is undeniably a part."

MILITARY INSIGNIFICA

PRECARIOUS PROGNOSTICATOR: "The development of the ICBM and anti-aircraft missile have doomed the manned bomber." –John F. Kennedy, 1960

A LITTLE OFF THE EAST: The *Economist's* list of five cuts in U.S. military forces that will save money and hurt the least: cut a carrier battle group, including, preferably, the Enterprise; eliminate said carrier's air group; disband a squadron of B-52s; disband a light infantry division and disband the wing of F-15s which provide fighter cover for Japan and let the Japanese assume the responsibility.

FASTEST BIRD NO MORE: the U.S. Air Force has announced that come October it will deactivate its force the world's fastest planes, the SR-71, to save money. The planes are used for strategic reconnaissance at altitudes of over 70,000 feet and are capable of speeds in excess of 2,000 miles per hour.

HEADIN' NORTH I: In a move oh so consistant with *glasnost*, the Soviet's Northern Fleet has recently added a second *Kirov* class nuclear powered battlecruiser, the *Kalinin* , and another *Kiev* class combination aircraft carrier/ guided missile cruiser , the *Baku*, to its order of battle.

HEADIN' NORTH II :the contract for the first of advanced *Seawolf* class hunter/ killer submarines has been awarded to General Dynamics' Electric Boat division in Groton, Connecticut. Delievery of the $1.7 billion boat is set for 1995.

DAINTY BUT DEADLY: Two female Canadian officers have started training on the CF-18, the Canadian version of the U.S. Navy and Marines' hot F/A-18 fighter.

BUT WHAT WOULD THEY HAVE DONE if the planes were going to the Soviet Union: Following news that the Dutch government was giving 60 surplus F-5 fighters to Turkey, two people sneaked into a base and attacked several of the stored fighters with axes.

-Michael Lowrey

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your office.

• Finally, we note that Raleigh resident Otis D. Wadford, who has been known to enjoy an occasional spot of wine, recently added to his already impressive driving record when he was convicted for the thirty-fourth time of driving under the influence. This time he's going to prison for seven years — bottoms up, Otis.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Number of pieces of mail sent by U.S. Congress for each received: 12,000

Number of vetos by former President Reagan: 78

By FDR: 635

Total deficit of state and local government as % of GNP: 1.7

Of European Countries: 2.9

Value of chocolate given by Americans on Valentine's Day: $408 million

Number of copies distributed of *The Daily Tar Heel*: 19,000

of the weekly *Phoenix*: 7,000

of the monthly CAROLINA CRITIC: 7,000

First documented use of a condom: 1705

% of Amtrak trains that arrived late in 1988: 30

% increase in Amtrak consumer complaints: 15

Annual consumer savings on airline fare since deregulation: $10 billion

% of eigth and tenth grade boys who carry a handgun to school: 1

Number of lawyers for every 100,000 residents in Washington, D.C.: 5,875

in North Carolina: 142

Cost to consumers of protectionist legislation: $65 billion

% of Americans who think the Reagan Administration was too conservative: 36

% of Americans who think the Reagan Administration was too liberal: 35

% of Americans who think that education and ability are the keys to success: 84

% of Americans who think family background is the key to success: 45

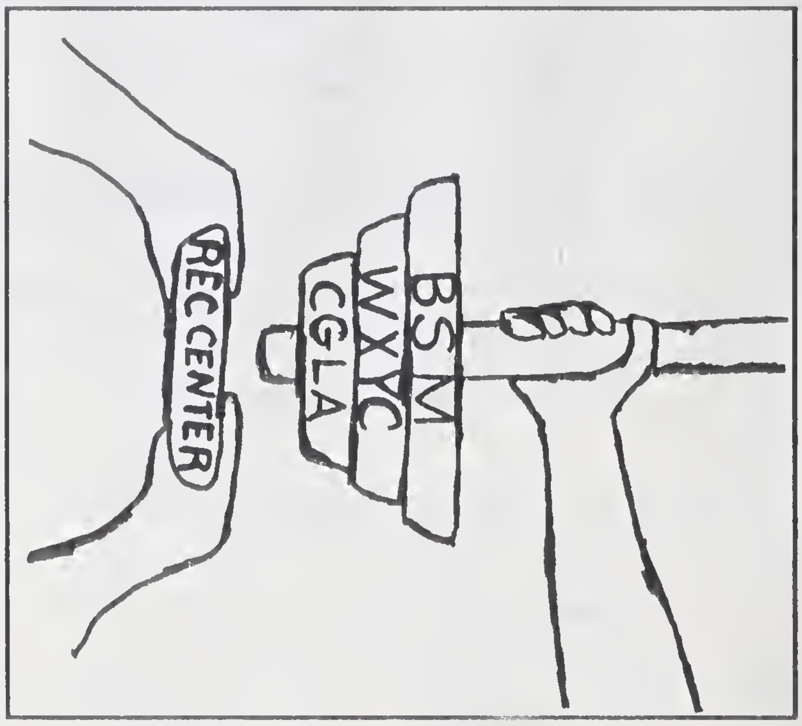
ources: *National Review* (2-10-89, p.11); ibid. (p.8); ibid.; ibid. (p.16); ibid.; *The Atlantic Monthly* (2-89, p.14); *Daily Tar Heel*; *The oenix*; THE CAROLINA CRITIC; ibid. (p.88); *Reason* (2-89, p.16); ibid.; U.S. News and World Report (2-13-89, p.84); ibid.; ibid.; Forbes 0-31-88, p.29); Public Opinion (11/12-88, ;.34); ibid. (p.23); ibid.;

DOES UNC NEED A REC CENTER?

David Hood

COLLEGE IS SUPPOSED TO PREPARE US FOR THE Real World. This is to be our transition time — a chance for we students to grow into responsible, mature adults. Obviously, this involves making our own decisions to a greater extent than we did back when we were in high school. This is why we all hear such phrases as "student empowerment" and "self-government" from the people who run for positions of student leadership.

However, once these people get elected to office, they forget the substance of their own campaign rhetoric. Instead of letting students make their own decisions like they will be expected to do in the Real World, student leaders tend to make other students do what the student leaders want. For instance, students must pay for movies to be shown at the Union whether they have the time or inclination to see them. Students are not given the choice of paying to see a movie at the Plaza Theaters with that money — they have to fund the "art films" and "B-movies" shown at the Union. The same is true in the case of newspapers (The Daily *Tar Heel*), radio (WXYC), and even entertainment (Union Underground bowling and video games).



If the Carolina Athletic Association gets its way, you can add to that list "health & fitness." A resolution will appear on the February election ballot that would raise student fees by $13 per semester to fund a proposed "Student Recreation Center." The Center would be staffed by the Physical Education department, and would include such goodies as an indoor track, extensive weight training facilities, and a multipurpose room for such activities as dance, aerobics, or martial arts. CAA President Carol Geer's brainchild would be operational by 1992 at the earliest, and would cost about $7 million to build.

In short, CAA wants to build a spa on campus.

The concept itself does not really sound quite so bad. CAA was reacting to complaints by some students that they do not have adequate access to the weight rooms and rec rooms in the gyms. Clearly there is a need on the part of some segment of the student population for physical or mental fitness facilities. This was highlighted in a CAA survey a couple of years ago that called for all the "wish list" programs that have been incorporated into the proposal for the Center. Geer put in a lot of work to find alternatives to building such a new facility (unsuccessfully), and has visited several campuses to get ideas

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Carol Geer

THE CAROLINA ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION (CAA) is a student organization whose responsibility it is to respond to student athletic concerns and complaints. One of our greatest complaints for years has been that there are inadequate nautilus/weight facilities available for general student body use on our campus. In addition to this problem, many students have also complained that aerobics classes are crowded, held in out-of-the-way places, and are offered during very limited hours. Finally, in general, many students complained that the fitness facilities on our campus are open at inconvenient times. They have virtually no choice as to when to work out. This penalizes many busy undergraduates and especially graduate and professional students who have the right to use the facilities but do not have very flexible schedules. Very often these students say that they don't have time to use our current facilities when what many of them actually mean is that they don't have time when the facilities are available.

In response to these concerns, the CAA sent out a student survey two years ago which contained a variety of questions concerning current fitness facilities. Surprisingly, a great number of these surveys were returned and a vast majority of students voiced serious concern over the nautilus/weight areas and aerobics facilities, and asked the CAA to do something about the situation.

After gathering this information, we looked into the possibility of expanding our present nautilus/weight and aerobics areas. After working on the situation for about a year, we found that there was really no place to expand in the Woollen-Fetzer Complex — its space is used very efficiently all day for basketball games, physical education classes, and intramurals. We also looked into the possibility of creating individual weight facilities in the residence halls. However, we found that very few dorms have the appropriate space or supervision for such a facility, or the money to finance the equipment; and most importantly, off-campus residents would be left out of this solution.

Also during our research we found that aerobics was done in a variety of places, including many dorms, gyms, and even in Lenoir Hall. All of these floors, with the exception of some of the gyms, are inappropriate for aerobics. The classes still remained very crowded and were held during limited and often

(continued second column, next page)

David Hood

for her proposal.

The problem here is not the concept, but the funding. The resolution calls on all students to fund this "spa" rather than proposing that the actual users of the facility do so. This violates the notion of student autonomy that is supposed to be one reason to go to college. It forces students who have neither the money nor the desire to fund a health spa to do so anyway, for the "good of the whole". If this sounds like collectivism to you, that's because it is indeed collectivism. Under this theory, individual choice and economic freedom are swept under the rug simply because other students "need" a spa.

MILTON FRIEDMAN, A NOBEL LAUREATE IN Economics, once criticized state subsidies to the fine arts, since hey in effect constitute a tax on the poor to reduce the cost of an opera ticket to the rich. The same principle applies in the case of a student health spa. Such facilities are hardly a necessity to he students who would use them — so why tax working students to provide an indoor track to their colleagues with free ime?

Geer's answer is that she has no other way to fund the program. According the state law, the University cannot build a recreation center like this with its own funds. Also, soliciting alumni donations would likely defeat the whole purpose of having a independently owned student center. So where else can the Center get its start-up money?

Try the market. When a private health club wants money to build a facility, it can sell shares to investors who expect the spa o make money in the future. The club can later buy back the hares with the profit it makes by charging membership fees to he users of the facility. The club can also raise money by selling dvance memberships to the club. Why couldn't this be done for Student Recreation Center? After all, the current plan is to loat bonds in much the same way to raise the start-up capital, o be repaid by money from the increase in student fees. The money could instead be raised by selling advance memberships n the Center to students in 1991 (which would be the first year hat the fee increase would go into effect.) To induce advance ales, the memberships could be sold at a lower price than they ould be offered once the facility is operational.

Geer says this would never work. Unless the University is ure of getting its $13 from each student, it will be unwilling to ut up the bonds because the payoff is unsure. Of course, the npredictability of a new business is a fact of life in the Real orld. Investors are used to spotting which endeavors will be ofitable and which will not be — that's their job, after all. If arol Geer is right that about 70 percent of the student body will se the facility, and if the membership fee were raised to about 20 per semester, then the money would be there just as sure as would be under a student fee increase. The advantage to using arket mechanisms like stocks and user fees (paid emberships) is that all of the transactions would be strictly

(continued on page 26)

Carol Geer

inconvenient hours.

Finding that expanding our current facilities was impractical after a year of research, we called and visited other universities in our state system and elsewhere in the country to see how they were solving these problems. After about a half a year of calling and visiting other universities such as N.C. State, Appalachian State, Indiana, Purdue, etc., we found that these universities were attempting to meet their students' fitness needs by building new recreational facilities to be financed by student fees.

Given that background, we worked on a similar plan which might work on our campus. The plan we have constructed calls for building an addition to the Woollen-Fetzer Complex. This completely new facility would house several new nautilus circuits for both males and females, universal weight sets, an extensive free weight area, exercise bikes, rowing machines, treadmills, sit-up and push-up stations, and more. Also to be considered for this first level of the building would be an indoor track and a climbing wall. The second floor of the building would be a large room with a hard, spring floor which could be used for a variety of activities including aerobics, dance, martial arts, karate, etc. Attached to this two-story addition would be a place to house the Wellness Center. This center would be staffed with trained professionals who could help students assess their levels of physical fitness, help them set up workout plans which would address their needs, and help students assess their fitness progress. They could be especially helpful to those students who have never had the opportunity to use a facility like this one before, either because they couldn't afford the hundreds of dollars it costs to join a gym or health club or because they just didn't know how to use the equipment or hadn't thought about using it. The Wellness Center services would be provided free for students.

THE BEST PART ABOUT THIS NEW FACILITY, however, is the fact that it would be open for general student body use at all times. This is an important fact to point out because currently there are no recreational facilities available for general student body use at all times. We are hoping that it can be worked out so that the facility may be open for as long as 8 A.M. to midnight. This could better meet the needs of many students — especially graduate and professional students who do not have very flexible class hours and are not able to schedule their class times around use of the limited fitness facilities.

This facility is no doubt in great need at a university this size. It is especially important that fitness space should be available to the general student, when being a varsity athlete means being among the best in the country in your sport. But the concern of most students, we realize, is the proposed $13 per semester student fee increase which would pay for this new facility. We do not like the idea of raising student fees; however, after discussing at length the different ways the building could be

(continued on page 27)

STUDENT GOVERNMENT A LA CARTE...

Brad Beebe

CAROLINA IS A SCHOOL RICH IN TRADITION. Silent Sam constantly firing his gun, a good basketball team, a mediocre football team, drinking at the Old Well before the first day of classes, all conjure up images of life at UNC. Another more recent tradition with seemingly incredible staying power is the annual debate over Student Congress' handling of student activity fees. We have all heard the 101 reasons why the CGLA should be funded, and, although probably fewer in number, equally strong arguments against their funding. Additionally, there are varying opinions regarding the degree of funding. It seems that just about everyone was fed up with the whole process. Now, finally, there is a compromise plan that is 100 percent guaranteed to please everyone who is concerned about their fees in at least some way. Those against funding anything, those for funding anything no matter how ridiculous, those who want to fund only those groups that they agree with, and finally, I'm afraid, those who simply don't give a damn, will all find something they like in this arrangement.

Before an argument for a new allocation process can be purposed, it seems prudent to elucidate the present one. The bill that comes to your house every semester contains charges for tuition, late fees, lab fees, and student fees. Currently, that last item costs you $186.00. Contrary to popular opinion, Student Congress does not get its hands on all of this. In fact, it sees very little of it. Student Health Services gets about half of this money, (dollar amount). Then, groups that are guaranteed funding, such as the DTH, the Carolina Union, the Graduate and Professional Student Federation (what?), get their share, leaving relatively little for the Congress to play around with. Student Congress is left with about $16.50 to $17.00 per student, out of the original $186.00. Next all groups, assuming that they are recognized by both the University and the Congress, must submit budget requests. The Finance Committee of the Student Congress then hears arguments as to why the groups should be funded, and then the full Congress does the same thing. If the Congress determines that a group is "worthy," or even more commonly, "important," it will receive funding.

Sounds great, right? Not really. The main flaw in this system is that the Congresspeople are the ones who decide the relative worth or importance of a particular organization, *vis a vis* other groups also requesting funding. Students have no direct say in determining who gets funded and who does not. But wait, didn't we elect the Congress to relieve us of this terrible burden of deciding how to spend **our** money? Well, yes and no. Funding is one of the "services" it provides, but it might be a good idea if we lifted that burden from them and reassumed it ourselves.

Enough introduction, here's the plan. Fund the DTH, the Carolina Union and Student Health Service, what the hell. Yes, you are reading this in the Critic! Maybe eventually we can defund and hopefully privatize them, but let's keep our goals realistic for the time being. There have been rumors of the DTH wanting to be defunded anyway. It seems that they want to get Student Congress off their backs and would like to keep their money somewhere that pays interest, i.e. not in SAFO. Yes SAFO, that wonderful organization in which all groups receiving funding must keep their money, pays no interest to its depositors. I'm sure that there are plenty of other financial institutions that would be more than happy to handle the DTH account.

The rest of the money would be allocated according to student preferences, as indicated by none other than students themselves. With your tuition bill every semester would arrive a list of every student organization on this campus. Next to each group you would indicate how much, if any, of your student fees you wanted it to receive. Simple. Yes, you would have to spend your fees, but at least it would be you spending them, not the Student Congress. If you thought that the BSM and the Phoenix were "worthy" and "important" enough to the student body to warrant a portion of your money, you would have the piece of mind in knowing that you personally helped fund them. In addition, you could also avoid having to fund groups that you do not consider deserving. If you didn't like the BSM and the Phoenix, they wouldn't be funded with your money.

Additionally, those who choose not to think about where their money goes, or those who chose not to think at all, simply won't have to. Their fees would be broken up and spent in such a way that reflects the choices of those who did choose. There is an added benefit to this. These people would have to learn more about campus groups and issues if they wanted to have any say regarding spending levels. But wait, what about Student Congress? Where do they fit it in? Yes, they will still have some money to play around with, albeit a lesser amount. Freshmen fees would be given to the Congress to disperse as they do now. The rationale is not that freshmen don't care or are too stupid, but because they have no knowledge of any groups or their activities, would be unable to make an informed decision.

FOR THE SOLE REASON THAT THIS PLAN IS SO simple and effective, there will no doubt be many arguments against it. Many, including some, if not all, Congresspeople, will claim that under such a system the groups that "need" or "deserve" funding will not get it. First of all, need is not an adequate determining factor when considering whether something is deserving or not. Just because I need something, does not mean that I necessarily deserve it. This applies to organizations, as well as individuals. Secondly, the student body is just as capable as the Student Congress in deciding which organizations are deserving of funding. It has been said that a Congressperson represents the desires of his or her (isn't this non-discriminatory language awkward?) district when making funding decisions. This plan would allow his or her constituents to be represented even more effectively; they could do it themselves. Power to the People!

Those who oppose the entire notion of funding student

(continued on page 27)

...OR NOT AT ALL

Anthony Woodlief

WELL, CAMPUS ELECTIONS ARE DRAWING TO A close, and we are all being assailed with nauseating appeals to our civic responsibility and school spirit urging us to vote. This seems like a perfect time to discuss a popular theme among student council types, the infamous affliction of indifference known as "student apathy." Now, those who know me from my past literary excursions can probably ascertain my feelings concerning politicians, both professional and amateur, and a few of my closer companions probably know Woodlief's law, the two-word maxim that sums up my opinion of government in general. Given my predispositions toward politicians, it should come as no surprise to anyone that I choose to view "student apathy" in a different light. I prefer to call it "rational indifference."

To appreciate my terminology, one must consider the campus election process from an economic standpoint. Picture the vote as a unit of money, say, a dollar. Now imagine the voting booth as a restaurant, and the ballot as a menu. Since you have your dollar, you are a potential patron of this restaurant, and you are encouraged by the fact that every meal costs only a dollar. What a bargain! Despite the low price, however, there is a problem with this restaurant. Nobody seems to want to eat there.

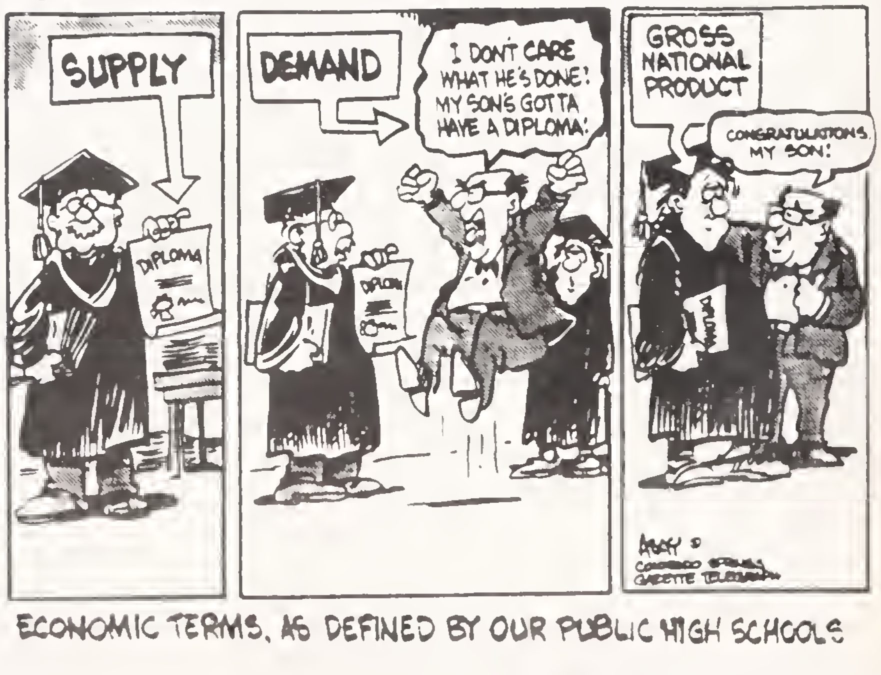
The restaurant owners are quick to offer poor advertising as an excuse for the lack of business, but once you pay this place a visit, you see why nobody dines at the Café Politique. When you look at the menu, you see that the restaurant serves only three items: brussels sprouts, rutabagas, and turnips. You notice many potential customers leaving because they don't care for anything on the menu, but being a big turnip fan yourself, you order a big steaming platter of this culinary treat. Your waiter, however, informs you that you will have to wait a few weeks for your dish to arrive. Furthermore, you notice another customer being served exactly what you ordered, only his plate isn't that big and the turnips are cold and undercooked. At this point you wisely take your dollar and leave, and as you walk out, you notice one of the restaurant's owners with a gun taking another patron's money. It seems that in addition to having a poor menu and paltry servings, this place costs a lot more than a dollar.

The same disincentives to eat in this res-taurant exist to discourage most of us from voting in campus elections. A vote s an expenditure of time and effort, albeit a small one, and just s nobody wants to eat in our Café Politique, despite the low ost, nobody wants to vote if they don't perceive any benefit from doing so. In exchange for a vote, a student is offered a hoice between candidates who cater to special interests and romise to perform ambiguous, immeasurable feats, such as make the UNC campus a better place," or "make the Univer-ty more responsive to students." Unless the student belongs to one of these special interests, or unless he feels this candidate will do something of tangible benefit to him, he probably will not vote. Why should he? It doesn't take much effort, but why bother when nothing tangible and relatively immediate is to be gained? Even those who belong to one of these select special interests on campus can't be sure that they will actually receive what they vote for when they select a candidate, or when it will be received.

Students choose not to vote in campus elections not because of apathy, but because they have little to gain from doing so. That the majority of students choose not to vote is a sign of their making a selection of rational preference. One key difference between my restaurant analogy and the actual campus political process is that in the former, the restaurant owner only robbed his patrons. Our student government extracts money from all of us to fund its ventures, regardless of whether we vote. Since most of us do not belong to or perceive any benefit from the special interests that receive these goodies, we don't bother to vote. After all, our money is already gone, so why lend support to the institution that took it from us?

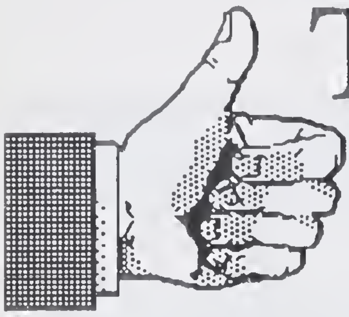
If students are apathetic, it is not toward what happens to their University or their fees, as some have tried to suggest. Students are apathetic to the special concerns and private interests of those who reap the benefits of student government, just as the majority of those who represent these special interests are apathetic, if not hostile, to my assertion that their acquisition of student fees for their own purposes is nothing more than legalized theft. If there is nothing wrong with the latter apathy, then certainly there is nothing wrong with the former, which is an exercise of majority will. Charges of student apathy are attempts by student politicians to shift the blame for their own failures to incite interest and enthusiasm among students. Those who are in the limelight during election season would rather think that poor voter turnout is the result of a deficiency in demand, i.e., the voters, rather than a deficiency in themselves and the institutions they represent. As I think about it, another discrepancy arises between my analogy of a restaurant and the campus election process. At least when a restaurant doesn't have any customers, it goes out of business. Ω

Anthony Woodlief is an anarchist who goes around cleverly disguised as a junior Political Science major.


SUPPLY
DIPLOMA
DEMAND
I DON'T CARE WHAT HE'S DONE! MY SON'S GOTTA HAVE A DIPLOMA!
DIPLOMA
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
CONGRATULATIONS, MY SON!
DIPLOMA
ASAY ©
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

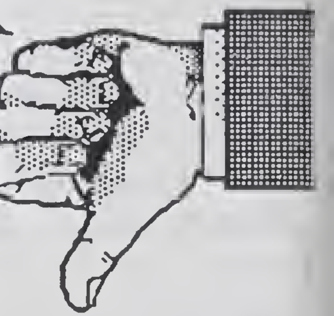
ECONOMIC TERMS, AS DEFINED BY OUR PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

The Student Body President Elections



The Candidates Speak

By Chris Osborn



What do you think should be done to help retain and or reward high quality UNC faculty members, especially in light of the reported "brain drain"?

Trey Loughran: A statement adopted by the Faculty Council (9/10/71) said, "A faculty member is a teacher-scholar, a participant in the shaping of University policies, and a citizen." It is necessary for all entities of the University to respect the faculty in all three of these roles.

In order to retain faculty, we need to make their position as citizens of Chapel Hill as comfortable and welcoming as possible. We need to continue to improve not only town/student relations, but also meet faculty needs in the community. Pursuing the building of more middle income affordable housing, working to decrease traffic and parking problems, and attempting to make Chapel Hill a generally more affordable place to live are all issues that can help improve the quality of life in the community and make it more appealing to high-quality faculty for the long term.

As shapers of University policy, it is necessary to include the faculty in all aspects of decision making on the Chapel Hill campus. In regard to the three roles defined above, this is perhaps one of the most attractive aspects of joining the UNC faculty. The Faculty Council and Educational Policy Committee are integral in shaping much University policy.

The role of teacher-scholar, in contrast, needs to be further recognized and rewarded. The Academic Affairs Committee of Student Government has made progress towards this by proposing in referendum a $0.75 student fee increase ($0.25 in summer fees) to establish four teaching awards to recognize those faculty (including TA's) who are seen by students as the best in their field. As a member of the committee to nominate faculty for awards for excellence in undergraduate teaching (the Tanner and Salgo awards), I realize students have a say now in the award nomination process. However, a *student* award will represent those faculty that are considered most excellent in the students' eyes.

It is necessary to improve benefits to make research and leaves of absence more feasible for faculty. The *Faculty Handbook* states, "The University does not have a regularized sabbatical or other system of faculty leaves." We need to establish such a regularized system to insure faculty time to pursue research and learning themselves. If our faculty cannot continue to learn, how can we be expected to continually broaden our knowledge?

Finally, we must make improvements in the area of faculty salaries. Gov. Martin has proposed a tuition increase for both in- and out-of-state students. I do not favor a tuition increase, but if one is ultimately going to occur, we must work to insure that the funds received are met with a parallel increase in funds for the University. The raising of our tuition does not automatically guarantee more money for UNC. Faculty salaries should be one of the first considerations for the new funds.

However, higher tuition should not be the answer to increasing salaries. Projects such as the Senior Class gift of a $500,000 Star Professorship — the first-ever student-endowed professorship in the country — will be instrumental in attracting "star" quality professors from around the world. More student-led projects such as this show a student concern for faculty — a sentiment that can be instrumental in faculty recruitment and retention. *Chapel Hill in Review*, an independent study, concluded, "If the University came to shove... the state would pay almost any price to keep its University great." We may not be "at shove" yet, but we need to continually work to make Chapel Hill an attractive place for high quality professors, not only as a University but also as a community.

Brien Lewis: The recent budget proposing increases in faculty salary and merit pay is an important step towards keeping our faculty here. But it is only one step. Another would be to implement a sabbatical program that would allow professors to take every fifth or sixth year off from teaching to focus solely on research or publishing. This is normal at many schools and would make a teaching position at UNC more attractive because we cannot compete on the salary level. It would also benefit students because it would lessen the time conflicts between teaching and research and allow for a better, stronger, in-class experience for undergraduates.

Kevin Sisson: I feel the retention of high quality faculty members in light of the apparent "brain drain" can be accomplished by the following four steps. First and foremost is salary. Any employee will leave a job if he feels his salary is not equitable with what he could receive elsewhere. To retain our faculty we need to raise the salaries we are paying. Professors' salaries should be equal to, if not slightly greater than, the salaries of professors at comparable national universities. We also need to improve the acoustics, as well as the heating and cooling, of many of the classrooms. Discomfort for students and teachers caused by temperature problems, combined with having to yell over clanking radiators, does not make many teachers happy. Improve the physical conditions of classrooms and you will enhance professors' job satisfaction. A third area that needs to be addressed is the lack of teachers in certain departments. The university has not kept up with the demand for classes. Hiring more faculty would benefit both students and teachers. The students would be able to get classes they want which are normally filled. The teachers will not have such a heavy workload, and as a result will be able to work on research, textbooks, and articles. A final suggestion is to establish a cash award for "teacher of the year" in each department; have nominations made by the students or other faculty members and have the students decide on the winner. A cash incentive, combined with the aforementioned factors, will encourage eachers to remain here and teach their best.

Are you in favor of the proposed student recreation athletic annex to the Fetzer-Woolen gym complex? (i.e., do you like the dea, location, purpose, funding, etc.?)

Brien Lewis: My first response to this proposal was to say Shouldn't this already be there for us? Why do we have to build or ourselves something that is already available?" Detailed iscussion with CAA President Carol Geer has made me realize hat the idea is not as half-baked as it first sounded and that the ituation is is not as cut-and-dried as one would think or wish. A student-run facility is an ideal solution to many of these roblems. We would no longer have to kowtow to the Athletic Department or anyone else, but could instead provide facilities nd services to students when they want them. The location, djoining Fetzer, is practical and would have some costs. The roblem I do have is in asking students to fork over $13 per emester. This is still far cheaper and more convenient than a pa or gym membership but it is a fair chunk of money. It is very ppropriate that the matter is on the ballot as a campus-wide ferendum, for this is a decision that should be made by the udent body as a whole. It would be nice to have and I'm willing pay my share for it, but I don't want to push a tab like this own someone else's throat.

evin Sisson: I feel the best way to decide an issue such as this i to let the students vote via a referendum. Personally, I am ainst the proposed Student Recreation center. I feel the cilities at Woolen and Fetzer are adequate. Weight rooms, robics floors, racquetball courts, basketball courts, and imming are available and usually not too crowded. I also n't think it is fair to begin assessing a charge to the students fore the center is finished. With the rate of construction ojects at UNC, many students will have their fees going to nd a center of which they will never see the opening. If this nter must be built, outside funds should be solicited.

ey Loughran: A student fee increase to build a wellness nter proposed by the CAA is a referendum scheduled to be ed on February 21. On that date, the student body will decide it will receive student fees for construction. It is not an issue in he campaign for Student Body President, but a question that will be answered yes or no by the student body and have cifics answered, if necessary, by the next CAA president.

How do you feel about the current system of allocation of student fees? Would you support a measure to give students more say in who gets how much of their money?

Kevin Sisson: The current method of allocating fees is acceptable. Student Congress is elected to represent the students and allocating student fees is one of their jobs. However, when enough interest has been generated over the question of funding or not funding a particular organization, the opinions of students should be used, and Congress should put a referendum on the ballot. Last spring, by referendum vote, a majority of students expressed that they did not support having their student fees going to fund the C.G.L.A. (Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association). Based on this concrete evidence, it is the job of Student Congress to see that the C.G.L.A. is not funded. I don't feel it would be feasible to have the students have a direct say in who gets their fees. This is the job of the elected Congress. However, if public fervor over the funding of a group is enough to get a petition circulated and signed, then Congress must use the opinion of the students when deciding a funding question.

Brien Lewis: There is not much wrong with the system for allocating student fees — it is thorough, practical, and for the most part fair. The only problem is in a general lack of knowledge about the system and the sinister effect student apathy has on the process. When campus elections come around, everyone focuses their attention on SBP candidates, which is all well and good. But congressional candidates, those people who actually *vote* on the details of the budget, are often overlooked. Students don't need greater *say* in determining who gets their money. They do need greater coverage in the media of congressional platforms and legislation and it is up to the individual student to educate himself as to where the money goes and why. If students want greater say in fee allocation, all they have to do is *vote*. When people can get elected to student congress with a "mandate" of *two* (count 'em, two!) votes then it is clear that students don't really care where their fees are going.

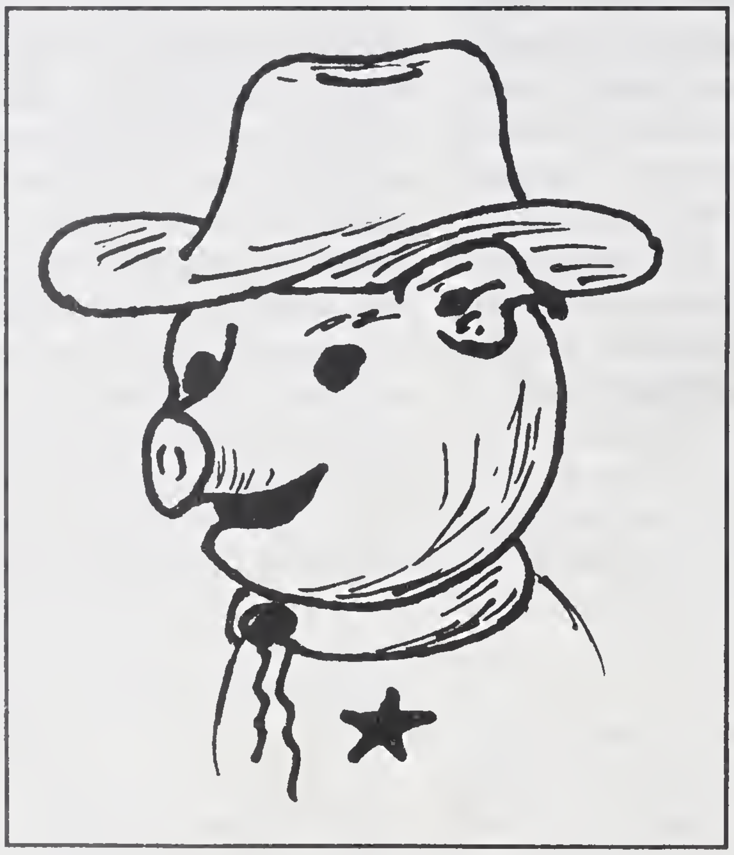
Trey Loughran: As a member of the student body I respect the democratic process. As SBP, I would be beholden to it in the manner conceived by Edmund Burke — elected by the populace not only to represent it, but to exercise my best judgment. As an intrinsic part of that duty, I will always remain open to change; the discussion of alternatives keeps everyone on their toes and continually reinvigorates debate… While the SBP is not directly involved in the allocation of student fees, he has a responsibility to evaluate it.

As a possible alternative to the present system, probably appealing to avid Critic groupies, a user-fee approach to the allocation of fees is not practical for one overriding reason: the protection of valuable services to the student body. "*Paternalism!*" you cry. Nay, I say; read on. The very nature of a representative government is an obvious indication that most people want to participate in the formation of government but

(continued on page 27)

Altered State *By Rick Henderson*

HAZARDING A TERM WITHOUT BOSS HOGG



THE ELECTION OF JOSEPHUS Mavretic as Speaker of the N.C. House of Representatives might be *the* political story of the '80s. It caps an election campaign featuring several stories that would each have grabbed center stage any other year. But this story, more than any other, may shake North Carolina's legislative process to its foundations.

Election '88 drew plenty of headlines. In a state which has twice as many registered Democrats as Republicans, for the first time this century, a Republican, Jim Martin, won a second consecutive term as Governor. Also for the first time in the century, a Republican, Jim Gardner, was elected Lieutenant Governor.

Still, Mavretic's election is the biggest news of all. Mavretic, a Democrat from Edgecombe County, used a solid bloc of Republican votes, plus the support of twenty "dissident" Democrats, to unseat four-term Speaker Liston Ramsey (D-Madison). Ramsey had been unanimously nominated for an unprecedented fifth term by House Democrats. Democrats outnumber Republicans by 74-46 in the House. How did Ramsey's support unravel?

Some background information will help. North Carolina is the only state in the nation which does not give its governor veto power. Also, it is one state which does not allow citizens to place initiatives, or referenda, on statewide ballots. In many other states, citizens can propose Constitutional Amendments by petitioning the legislature to call for a statewide referendum. With a sufficient number of citizen signatures, proposals have to be put to a general vote whether or not the legislature likes it. In North Carolina, all such referenda have to be approved by the General Assembly.

The "Proposition" issues that draw so much attention in other states (such as Proposition 13, the tax revolt referendum in California), don't appear on North Carolina ballots unless the General Assembly wants them there.

For these reasons, since legislation must originate in the legislature, the leaders of the State House and State Senate are extremely powerful men. The Executive Branch can't directly check the power of the legislature; so a member of the House who receives around 10,000 votes (those from his home district) in an election could set the governmental agenda for 6 million people. Liston Ramsey did just that.

Ramsey had been called by many publications "the most powerful man in North Carolina." His "administration" was run by all the rules and conventions of the classic smoke-filled room. Ramsey and around a half-dozen of his closest allies set the legislative agenda for the state. If you didn't have access to the Speaker, your issues never made it to a House Committee, much less to the House floor for a vote. His often high-handed tactics earned him the epithet "Boss Hogg" (of "Dukes of Hazzard" fame) from Lieutenant Governor Jim Gardner.

But Ramsey had fans. His political philosophy was called "progressive" by state liberals. He was able to close out opposition, yet win an unprecedented four terms as Speaker of the House. No one expected him to walk into a haymaker when the General Assembly opened on January 11. This is what made his defeat such a shock.

Frustrations with Ramsey began at least three years ago. According to the Raleigh *News and Observer*, a half-dozen influential Democrats in the House met privately to vent their concerns about Ramsey's methods. One member of this group, Rep. David Diamont, went public with his complaints. Ramsey then stripped Diamont of a committee chairmanship. But Diamont was unable to challenge the Speaker's power.

BY LAST NOVEMBER, THE PARTY numbers had changed. Republicans held only 46 of 120 House seats, but they had gained 10 seats in that election. This was the biggest legislative gain in the country. Some Democrats worried that the G.O.P. was an election or two away from taking control of the House.

Disenchanted Democrats saw an opening. Four of the original six dissidents secretly found another ten allies, and agreed to approach Governor Martin directly to seek his support for an overthrow of Ramsey. The dissidents said that no one openly sought leadership of the group. But Mavretic won support over Diamont when the matter went to a vote.

Mavretic had been in the news before. In 1985, he proposed that the state's property taxes be replaced by consumption taxes. Ramsey never let the proposal get out of committee. Mavretic also encouraged North Carolina to leave a group of Southern states that would be coerced into operating a federal hazardous waste facility; later he offered his home district for the location of such a facility.

Mavretic had also worked on a proposal to realign House committees. Under Ramsey, there were 58 permanent standing committees, all chaired by Democrats. This dispersion of control made it nearly impossible for any single legislator to challenge the Speaker. Since Ramsey made all the committee appointments, he could also assure that his cronies took all the prized chairmanships. Mavretic's plan set up 12 committees (under Democratic chairmen) and 50 standing subcommittees (proportionally chaired by Republicans).

Armed with his reforms, Mavretic and three other dissidents met secretly in mid-December with the Governor and House Republican leaders. The Republicans promised to vote as a bloc for Mavretic.

Wind of a coup leaked to the press as early as December 20th. Ramsey and his allies tried to determine if the challenge was serious. They even enlisted U.S. Senator Terry Sanford to try to shore up Ramsey's support. This caused further resentment.

(continued on page 27)

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Living Colour ON BLACK AND WHITE

By Connie Smith

I'VE NEVER SEEN SUCH A DIVERSE audience at a concert before. Rivetheads, Teague pseudo-jocks, a handful of blacks, and the ever-present Chapel Hill High students. Many were trying to cram into the cleared section in the front, hoping for enough room to "dance." There was one particular metalhead who was quite noticeable. It wasn't because of his Mötörhead tee-shirt, or his deathly pale girlfriend, but his leather jacket. On the back of this jacket was a very clear drawing of a Ku Klux Klansman aiming a shotgun. Perhaps this wouldn't be too shocking to those of you who have been to a "rock" concert before. But this was the night of Living Colour, an all-black band from New York City.

Living Colour consists of Vernon Reid, guitar, Corey Glover, lead vocals, William Calhoun, drums, and Muzz Skillings, bass. Though the band has only been together since 1986, they all acquired much previous experience, and their work together makes this quite visible. Vernon Reid's credentials include studying with jazz guitarists Ted Dunbar and Rodney Jones, while William Calhoun graduated from the Berklee School of Music in Boston. It was Mick Jagger's discovery of Living Colour, however, which probably gave them the needed edge to sign with a big label. The band is only now reaching the airwaves and MTV with 'Cult of Personality,' even though their album, *Vivid*, was released last summer.

Living Colour's sound is definitely unique. They are able to cleverly blend many styles and influences, creating something quite original. Throughout *Vivid* can be heard classic hard rock influences. But besides this powerful sound can be heard funk, jazz, and even a Caribbean rhythm in 'Glamour Boys,' an upbeat piece about life in the fast lane.

"I think it hurts rock and roll that it is solely one type of people that do it."

Before talking about the present success of *Vivid*, we must consider the biggest triumph Living Colour had before the release of *Vivid*. Living Colour's largest obstacle was how, as a black band, to enter a mainly white market in music. In an interview with the band, Muzz Skillings said, "There was a point [when] we were called the most popular unsigned band in New York." And this may have been true. Living Colour built up a large following by playing small clubs all over the Northeast. It was Epic who finally signed Living Colour, and though other labels were looking at the band, Epic saw them for what they are — a rock band.

Living Colour had signed with a big label, Mick Jagger had produced a couple of their songs, but still their troubles were not over. Rock stations had a problem with the idea of playing a black rock band. Living Colour does have lyrics which give social commentary, but it's doubtful that was a problem. Album oriented rock (AOR) stations want risk-free music. They play established groups from the sixties ar seventies, new bands that sound lik them, and 'hair bands' such as Bon Jov White Lion, Poison, and Ratt.

Almost all of these groups are white. Because of thi Vernon Reid thinks that the music industry practices a type apartheid. It may look this way on the surface, but with mor serious consideration you may want to put the blame on th listeners. If you turn on your radio there are stations which pla exclusively "black" music and have a large black audience. O the other hand, there are the rock stations that cater to mainl white audiences. Okay, no one switches radio stations for you and no one buys your albums for you. We choose the music w like to listen to. Does it really matter that the audiences ar segregated? What is wrong with ethnic diversity?

The music industry logically follows our lead and gives u what we want. So maybe AOR stations were just playing it sa rather than rotate the Living Colour album. And perhaps b labels were a bit afraid of investing in something so risky. B they see music as money, while Living Colour sees music f what it is, art. Vernon Reid said, "I would meet people in th business and I'd say, 'You know, I really like this,' and the would say something like, 'Yeah, well it didn't do too well. That had nothing to do with the quality of the music. Really is more of a statement of the quality of the people who ar handling the music."

Disgusted with the entire state of the music industry, i 1985 Reid and his friends began holding meetings to discus this problem. They called their grou the Black Rock Coalition (BRC) which now has over seventy artists an supporters. Vernon Reid and the BR want to create opportunities so blac artists can play what they want, no what others expect. Part of the BRC' manifesto reads:

> *The Black Rock Coalition represents a united front of musically and politically progressive black artists and supporters...*
>
> *We too claim the right of creative freedom and total access to American airwaves, audiences, and markets...*
>
> *The BRC actively supports the total spectrum of black music. The BRC rejects both the spurious demographics that claim our appeal is limited, and the demand that black musicians tailor their music to fit into the creative straitjackets the industry has designed. We are individuals and will accept no less than the full respect for our right to be conceptually independent...*

It sounds very nice, but will it really do any good? The dustry is not going to change until people change their tening tastes. Creative freedom is not an issue; musicians ve the freedom to create whatever they please. But *total cess to American airwaves, audiences, and markets,* is mething which no one has, white or black.

There is still the idea of *creative straitjackets*. Vernon Reid ted that he knows a few black artists who did make mpromises in order to make money. "I know a few people tually. In fact they are people who are quite successful now, ing what they are doing. But I remember their music before. ould just be amazing, the quality of songwriting, the certain el of musicianship. And then to see them do well, but owing what they are capable of ... it's like a pyrrhic victory, on but I lost my art."

This is a problem for y musician, regardless color. Probably the st advice for artists who n't want to "lose their " is to sign with an in- pendent label, and tle for the college air- ves. A big label may ice you eventually, l no compromise will e been made. Many ck musicians that 't fit the stereotype ke a name for them- ves exclusively on col- e radio. These include hbone, Bad Brains, many reggae bands. I st remind you that se artists will probably er be played regularly AOR. It is not the issue color that prevents n from being played, their music. Main- ing one's musical integrity often comes at the expense of ularity.

PHOTO CREDIT: DEBORAH FEINGOLD

If you do get serious attention from an AOR station, popu- y will not be a problem. Corey Glover can only laugh at the eme amount of hype associated with AOR. He recalled an dent concerning a Norfolk, Virginia station. "We were ing the radio station and we turned on the radio in the car... of a sudden we hear **LIVING COLOUR IN CONCERT**. know, this big macho thing happening, and I'm screaming use this is the funniest thing. The four of us having this kind ad is just so incredulous. It makes you feel like this larger life character. When I know when I wake up and I look at elf in the mirror, I'm appalled. It's overblown, it's overkill. whole level of acceptance is becoming so full blown."

ith intensive touring and countless interviews, Living ur is being accepted. It also appears that their art remains intact. They continue to set high standards for themselves. Reid said, "It's not just people screaming and yelling, **Oh wow that was a great show!** There have been shows where people have been going nuts, and we go backstage completely bummed."

Living Colour is wary of gaining the kind of isolated success that Jimi Hendrix had. But they are aware that their popularity is growing steadily. Each has a different idea of what "success" is. Corey said, "The only success that I have seen so far is that we have gotten into a bus." Muzz's thoughts were, "Being successful is not even making the money, so to speak. Being the best musicians we can be, putting our point across as best we can, those are the most important things ... As far as I'm concerned, defining your success on the money that comes in, or on the way your lifestyle changes is a bit of a slave mentality." Vernon Reid expressed his view of success by the way he looks at music. "Whether I have a dollar in my pocket, or $100,000, the things that are great are still going to be great. Coltrane is still going to be Coltrane, Jackie Wilson is still going to be Jackie Wilson, Otis Redding is still going to be that kind of mark of excellence."

A year and a half ago, Living Colour probably would never have dreamed of being where they are now. Reid says that their success, naturally, is personally gratifying. However, their long-term goal is to change how people look at music. "What it is, is trying to be part of a beginning of a change of the mindset about what constitutes this music. Because I think it hurts rock and roll that it is solely one type of people that do it." Ω

Connie Smith is a junior ORSA major from Charlotte who is a refugee from Georgia Tech and found political asylum at the CRITIC.

Essays

REFRACTIONS

GAS TAX IS NO WAY TO RAISE MONEY

By Rick Henderson

REP. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI OF ILLINOIS, CHAIRman of the House Ways and Means Committee, recently endorsed new federal gas taxes to help reduce the budget deficit. Supporters of the gas tax hike include the editorial staff of the Raleigh *News and Observer*, who claimed federal gas taxes would be a simple way to "knock the deficit down to piddling size." Proponents call for gas taxes ranging from 10 cents to $1.00 a gallon. They say that each additional dime of gas tax assessed will reduce the deficit by $1 billion.

Gas tax supporters make troubling assumptions about new taxes in general, and gas taxes in particular. Before jumping on the gas tax bandwagon, we should analyze these assumptions. First, will new taxes alone help the deficit? Is a gas tax the best one to choose?

Will new taxes reduce the deficit? Let's look at the behavior of Congress since World War II. Two University of Ohio economists published a study a couple of years ago which pointed out that, for every dollar of new tax revenue raised by Congress, federal spending has increased by $1.58. Economist Walter Williams notes that the federal budget has been in the red 26 of the past 27 years, yet there has been one tax increase or another in 24 of those years. Tax hikes alone won't end government deficits. Our elected representatives have used higher taxes to excuse even higher spending.

Nearly every observer agrees that the federal budget deficit is a problem of disturbing proportions. But the deficit has not reached astronomical levels because we are undertaxed. Federal spending is completely out of control, and few in Washington have the courage to do anything about it. The Congressional Budget Office reports that federal tax revenues have gone up by 75 percent since 1980; federal spending has increased by over 80 percent. Both of those figures are more than twice the inflation rate for the period. The feds must show some type of fiscal self-control if they plan to get their house in order.

But let's assume for a moment that new taxes are in order. Is a gas tax a desirable option? Gas tax advocates face several problems. They assume that, no matter how high the price of gasoline soared, people would consume the same amount. Elementary economics and common sense say otherwise. As prices increase on any product, people buy less. If the gas tax were implemented in one fell swoop, gas consumption would plummet. If people buy less gas, they pay less tax, and there goes your revenue.

If a gas tax were phased in gradually over a number of years, consumption might stay the same, but the tax revenues raised would be small. The effect on the deficit would be piddling.

Another reason to oppose a gas tax is that it is, by nature, regressive. It would hurt the disadvantaged most. Lower-income Americans, who only drive when necessary, would be devastated by a tax on what has become almost a necessity: reasonably-priced transportation.

Gas tax advocates who accept this point have suggested a tax rebate for the poor. This may seem fair, but a rebate would also reduce the revenue we collect (which is why the tax was levied in the first place). We would also have to create a bureaucratic agency to administer the rebates, thus increasing government spending and adding to the deficit.

There are other, unintended consequences of increased gasoline taxes. Environmentalists would be happy if everyone drove less — pollution from automobile emissions would drop. Gas taxes might encourage persons to do this. But, if demand for oil drops because people drive less, the price of oil will also drop. Some say: fine. Increase the gas tax and keep gas prices the same.

But oil prices would still be relatively low. Utilities would be encouraged to use petroleum products for power production instead of cleaner nuclear alternatives. And, with lower oil prices, petroleum-based products like plastics will be more economically attractive for the consumer, leading to increased solid waste production. Either of these factors would offset any benefit gained by reduced driving.

A gasoline tax is, like any other consumption tax, inflationary. It increases the price of every product or service that involves the use of transportation in its production or distribution. Prices on everything from cucumbers to postage stamps will go up. These higher prices will also affect the government. After all, the feds operate the Postal Service, the armed forces, etc. The feds will have to pay higher prices to perform their "normal" operations. Higher prices will increase the costs of operating the government, adding further to the deficit. We will end up with higher taxes, higher prices, and, perhaps, even bigger deficits! What a bargain!

Two other reasons to oppose gas taxes are their effects on domestic businesses and on foreign policy. Higher gas prices will deal a nasty blow to U.S. auto makers, who have recently rebounded. Cheaper gas prices make it possible to market small and large cars (like the Ford Taurus). If gas prices go up, consumers will likely turn to smaller, predominantly foreign cars, thus worsening the trade deficit, domestic auto sales, and unemployment, while increasing the cost of government welfare programs.

The already wobbly Savings and Loan industry could suffer a knockout blow if oil prices in the Southwest drop any further. As more thrifts go under, pressure for government bailouts will rise, again worsening the deficit.

In the realm of foreign policy, we may see a resurgence of ternational loan defaults as Mexico, Brazil and other less-veloped oil-producing countries fail to meet their obligations ien oil prices fall. Our free trade pact with Canada, and the coming trade negotiations with the European Community, uld be harmed if American products become more expensive cause of higher gasoline prices.

A final objection to federal gas taxes is that, on the state level, soline taxes are a type of user fee. Gas taxes are normally used finance highway construction or public transit. To some tent, gas tax revenues directly pay for the cost of highway ilities. The proposed federal gas tax has no such advantage. would serve only to remind us of the profligate ways of cted officials.

Of course, if you set aside these minor objections, and the t that tax increases might throw a shaky economy into a ession, a gas tax isn't such a bad idea, is it? Even some of the umed benefits of higher gasoline prices will be more than set by the unintended consequences of government tinkering h the marketplace. If the federales want to take care of their icit problem, let's attack the spending side of the budget iation: we've been sufficiently assaulted by taxation. Ω

nderson has an A.B. in Political Science from UNC, and nembers when he bought gas for 40 cents a gallon.

HE NEED FOR THE TEALTH BOMBER

Channing Rouse

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING. ALTHOUGH THIS tement may sound like heresy within the framework of the ric, it is appropriate amidst the recent controversy surround-the Pentagon's Stealth bomber program. While the "repre-atives" of the people who oppose this radar-elusive aircraft dlessly rage about its supposedly exorbitant cost, they seem verlook one crucial factor: the B-2 is necessary, and not just padding the pockets of defense contractors or providing the Force with a new toy. Rather, this new weapon system is led to protect the national security interests of the United es and to maintain deterrence.

Vhy? In military planning terms, the justifications are erous. Strategic deterrence is a result of combined forces on , sea and air. Current U.S. military policy asserts that each hese forces is essential to deterrence; it is mandatory to re at least some invulnerability within each portion of this d" in order for it to be useful. Because of the U.S.S.R.'s hasis on air defense, they have developed sophisticated r devices which render the current U.S. bomber force ly useless in the event of a superpower conflict. The oyment of the B-2 Stealth bomber would insure that the rne leg of the U.S. strategic triad is no longer completely erable.

Contrary to popular belief, the Stealth is not limited to a strategic role. Since it has conventional as well as nuclear capabilities, the bomber enhances flexible response. As a tactical weapon, the Stealth would be able to penetrate to heavily defended battlefield targets. This type of capability would help deter a Warsaw Pact ground attack. Furthermore, the B-2 could play an important role in providing maritime support. The B-2's all-altitude penetration capability combined with its versatility make the bomber practical for a variety of military missions. Air Force Chief of Staff, General Larry D. Welch, noted that although approximately 100 aircraft were necessary to complete the raid on Libya in 1986, the same strike could be accomplished with "three or four B-2s with no support of any kind."

The types of secondary capabilities provided by the Stealth not only give it strategic advantages but also make it cost efficient. Due to the B-2's versatility, other weapon systems which have similar functions can be streamlined or eliminated. The B-1B, in fact, will be made obsolete by deploying the Stealth, and thus its funding can be reallocated. Not only is the replacement of the B-1 by the B-2 an option, this shift would also be a strategically important. Currently, problems with the electronic jamming system of the B-1 — which is needed in order to overcome defenses and penetrate the Soviet airspace — have not been fixed. This issue is irrelevant for the Stealth because its exterior design makes the bomber, for all practical purposes, invisible to radar, so electronic counter-measures are unnecessary. Replacing a (strategically) ineffective bomber with the workable Stealth certainly would have the United States "getting more for its money."

And for those who insist that managing the budget deficit is an *a priori* issue, production of the B-2 could contribute at yet another level. The concept of "competitive strategies", endorsed by President Bush and other top-ranking officials, is a way to better manage defense expenditures. This doctrine, as applied to the Stealth, says that the Soviet investment in its current air defenses ($200 billion worth) will be made essentially worthless by the B-2. In an attempt to counterbalance this loss, a considerable amount of money will have to be allocated to the research and development of alternative defenses. Logically, this would be an asymmetrical expenditure, forcing the Soviets to make reductions in other areas of their military arsenal, and allowing the United States to do the same.

Looking for a reason to attack the Stealth program, beyond the cost issue, is more difficult. Adamant support comes from both conservatives and liberals alike — among them Ronald Reagan, President Bush, Jimmy Carter, and even Michael Dukakis (apparently some things really are self-evident). But as with any military program, opponents crawl out of the woodwork to object. Critics cite apparent problems with perfecting the B-1 and assert that "obviously" the Stealth will never be technologically feasible. They also argue that cruise missiles are comparable in effectiveness, and therefore the Stealth is not needed. Both of these claims are untrue.

Unlike the decision to build the B-1 quickly, the B-2 program has been "performance driven" rather than forced by deadlines. And, as noted before, the B-1 cannot fulfill its objective because of the inherent technological difficulties of radar jamming devices — devices that are irrelevant for the Stealth. Northrop (the contractor for the bomber) also conducted risk closures; this process tested the Stealth's systems during development. Thus, complex technical problems have been corrected in the first stage of production.

Likewise, the cruise missile argument is equally flawed. Only the manned B-2 can overcome the serious threat posed by the Soviet Union's mobile ICBMs. The Stealth, as opposed to the cruise, is capable of retargeting while the Soviets reposition their SS-24s and 25s. This is done through either ground observation by the pilots or from satellite information reported to them during a mission. This latter communication also enables the B-2 to be aware of, and therefore avoid, Soviet defenses. In a scenario where only cruise missiles were available, they would be at great risk of detection and destruction and might easily strike empty shelters instead of missiles.

The very fact that the Stealth is manned also provides another significant advantage when compared to the cruise missile. The B-2 is the only strategic weapon that can be recalled. This is certainly more stabilizing in a crisis and reduces the possibility of escalation.

Probably the most convincing argument against production of the Stealth is that it is, or will be seen as, an offensive weapon. But offensive weapons can enhance deterrence. If both superpowers were content to produce only defensive nuclear systems, then perhaps an offensive capability would be unwarranted. However, the Soviet Union's invulnerable mobile missiles demand a counter-balancing response for the U.S. to maintain a credible nuclear deterrent.

The Stealth also supports the doctrine of high deterrence. This military strategy maintains that each superpower must constantly test the vulnerabilities and strengths of its rival in order to make deterrence credible. The B-2 would provide a mechanism for this — making a nuclear war "unwinnable" in the eyes of the Soviet strategists and decreasing the likelihood of a nuclear strike.

Keeping this in mind, it is impossible to justify opposition to the Stealth. The expenditures for this program are a consideration; but so too is deterrence. And in that cost-benefit analysis, there is little doubt that America needs the Stealth. Ω

Channing Rouse is a junior international studies major and a member of the UNC debate team

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LEFTOVERS

REC CENTER: HOOD

(continued from page 15)

voluntary. Only those students interested in health and fitness would have to pay a cent.

"But that would be too much trouble", Geer argues. Remember that such a user fee system is already in operation with respect to the Student Credit Union. Only those student who want to invest in the Credit Union do so — those of us wit an account at NCNB are not required to fund it. Also, we pay fo copies in Davis and the Undergrad by buying a card with ou own money. Using Geer's logic we should tax each student an provide the copy machines for "free" use!

In the case of the Student Recreation Center, several possibl user fee systems could be implemented. A membership car could be purchased and required for entry into the Cente perhaps in addition to a student ID. Alternatively, the fee coul be collected in one's student fees and refunded at the request o an individual student. That student could be placed on a list b Social Security number and denied access to the Center. Th memberships could be offered much like bus passes are: unlimited passes at a certain price, unlimited passes for a six-mont period at another price, and passes for a certain number of visit at yet another price. This would increase student choice, an would place the burden of paying for the Center squarely upo those who use it.

Instituting user fees would also make more economic sense Offering a membership at a certain price would allow pruden students to shop around for their fitness needs at a variety o local businesses, including, but not limited to, the Studen Recreation Center. Carol Geer and the rest of the CAA can ha and wail about how much the student body needs such a Cente but there is really no objective way to prove this deman without a free, voluntary market. If enough students buy advance memberships, or enough investors see such a Center a profitable, then the demand for the product has been demonstrated. If, however, not enough students are willing to put thei money where their mouth is, then the Center should never be built to begin with.

(Another sensible to way to make money once the Center is operational would be to allow non-members, students or otherwise, to pay a one-time charge at the door for isolated visits. This could be done at times when the Center is being underused.)

If we are to learn anything about the Real World, we shoul start doing things the way a free society does things. In the Rea World, no one expects their next-door neighbor to pay for thei spa membership. Students should not expect anything more from their fellow students than they would from their fellow citizens-at-large.

Carol Geer says that the University would never let the CAA institute the market reforms proposed above. Thus, she has no choice but to tax everyone. If this is indeed the case, then we really do have a "student empowerment" problem at UNC Maybe our student leaders could get to work on that rather than planning parties and Union movies with other people's money

There is nothing inherently wrong with the CAA's proposal to build a Student Recreation Center. But vote "no" to the resolution anyway, and let them come up with a better way to fund it. Ω

David Hood is publisher of the Critic

REC CENTER: GEER

(continued from page 15)

aid for, it appears that this, although maybe not perfect, is the
est way. In addition, N.C. State officials, who just opened a
ew student recreational facility paid for with a student fee
ıcrease of $32, claim that their students say it's the best-spent
32 they pay. The main advantage of using student fees, how-
ver, and not other money is that by doing this we ensure that
ıe administration will always be responsive to our needs in this
ıcility because we paid for it.

The facility will most likely be completed in three years.
hus, most of us will never get to use it, but we will also not have
) pay for it. The goal is to not begin collecting the fee until the
uilding is open. It is important for us, therefore, when thinking
bout this new facility that we think how very frustrated we are
ith the current fitness facilities, and although it may not help
s, how much it will enhance the university experience of future
NC students. Two years of research have gone into this
roposal. We have a plan which is feasible and can work in a
latively short period of time. Health club memberships cost
undreds of dollars and most students do not have that kind of
oney. We would like to provide affordable fitness facilities
r everyone. So, please think about the problem. We need to fix
. We have researched the possibilities well and we have come
) with a practical, feasible solution. We, the current student
ody at UNC, have the opportunity to do something to make
udent life better for future students, and we ought to do it. Why
ıould they have to suffer like we had to? Ω

arol Geer is president of the Carolina Athletic Association.

STUDENT FEES

(continued from page 16)

oups will complain that they will still be required to pay their
tivity fees, and will not be able to spend that money on things
their own choosing. Unfortunately, this is so. But, having a
ect voice in funding decisions is better than having no voice
all. This partial de-funding could be the first step towards
al de-funding in the future.

I sincerely doubt that under this plan many organizations
ould cease to exist. There are enough people on this campus
ıo would give their money to the CGLA, the BSM, and other
ntroversial groups in order to ensure their survival. What you
ght see is the reduction in funding for those marginal groups
t no one ever seems to know anything about, but yet receive
ıding anyway — Sangam, Carolina Indian Circle, etc. Their
appearance seems justified. If they cannot prove that they
ovide a useful service to the student body, they shouldn't get
money. Although on second thought, the Congress might
l sorry for these groups and give them a larger percentage of
freshmen money, ensuring their survival.

The results of such an allocation system might radically change the make-up of student groups on campus, or it might remain essentially the same. This system would also answer some very important questions. Do the Yackety Yack and Student Television provide useful products and services? Would anybody care if they weren't around? The Executive Branch of Student Government might vanish (along with the office of Student Body President) and the Carolina Indian Circle might flourish, who knows? Whatever the results, we can be sure that they will represent the wishes and desires of fee-paying students more accurately than does the present system. Ω

Brad Beebe is a junior political science major from Atlanta who believes that all student groups were created equally.

ELECTION INTERVIEWS

(continued from page 19)

have better things to do than make it a career. To that extent, elected representatives have as the greatest of all their duties the exercise of their best judgement in advocating the will of the electorate. Consider the case in North Carolina where a resident's cost of higher education is subsidized at close to $3,500. The cost of a user fee could not be borne by many of our state's citizens, with the result that thousands of N.C.'s young adults would be functionally uneducated. The good of the entire populace justifies the compromise in the libertarian conception of target-tax payment. Similarly, at Carolina the Student Congress annually exercises its best judgment in deciding which services deserve to receive the benefits of collective funds, allowing the rest of us to pursue our own interests.

Ultimately, I remain committed to the democratic rights of the populace. A student in last month's *Critic* advocated the dissolution of student government in part because students don't care about it as evidenced by low voter turnout. I have greater faith in the student body than that writer, for if such a position is accepted by the student body, then it should have voted out student government long ago. As the case is, students perennially endorse its existence. Ω

ALTERED STATE

(continued from page 20)

One dissident Sanford didn't contact was Rep. Samuel Hunt III, who told the *N&O* "I wish Terry Sanford would call me, because I have a message for him: I want my $3,000 I gave him [for Sanford's 1986 Senate campaign], or I want him to stay out of this."

As the opening session of the General Assembly drew near, emotions ran high. The Saturday before the session convened, several dissidents publicly announced their desire to dump Ramsey. They claimed they had twenty Democratic votes; only fifteen were needed to win.

The *N&O* ran a series of editorials praising Ramsey, saying that "it is no time for Democratic members to desert their most important principles." Another claimed that Ramsey's defeat would be "good news for corporations and arch-conservatives, and bad news for everyone else."

Governor Martin admitted publicly that he supported the coup attempt. He also reported that Ramsey had basically offered anything Martin wanted if the governor could convince the Republicans to back off.

But it didn't happen. Ramsey lost the vote, 65-54. What happens next is anyone's guess. Rep. Sam Hunt, on PBS' *Stateline*, said that the coalition defeating Ramsey had no intention of staying together once Mavretic was elected. Some of those who voted against Ramsey praised him personally but decried his high-handed tactics. Powerful Ramsey allies in the Democratic Party plan to run against dissidents in the 1990 election, claiming that dissident Democrats were really Republicans — or might as well be.

There is certainly a new composition to the General Assembly. There are now four discernible voting blocs: the 54 Ramsey supporters; the 46 Republicans; the 20 dissident Democrats; and the 13 black Democratic House members (12 of whom voted for Ramsey, but who will now vote independently on various issues). Mavretic will be challenged to form coalitions from within his power base, and from outside it.

But, all in all, the dissidents seem satisfied, if not elated, to have won. Rep. Donald Beard of Cumberland County told Sanford that, unless the legislature opened up its processes Republicans could hold a majority of House seats by 1990. And Sam Hunt said that "at least we've taken a campaign issue away from the Republicans. Now they can't complain about being shut out of the process. They'll have to govern, too." Ω

Henderson is a graduate of the University in political science and senior editor of THE CRITIC.

"I SWEAR THAT THE CRITIC MUST BE THE BEST MAGAZINE IN THE WORLD"

Photo Credit: Brian Foley/Yackety Yack

So Join Up, Damnit!

Meetings:
Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.
2nd floor, Bingham Hall

PRIDE AND PRESIDENTS

PICTURE THIS. YOU ARE IN THE middle of a vast crowd throbbing with cheers. The group numbers well into the thousands, full of bright, proud faces. Men and women cheer. Children wave placards and small flags. From a podium set before this sea of admirers, a charismatic leader informs his audience that their nation is back, that they can all be proud. Gone are the days of military weakness and embarrassment at the hands of foreign enemies. Gone too are the days of crushing inflation and weak, vacillating leadership. This leader makes his people feel *good* — critics may not agree with his policies, but they have to admit he has given the national self-image a shot in the arm. This must be Ronald Reagan, right? Sorry, wrong number. Reagan's name would fit nicely into the description above. Unfortunately, so would Adolf Hitler's. So would a lot of others, some good, some bad. This ambiguity is one of the pitfalls of pride. At times, it seems that all of the debate about the Reagan Legacy centers around the altar of restored national pride. But it is this very pride that is one of the most troubling of Reagan's bequests to the American people. This is the dark side of the Reagan Legacy.

The public has already grown weary of the iscussion over President Reagan's legacy nd place in history. By this point, the tandard liberal critique of the past eight years s well known. Most liberals argue (and I gree) that Reagan's successes, both foreign nd domestic, will appear severely tarnished rom the sobering perspective of history. Most of the negative criticism of Reagan has ocused on matters economic; specifically, he federal and trade deficits. Reagan has more than doubled the debt piled up before im by Presidents Washington through Carter. The bill for the Reagan Era of Good Feeling will likely shackle the U.S. well into he next century. But perhaps even more angerous is the vapid pride which has efined the past eight years, a nationalistic ubris which may lead the nation to a mighty ll.

This is not to imply that Ronald Reagan is fascist. He certainly is not, even in the eyes f his detractors. But the comparison to Hitler lustrates a fundamental point. Reagan, the d actor, is a master of the drama of politics. e knows how to speak to the heart of a people nd make them feel good about their land and bout themselves. This is an awesome power. ranklin Roosevelt used the same talent to onvince a nation that it had nothing to fear but fear itself. Hitler used his power to convince a nation that it could restore economic and military confidence through insane militarism and slaughter. "Pride," in and of itself, is neither good nor bad. What matters is the source from which that pride flows. The national pride Reagan has inspired lies in the nether region between FDR's ability to call forth the best in a nation and Hitler's power to summon demons from the pit inside a frightened people looking for solutions.

Even George Will, the conservative columnist and Reagan friend, admits that much of the pride Reagan has inspired is little more than blue smoke and mirrors. Will writes that "the cheerfulness that has defined Reagan's era of good feelings has been, on balance, salutary. But it also has been a narcotic, numbing the nation's senses about hazards just over the horizon." Pride that reflects true progress, that gives a people the strength they need to success, is good. But Reagan's pride has not reflected the American condition so much as it has masked it. The sappy idealism of the Reagan eighties has worked as a tonic to distract America from the problems that have remained unsolved — or have grown worse — under Reagan. Once the most grave symptoms of the perceived American decline — the hostage crisis in Iran, runaway inflation, Jimmy Carter's inability to govern — disappeared, Americans breathed a collective sigh of relief and assumed that all was well with the nation.

Reagan's years have been marked by a pride that has ignored personal liberty and justice. David Broder, in *his* assessment of the Reagan Legacy, makes a salient observation. He writes that in Reagan's farewell address "...the word 'freedom,' or its variants and derivatives, appears fifteen times; the word 'justice,' not at all. [Reagan] frets about young people's ignorance of America's heritage. But for eight years, he encouraged the nation to forget that the Pledge of Allegiance gives equal weight to 'liberty and justice for all.'" Reagan the Reassuring defined freedom in terms of an ideal America that never existed except in the collective subconscious of the white middle class. Freedom, to Reagan, is freedom to pursue the American life extolled in the television fantasies of the fifties, in the stories of Horatio Alger and in the utopia of advertisements for American-built sedans. It most definitely is not freedom for those on the periphery of the American Dream, those renegades with uncommon social mores.

For the most part, the rock of the Reagan presidency has remained unturned, the worm-infested sod beneath far from the public eye. But for those who do not refuse to see, there have been glimpses of where pride, wrongly understood, can lead. Nowhere can one see the dangers of Reagan's empty patriotism more clearly than in his approach to the drug crisis. No one, save a lunatic, can deny that drugs are a problem in American society. But, for Reagan, the solution to the problem is to start out with an oversimplified premise (drugs are *bad*, you have no right to use them, "just say no," etc.), and then enforce it, if need be, with fascist police techniques. The "zero tolerance" tactics of hauling in yachts carrying discarded marijuana cigarettes and coercing citizens to urinate into bottles or lose their jobs are not only absurd, they are grotesque. That Americans can so casually watch their personal freedoms stripped away shows a heightened tolerance for usurpation of freedom. This sort of heavy-handed policy of stoking the fires of American confidence by ignoring large problems to destroy a straw man (remember Grenada?) shows the emptiness of America's glistening self-assurance. Such tactics and emotions, without too much thought make us, as Republican National Crooner Lee Greenwood might sing, "proud to be American." Whether they do any good in the realm of public policy seems to be irrelevant, as long as everyone gets a patriotic high.

There are, of course, other examples of how the Reagan administration has blundered under the aegis of pride. Nevertheless, Reagan's apologists, and many of his long-time opponents, lavish praise on him for, as Will puts it, "going the distance." But making it through two whole terms without death or defeat is not enough. The fact that Reagan left office on a crest of national affection does not establish him in the pantheon of America's greatest presidents. Neither does the mere act of political survival mean that the pride he gave his nation has a secure footing. Pride, without a clear vision of reality and a strong sense of freedom and justice, is empty. Only time will tell whether Reagan's actual victories and his restoration of national good feeling balance his legacy of short-sighted hubris. Ω

Kyle Hudson is a sophomore history major, co-editor of the catalyst *and thought of the title by himself.*

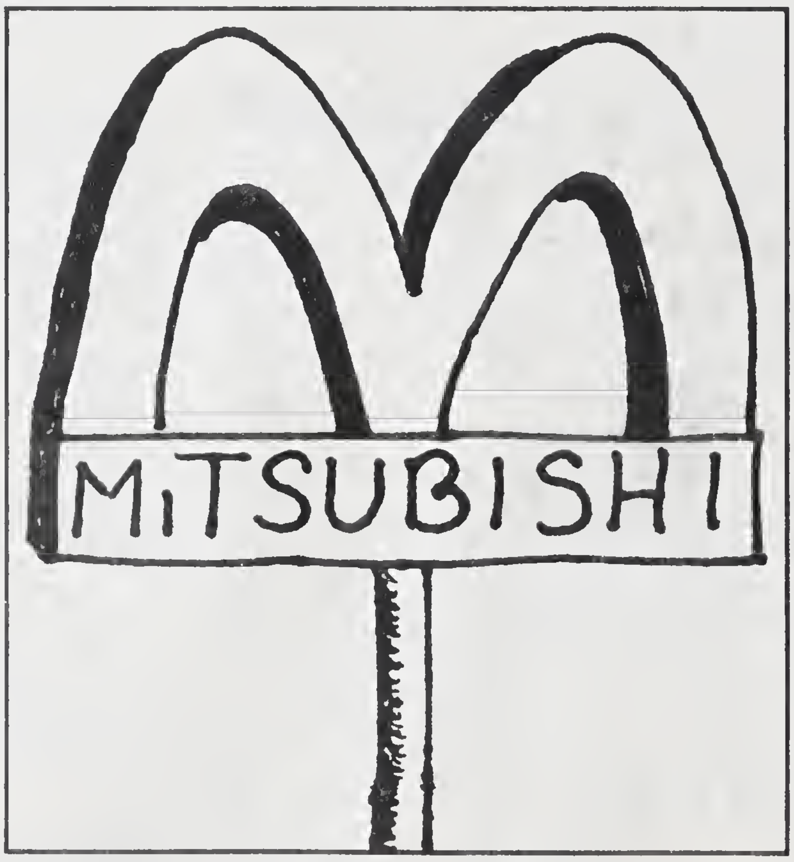
The World Stage

By Michael Lowrey

JAPAN NOT READY FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT ABOUT the success of the Japanese during the forty-four years since World War II in rebuilding a devastated economy and becoming a wealthy nation. From the rubble of Hiroshima and the fire-bombed remains of Tokyo, Japan has emerged as the world's second largest economy, with a nominal per capital gross national product higher than America's. Names such as Toyota, Nissan, Sony and Nikon come to mind: the great success stories of automobiles, steel, and consumer electronics where the Japanese have come to dominate the international market. Some see a coming era of three centers of power in the western world: the United States, the European Economic Community and a united Asia under Japanese leadership. Leaving aside the question of how unified Europe is or ever will be, such visions of a monolithic East Asia are absurd.

The problem certainly is not a lack of money. The problem rather is one of leadership, for in spite of Japan's economic might its international political stature is less than what one would expect. In the great councils of state the Japanese are always invited yet never seem in the forefront. When the United States speaks of consulting or talking with allies, often it means the larger members of NATO, not Japan. European nations such as France, Great Britain or West Germany play a greater role in world affairs, in spite of having only half Japan's population or Gross National Product. Indeed, Japan's role in the world seems strangely ill-defined.



The traditional way of being a power in the world is through the possession of military might. For fairly obvious reasons this has been out of favor since 1945 in Japan. The (American-dictated) Japanese Constitution renounces war, limits Japan to having "Self Defense Forces" and bars an army, navy or air force *per se*. Japanese law forbids arms exports. Still, spending just over 1 percent of their large Gross National Product on these "Self Defense Forces" (versus over 6 percent for the United States) leaves the Japanese tied with Britain for the fourth highest military budget on the planet, behind only the United States, the Soviet Union and China. Not surprisingly, high-tech weapons systems are quite popular in the Land of the Rising Sun.

This has not equalled leadership, though. American troops, ships and fighter planes still form an integral part of Japan's defenses against the Soviets. When the United States talks of burden sharing, Japan heads the list of nations we have in mind.

For Japan to become a military superpower in its own right, it must develop nuclear weapons. Only then can it appear as an equal or near-equal to the Americans, Soviets or Chinese. It is doubtful that these three powers, together or separately, would allow Japan to develop nuclear weapons for that very reason.

Even the specter of a conventionally rearmed Japan frightens many nations in the region. There is absolutely no love lost between Japan and most Eastern Asian nations. The Koreans and Taiwanese still resent the forced Japanization while an unwilling part of the Japanese Empire earlier in this century. The Chinese and Philippine peoples, among others, remember the brutal treatment they received at the hands of Japanese conquerors during World War II. None of these nations have the slightest desire to see Japan emerge as a leader in the region. Any future large scale Japanese rearmament will likely force them into a more hardline anti-Japanese, pro-American position.

THE JAPANESE ECONOMIC RECOVERY over the past forty-plus years does not, and cannot serve as a great inspiration or model for economic development throughout the world. The problem is that Japan's rise from the ashes has been, well, too Japanese. The Japanese culture and people place a great value on consensus and unanimity, which others do not share. For example, the Japanese people see the multiracial character of American society as a great weakness. It is questionable how much of, say, the Japanese management style can be exported to the Third World, where nations are often racially or ethnically divided into several groups whose favorite hobby is slaughtering other tribes or religious groups.

Perhaps sheer money could allow Japan to gain a greater influence in the world and become a true leader. The continued dominance of the dollar as *the* international currency and America's and Europe's leading roles in the Third World debt crisis have prevented the Japanese from taking a larger role in this area. Japan has also shown little desire to abandon its protectionist barriers to imports, open its markets to the world's poorer nations and in general, act as their great benefactor.

Nor has Japan associated itself with any great philosophy or principle besides, perhaps, being Japanese. While Americans stand for democracy, freedom and capitalism throughout the world, Europeans for things like socialism or Thatcherism, and the Soviet Union and China for different versions of Communism, the Japanese are associated with exporting small cars and home stereo equipment. While there is nothing wrong *per se* with making cars and boom boxes and selling them abroad, no one will be heard yelling "Give me a VCR with remote control or give me death." Few people oppose VCRs for moral or ethical reasons. This is not the kind of thing that inspires the Third World intelligentsia to visit Tokyo for philosophical guidance.

The challenge for Japan, as for all nations, is to establish an agenda for the twenty-first century. To achieve this objective, it must either become a military power or offer the world a complete political, eco-nomic, and philosophical package. Neither route would be easy, but until Japan picks its path and delivers, it will remain a very rich and prosperous second-class power. Ω

Michael Lowrey is finally legible!

The National Truss

By Bob Lukefahr

AMERICA WITHOUT ABORTION

LAST MONTH ATTORNEY GENeral Richard Thornburg sent shock waves through the "pro-choice" community when he predicted that this would be the year the Supreme Court overturns Roe vs. Wade. After sixteen years of relentless "pro-life" activism it appears as if we conservatives may finally have our way. But are we ready?

Once Roe vs. Wade is struck down the responsibility to regulate abortion will fall to the individual states. "Pro-choice" groups estimate that fewer than a dozen states will allow the practice to continue as it has since 1973. The rest (estimates range from 40 to 46) will restrict or ban the practice. But once the legislative battles are over and the dust has settled, will Conservatives be able to live with what they've wrought?

> **"We must ask ourselves whether abortion is really a greater sin than delivering a child into a life of hopeless privation."**

There is a belief among the many "pro-life" advocates that once Roe is struck down they will be able to pack their things and return home victorious. They are wrong. Overturning Roe is not an end, it is a beginning. It will create a myriad of problems which "pro-life" advocates are obliged to address and, if possible, solve.

Since the Roe decision abortion has become an accepted part of growing up for many Americans. Last year over 1.5 million pregnancies were terminated in this country (there have been over 25 million since 1973). One of every three women of child-bearing age has had an abortion. Almost one half of the fetuses conceived each year are aborted. And among girls under 15 and women over 40, *most* pregnancies end in abortion. Why? Because it s an expedient way to solve the very difficult problem of unwanted pregnancy. If conservaives insist on taking the abortion option away hey should also be prepared to offer an alternative.

The first step in addressing the problem of unwanted pregnancy is to teach prevention. Yes, this means having sex education programs in the schools. Every school should ffer a comprehensive health program that ncludes an optional sex education class. Of ourse, any sex education program must be oluntary. If a parent prefers to teach his child t home he should be encouraged to do so. But n in-school program should be available for hose parents who want one.

These programs should stress individual sponsibility, the merits of abstinence and the facts about birth control. Students should also be instructed that there are profound moral dimensions to the sex act, and that they ought to consult their parents or a member of the clergy *before* deciding to have sex. It should further be explained that once a person makes the decision to become sexually active he or she also agrees to become a parent. A person who does not wish to become a parent should not have sex — or at the very least should use contraceptives.

Teaching about birth control is always the most controversial part of sex education programs, but it must be done. Stressing the merits of abstinence is fine, but, as anyone who has ever been a teenager knows, it only goes so far. Many young people will continue to be sexually active no matter what their parents, teachers or spiritual leaders say. For this reason information about birth control should be made available to every parent and every teenager. Contrary to the popular conservative myth, this *can* be done without giving students the impression that society condones promiscuity. It is reasonable to make it our goal that no woman ever become pregnant because she or her partner lack information about, or access to, birth control.

In the struggle against unwanted pregnancy a strong education program will help, but it will not solve the problem. Strong legislative measures must be taken to ensure that these "unwanted" children are cared for. Men must be made to understand that pregnancy is not simply "the woman's problem," and that they WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE for their actions. If a man (or boy) creates a child he will help support it. No excuses.

IN ORDER TO COPE WITH THE INcreasing number of teenage pregnancies, we must work to make adoption easier. It is extraordinarily important that we work diligently to remove the stigma associated with adoption, including inter-racial adoption. There ought to come a day, within our lifetime, when, instead of hiding the fact, a child will proudly boast that he is adopted.

Such a change in attitudes can be brought about quickly if our political and social leaders would simply get behind the idea. It is an ideal mission for Barbara Bush (herself an adoptive grandmother). What an accomplishment it would be if she could teach a nation to accept its unwanted children.

Finally we will need money for all this. Money to help poor women during pregnancy, and after birth. Money to provide clinics and meet hospital expenses. Money to provide care for the child after he's born. In other words, enough money to ensure that the child gets an even break. No child should be made to suffer for the mistakes or misfortunes of its parents.

How much will all this cost? Unfortunately accurate figures are not available, but even if the number of unwanted pregnancies were to fall by two-thirds, there will still be a half a million each year. Many of these new parents will need some for of financial assistance. Recognizing this forces us to address the most difficult question of all; where can we get the money? The answer can be found in our neighborhood churches.

The religious right has been leading the battle to overturn the Roe decision, now it is time for them to make the kind of America they want a reality. If each church would simply pledge to give $2.00 a month from each of its members to help these children they could create a fund worth over $3.4 billion a year. By administering it locally they could meet the needs of their community and at the same time provide the spiritual counseling so desperately needed. Just think, organizations like the World Council of Churches, the Bishops of the American Catholic Church and the Moral Majority would actually have something to do besides quibbling over the Strategic Defense Initiative and other things they know nothing about. This is one problem they actually are uniquely qualified to address.

Yes, it will be difficult to solve these problems. There will be a great deal of pressure to return to "the old days" of abortion on demand. It is pressure we must be ready to resist. Clearly the best way to keep people from wanting abortions is to eliminate the need for them. If we do not then we are no more than pious hypocrites. We must ask ourselves whether abortion is really a greater sin than delivering a child into a life of hopeless privation.

Bob is a political science major, and he's not on the pill.

STUDENTS

Do you want to learn more about the exciting tradition of classical liberalism — the tradition of peace, individual rights, free trade, the rule of law , and the free market? If so, you should apply for a Liberty & Society Residential Summer Seminar. Seminar places are worth $750 in tuition, books, room, and board; students who are accepted for the seminars receive full fellowships to cover this amount.

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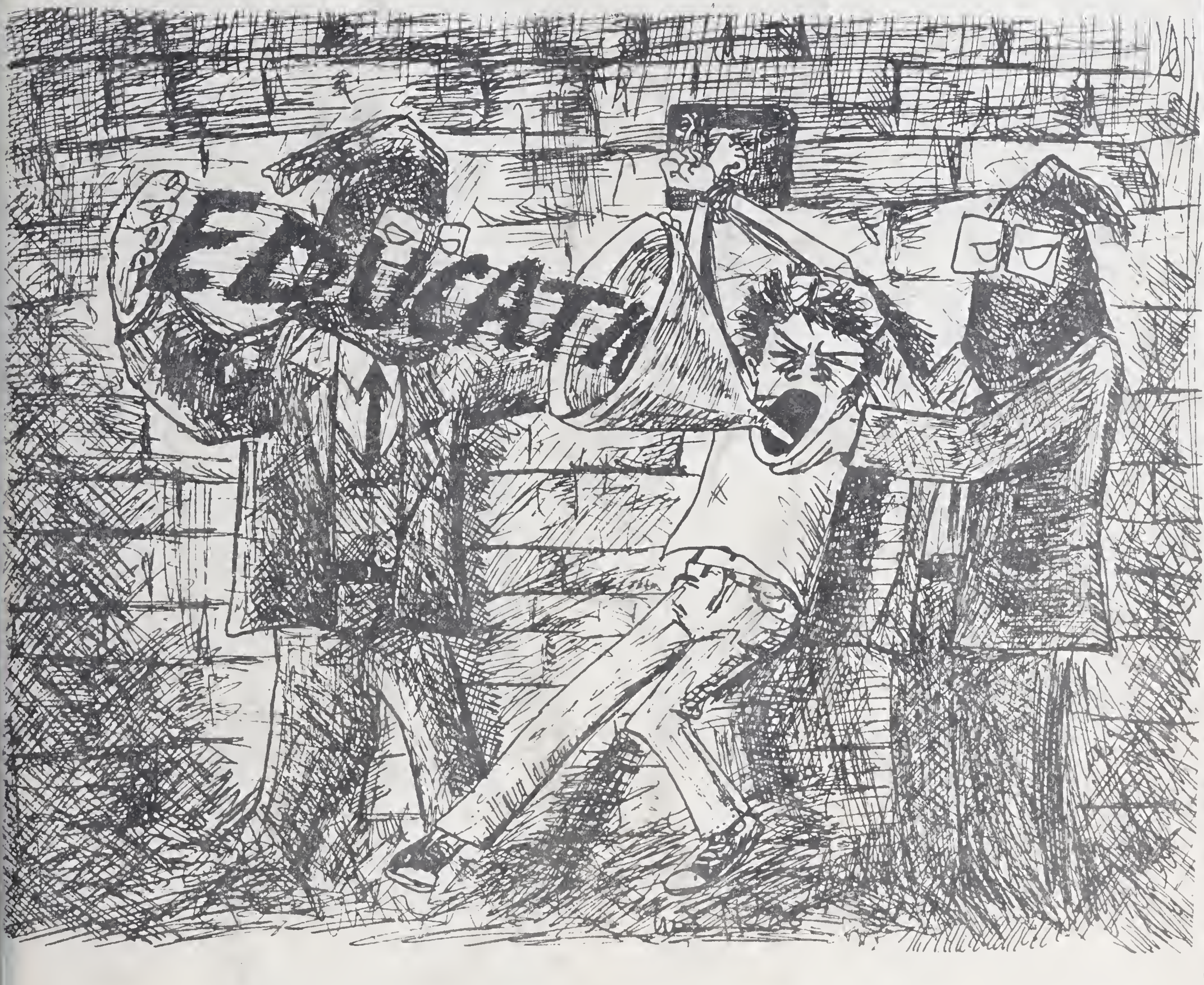
FC578

Debate: Animal Rights

Vol. 2, No. 7
March 1989

The CAROLINA CRITIC



The Decline of Cultural Literacy & The Failure of Basic Education

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., Box 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $10 per year, but who cares? Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and art are welcome. Opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necesssarily reflect those of the editorial staff, particularly if *certain* people write them.

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IN THIS ISSUE

4 **Critic Debate:** *Animal Rights*
Chris Brannon and Chris Osborn.

6 **Correspondence**
Our faculty advisor chews us out... A *General College* staffer gets really angry.

8 **The Critical Eye**
Free the Lobsters, Spring Break, Salman Rushdie and $3.76 for the Ayatollah...
Clipboard
Across the Bows
Election Wrap-Up
Critic Almanac

14 **Cover Story:** *Basic Education*
Rick Henderson gives N.C.'s Basic Education Program a failing grade.

15 ***The Decline of a Liberal Education***
Dr. Earl Nelson explores the reason why modern college students are morally bankrupt intellectual paraplegics.

18 **Essays**
Anthony Woodlief reports on Conrad X... Lee Newcomb looks at George Bush's S&L bailout... The Walrus is back... Andrew Cohen wants less control over pharmaceuticals.

23 **National Truss:** *Tax Exempt Students*
A new approach to financial aid.

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THE CRITIC DEBATE

Is Animal Research Unjust?

ANIMAL RIGHTS
HMMM...

Yea - By Chris Brannon

MORE AND more, people are questioning the idea that it is obvious that non-human animals must be used to advance medical science. The issue of animal rights and the validity of animal research is being debated in many circles, by both laymen and scholars. There was a time when this issue was characterized by the image of a few housewives and little old ladies in tennis shoes clamoring about baby seals and bunny rabbits. No longer. Professional groups, such as the Research Modernization Committee (RMC), the Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM), the Association of Veterinarians for Animal Rights, the National Association of Nurses Against Vivisections, and Psychologists for the Ethical Treatment of Animals are coming to the conclusion that animal research is immoral and unethical.

First, let's dispel the notion that all animal research is intended to advance human knowledge in bio-medical science, and that it is all necessary and worthwhile. Non-human animals are used to teach what could be learned in a textbook, to test military hardware, and by professors whose only goal is to be published. Millions of non-human animals are killed for such useless and redundant research each year. At UNC, medical professor Frederick Eldridge received $187,364 to study "respiratory responses to noxious and non-noxious heating of skin in cats." It involved heating the skin temperature of seventeen adult cats, sometimes as high as 124 degrees. The conclusion was that noxious, but not non-noxious, increases in skin temperature cause increases in respiratory output. In other words, as Ingrid Newkirk of the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals put it, "if you get hot, you breathe faster."

Furthermore, millions of non-human animals are sacrificed in corporate labs all across the country to test everyday household products such as floor wax, shampoo, cosmetics, etc. ... The two major tests used to determine the toxicity of such products to humans are the Lethal Dose-50 and the Draize Eye Irritancy Test. Both tests have been denounced by major professional organizations such as the PCRM and RMC for being

(continued on page 22)

Nay - By Chris Osborn

CONSIDER THE following scenario: a living, breathing creature is hooked up to a seemingly infinite number of tubes, wires, and machines, each one performing its individual task of determining heart rate, respiratory rate, and other vital signs. Foreign chemicals are being pumped or injected into the victim's circulatory system. Although the animal is unconscious, its face does not wear an expression of peace or contentment, and when it is awake, its cries pierce the air of the small white room. Men in white coats with their faces hidden by masks bend over the creature with scalpels, scissors, and needles to make incisions and test stimuli responses. After a few moments of this, one of the men leaves the room and approaches an anxious woman outside. "Mrs. Collins, your daughter is going to be just fine."

The "creature" which has just (hopefully) drawn your sympathies is a human being, species *homo sapiens*. Fortunately, thanks to animal research, she now has a chance for her suffering to end. More than likely, many of the enzymes, antibodies, and procedures which have been administered to her were developed, tested, and perfected on non-human animals. Many animal rights activists would argue that the animals on whom this research was done did not deserve to suffer at the hands of vivisectionists, the scientists who perform such research. But talk to the family of little Jennifer Collins and ask them if they feel their daughter's survival justifies the loss of a few rats and mice. Discuss the various aspects of moral philosophy with the victims of AIDS, and ask them if research on animals should be discontinued now to prevent violations of the rights of the monkeys on whom AZT and other potential cures are currently being tested. All species of animals survive by pursuing their own self-interests, and man is no exception.

While most anti-vivisectionists have the noble goal of alleviating the suffering of living creatures, few are quick to acknowledge that there is human suffering also. Man, however, through advanced knowledge and learning capabilities, has the capacity to do something about suffering in the world, and since

(continued on next page)

man communicates most often with his fellow humans and is more vividly aware of their suffering, he is obligated first to use whatever knowledge and resources available to help his fellow man. Animal rights activists call this speciesism (the pursuit of the interests of one's own species with no regard for those of other species) and liken it to racism. However, this particular argument is flawed in two respects. All humans, whether black, white, yellow, etc., are of the same species, *homo sapiens*; likewise, men and women share the same species, too. Speciesism is not a valid justification for racial discrimination. Therefore, speciesism can be judged independently of racism; that is to say, speciesism can be morally or practically defensible while racism is not.

More importantly, the speciesism argument is flawed because it implies blind pursuit of the interests of one's own species, and that species alone. But research performed on animals has had tangible benefits for animals other than humans, also. The cures for canine distemper, rabies, and other diseases were developed by vivisectionists, as were the surgical techniques employed by veterinarians, whose business is alleviating animal suffering. If animal rights proponents had been as vocal a few hundred, or even fifty, years ago as they are now, there may not have been as many animals around today to protect. One can debate whether a cat whose feline leukemia has been cured by a drug developed through the vivisection of another cat feels a sense of loss or guilt, but this would be pointless.

Animal rights activists are usually quite specific about which animals they are protecting; usually, the image of a "cute and fuzzy" creature is invoked to arouse pathos in readers of anti-vivisection literature. Most of the pictures distributed of ortured animals are of rabbits and monkeys, while, in fact, rats and mice compose eighty-five percent of the animals used in aboratory experiments. The reason they do this is that people eel more compassion for "cute" rabbits than they do for rats and mice.

I have yet to hear or read of a movement to abolish the use f mousetraps, flyswatters, or roach motels. The PETA people who visited "The Farm" complained that there were dogs kept here who had "earwigs." But aren't earwigs animals, too? urely they have the "right" to stay in the most life-promoting abitat available. My point is, if one says he is "FOR ANIMAL IGHTS," one cannot be selective of which animals deserve ghts. To play the opposition's game, this is like claiming to be proponent of human rights and then pursuing only the improvement of conditions for white people. By this reasoning, avid Duke could be termed a human rights activist!

Of course, no one would be ignorant enough to make the aim that animal research is a perfect practice and that conditions are ideal. The activist organizations such as PETA who ll for improved living conditions of laboratory animals are stified. There are many laws which are supposed to govern the vironment provided for lab animals, but these regulations are ten ignored or weakly enforced. The answer is not the olition of vivisection but rather the tightening of these laws. owever, in pursuing these goals, activists create an environment in which all animal research is condemned.

How do we determine what research is necessary and what is superfluous? There are some tests which subject animals to cruel conditions, and their results are seemingly trivial. The two industry tests which have drawn the most fire are the Draize for eye irritancy (most often performed to test household products on the eyes of rabbits) and the LD-50 toxicity test, which measures the dosage of a substance sufficient to kill fifty percent of the animals in a test group. But an FDA survey has shown that LD-50 usage has decreased over ninety percent since the late seventies. Also, companies such as Procter and Gamble have lowered the concentration of the irritants used in the Draize test, and have pledged to discontinue the procedure altogether once a suitable alternative is developed.

Also, there have been several occasions in which animal research has been harmful. The most notable of these was the incidence of birth defects in Germany as a side effect from the usage of the drug thalidomide, which had been tested successfully on animals. Nevertheless, occasional failure of a program or practice is not enough in itself to justify its discontinuance; if it were, our space program would already be merely reduced to an exhibit at the Smithsonian following the Challenger explosion. Science is a series of tests, failures, and modifications, and researchers don't claim to be perfect; likewise, the "alternatives to vivisection" are not yet perfected. Even if they are, scientists will have a hard time convincing the general public of their reliability.

Drugs and products must be tested for potential side effects on living systems. Finally, remember that protozoa and other microorganisms are animals, too. Who is to say that a protist has less of a soul than a rabbit, and is just as deserving of "rights?" Alternatives to animal research and product testing sound wonderful, and may one day finally replace vivisection altogether, but they are hardly the quick-fix solution which some activists would have you believe.

The philosophical and moral arguments are interesting, and the question of man's assumed superiority over the animal kingdom is one that requires much more detailed analysis than can be covered here. Do animals have souls? Does being "made in God's image" give man higher authority or superiority over lesser creatures? To what extent did God give man "dominion over the earth and its inhabitants?" While thought provoking, these and other such abstract questions should not obscure the more poignant practical issues at stake. The lives of human beings are valuable, and those who have been kept alive because of CAT scans (developed on pigs), organ transplants (perfected on rabbits), insulin (dogs and rabbits), or countless other animal developed treatments will certainly have some very straightforward opinions concerning the values of vivisection.

The issues which activists raise must be addressed, but not to the detriment of thousands of sick people like Jennifer Collins. I hope, for the sake of both his moral and physical health, that Bob Barker does not get terminally ill any time soon. Ω

Chris Osborn is a freshman English/PoliSci major who will blast the next person who calls anything "kinder and gentler" into a thousand points of light.

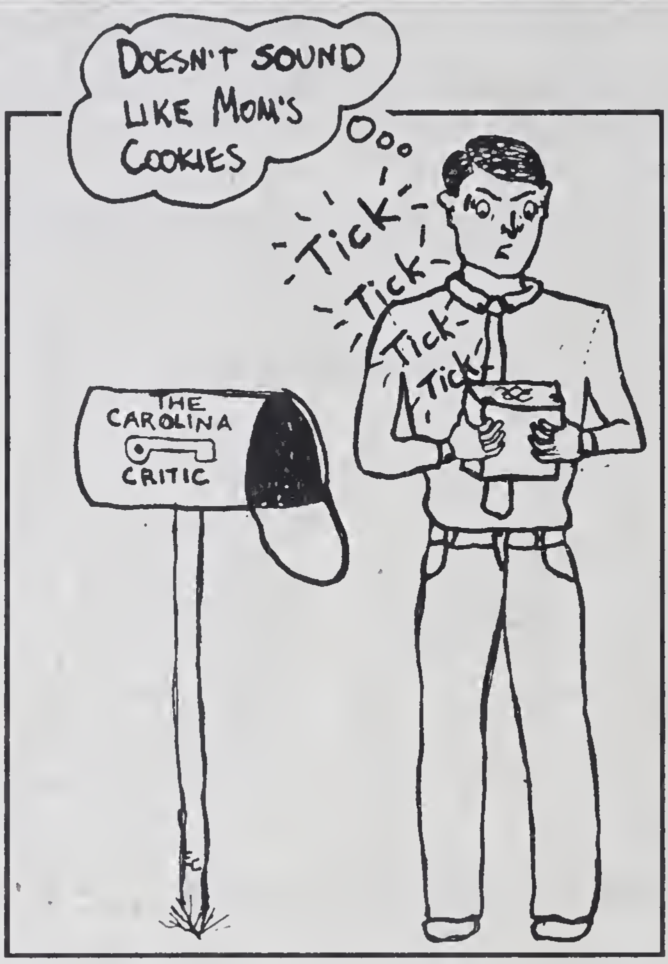
CORRESPONDENCE

Faculty Raises Are Appropriate

Dear Critics,

Allow me, as your faculty advisor, to give you some advice: Shut up about how UNC faculty are overpaid. You don't know what you're saying.

You were right, in your last issue, to point with alarm to "The Decline of Carolina." The reasons for that decline are debatable — it may be simply that socialized education is as bad an idea as socialized steel mills and we've just been beating the odds all these years. In the short term, however, whether as cause or symptom, faculty salaries are part of the problem and (to put it crassly) have something to do with the declining value of your degree.



You should be very careful about arguing that faculty are overpaid for the work we do. When you do that, you're chasing the chimera of "comparable worth," a notion that I know you find unacceptable in other contexts. Let's talk about this in good, sound, free-market terms, OK? Maybe an example would help.

Consider my friend ______ _______. He is in his middle 40's and has been here for 18 years. He is a full professor and one of the two or three leading figures in his field of _______ ______, often quoted in the newsweeklies and on network television. He has two young children and a wife who's staying home to take care of them. His salary is barely more than Duke University is paying new Ph.D's in his field.

I'm not arguing that my friend deserves a higher salary because he needs it. That's bolshevik nonsense, and besides there are four person families that are far poorer. But I am saying that the market values his services at considerably more than UNC does. He knows this, and resents it, and his personal circumstances make him especially responsive to outside offers right now. He's good enough to get one whenever he wants, and he just did. Emory University has just offered him a better than 60% raise, with far more attractive fringe benefits and maybe even a parking place.

UNC may or may not find the will and resources to keep him. We've already lost a number of good faculty this year (names and destinations on request). But note that we could have kept him happy and around for half the money, six months ago. Now it will cost twice as much, if it can be done at all. This kind of nickle and diming doesn't even make economic sense, not to mention what it does to the morale and attitude of your faculty. You think you've seen "decline" — well, stay tuned. It's like the old joke, remember? "Under socialism, they pretend to pay us and we pretend to work."

You think about that. It's precisely because I agree with you about so much that I'm distressed by your blind spot in this matter.

Fraternally,
John Shelton Reed
Faculty Advisor for the Critic

General College Has Value

I would like to make a number of comments regarding your February item on *General College* [in the Critical Eye — *ed*.]. To begin, the unnamed author uses the phrase, "amateur dramatic production," in a pejorative sense, forcing me to ponder what he would have it be; *General College* is precisely that — an amateur dramatic production, produced thus far for under $700 per eight-episode semester, by a cast and crew of approximately 90 undergraduates. Further, the opinions expressed suggest a fundamental lack of understanding of the genre of "continuing drama." Three elements combine to form a soap opera: melodrama, situational hyperbole, and repeated alteration of the expected course of events. *General College* more than incorporates these factors in a consistently lucid and cohesive framework of both script and production values. This is not to suggest that we are not equally aware of faults as our strengths. I personally invite whomever is interested to join us at a mutually convenient time to discuss any and all aspects of technical production, the writing process, acting, directing, or aesthetic nuances possibly lost on the untrained (and thereby nondiscerning) viewing. We have received both the highest of compliments and the most forthright of criticism by professionals from the network level to our own University's professors of Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures. As the only nationally-syndicated, entirely student-produced soap opera, we find ourselves eager to receive positive and negative commentary by qualified individuals. Ultimately, we are all here to learn.

Briefly, I would further like to comment on a couple of errors that your editors should be careful to note. First, the title *General College* is that of a major work of fiction composed of clearly-defined subsections (episodes), and should therefore be italicized, not in quotation marks. Second, the amusingly redundant phrase "broadcast nationally across the country" is used in the piece. Although I am confident that your less-intelligent readers (i.e. your staff) will appreciate such clarification, the rest of us promise to make do with the assertion of a noteworthy point only once per sentence. Consult your A.P.

stylebook, boys, lest the Critic appear to be even more of an amateur "journalistic" production than it already does. In short, the feeling is mutual.

Finally, allow me to say that the last laugh is undeniably ours. With each episode, there is a sizeable check deposited to STV, and a sizeable audience (over seven million) of professionals and the public at large viewing our work. We are proud to say that yes, *General College* does represent UNC. And it's your campus soap opera.

D. Jason Lyon
Associate Producer-Director/Head Writer — *General College*

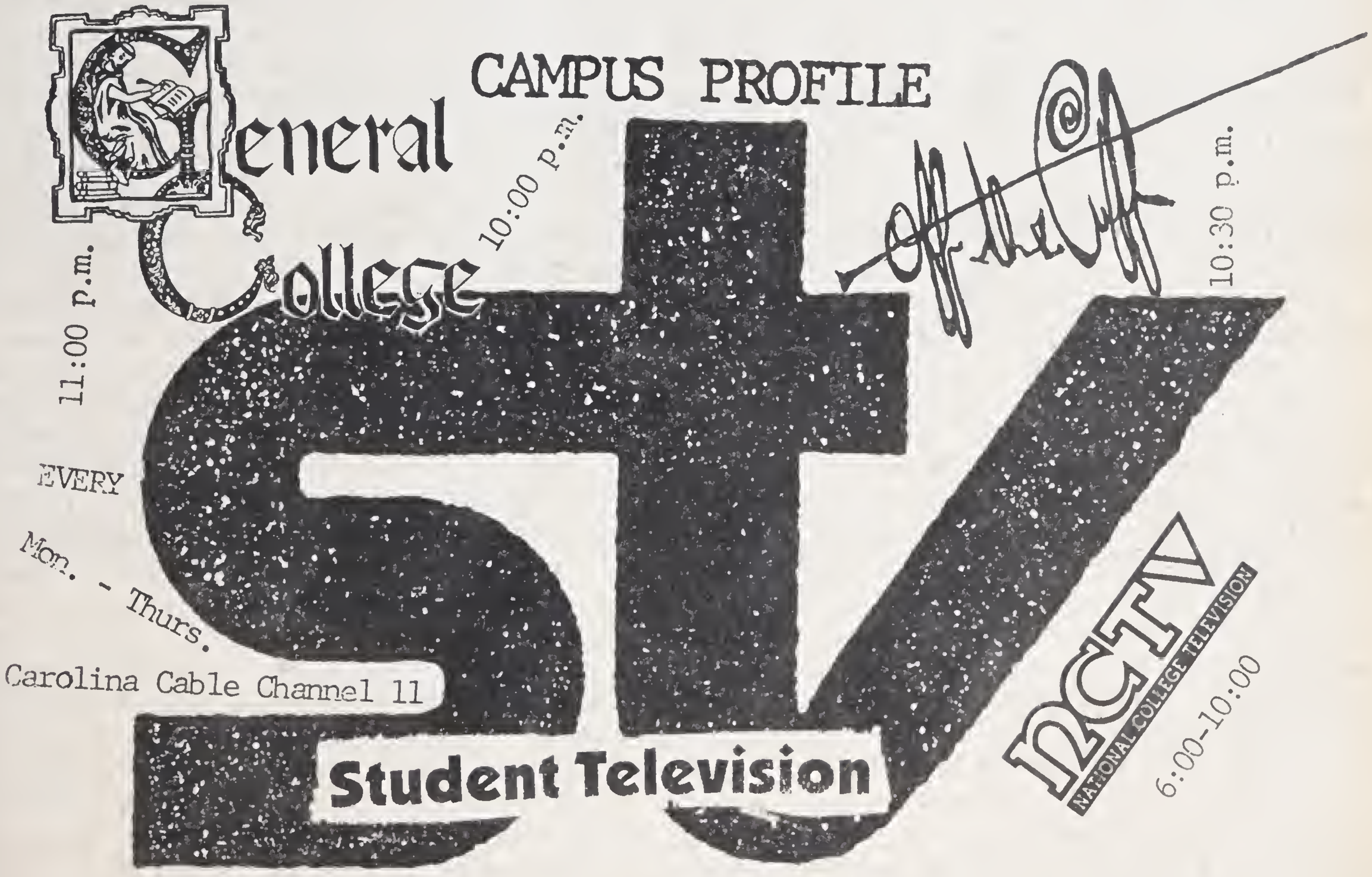
The "unnamed author" responds:

Well, I hoped that someone who wrote and directed as a hobby could recognize a joke! But I do feel a need to respond. Since I don't earn my living as a writer, however, I may not be "qualified" (under Mr. Lyon's criteria) to do so. The *Daily Tar Heel* ran the *General College* article as its lead story on page one, and at least one person associated with the show saw herself as a "representative" of UNC. As a result, the editors of the Critical Eye felt it was fair game. We meant no malice, but...

There is a danger when challenged (especially in an academic community) to use your credentials as defense mechanisms, and ignore honest criticism. I thought a well-reasoned argument didn't require credentials. I don't care how many television professionals praised your show: I still think it's lousy, and not a worthy representative of my alma mater. Of course the half-dozen episodes we saw last semester may have been aberrations...

Why Reply?

Several of our readers have expressed concern about the Critic's policy of allowing our writers to respond to letters. In this we've taken our lead from the nation's most prestigious journals, like *The New Republic* and *National Review*. It is not our intent to simply allow our writers a parting shot, but to give them an opportunity to clarify their positions when necessary. It is our hope that the nature of the response is appropriate to the spirit of the letter. We encourage our highly intelligent readers to continue writing. Your comments and suggestions are appreciated. — *ed.*



The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 7
March, 1989

The **Phoenix** *research staff hard at work.*

•A few thoughts as Spring Break approaches...

•A recent study by the University of Michigan has shown that young women have been getting fatter for several decades. The recent warm weather in Chapel Hill proved that these human heifers are *definitely* not at Carolina. That, of course, would mean that they all went to State...

•Speaking of women and warm weather, this spring Student Health expects to be bombarded with males suffering from "Carolina Neck Strain" or in medical-speak, *torsionus miniskirtus.* This affliction, known only in this area, usually occurs after spring break. The cause, though unknown, seems to be related to testosterone levels and tanned co-eds.

•Kudos to Carol Geer and the CAA for winning the referendum for the Student Rec Center. We note that in the battle to raise student fees, Carol had several powerful allies, including the *Daily Tar Heel.* One thing we did find amusing about the DTH's unqualified endorsement of the Rec Center was the Feb. 20th issue. On the same day they threw their support behind the Center, their Housing Guide advised the off-campus student who wanted additional "amenities," such as "weight rooms," "to decide if he or she is willing to pay $44 more." Well what do you think folks, should we raise the rent at Tar Heel Manor so everyone can enjoy the weight facilities at Ramsgate? Sounds fair doesn't it?

•The truth behind the rumor: yes, there has been a transfer of power in the leadership of the UNC College Republicans (formerly known as the Stealth organization). No, there was not a "coup." Last month, citing a heavy class load, former chairman Bill Taylor resigned. At this writing Sharon Sentelle, an outspoken conservative with the overwhelming support of the membership, is the only nominee for the chair. Of course *somebody* will have to keep an eye on the new leadership... well, OK but just for now.

•Please don't tell the Hulk-a-maniacs but, a spokesmen for the World Wrestling Federation told the New Jersey Senate that professional wrestling was just an "illusion." A bill to deregulate professional wrestling was introduced so that it won't be considered as dangerous as boxing and other sports that can cause serious injury. An aide to the Senator who sponsored the bill told the *New York Times*: "If this thing were real, there would be broken bones all over the place." The value of your special edition Hulk Hogan action figure just fell through the canvas.

•In January, Dook was used to stand-in for the mythical Llanview University during filming of the soap opera *One Life to Live*. Displaying the aesthetics expected of a low-brow thespian, cast member Tammy Anderson gushed of Dookies, "Can I wrap up a few of these guys and take them back to New York?" Hell yes you can take 'em! They're all from New Jersey anyway.

•Sitting at home with 30-odd cable channels a push button away, it might be hard to appreciate how few choices most of the world has in tube viewing. The British are just now receiving direct satellite-to-home broadcasts, thanks to the infamous Rupert Murdoch and the end of government dominance of broadcasting. Murdoch's Sky network, and the competing cable system, Screen Sport, aim to bring British viewers what is still rare in the UK — sports, sports, and more sports. Perhaps the free market has found a way to keep those maniacal, even murderous, British soccer fans at home.

•Then again, it doesn't work for Dook fans ...

•The NC Department of Public Instruction is looking at cutting staff by combining some education specialist positions into one new "generalist" position. Let's hope a few "englishists" survive the cut.

•It's getting hard to tell the saints from the sinners these days. It seems that "Saint" Winnie Mandela has fallen from grace. Her infamous "soccer" team bodyguards have been implicated in the murder of a fourteen-year old boy. Saint Winnie herself has been accused of beating the victim before the murder. The United Democratic Front and other South African anti-apartheid groups have repudiated Mrs. Mandela for her involvement in this "reign of terror" (*The New York Times* said it, not us). Nelson is *not* amused.

•Senator Jesse Helms has been dubbed "Enemy No. 1" by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Meanwhile Republican Congressional campaign chairman Ed Rollins has made his Number One Priority unseating House Speaker Jim Wright. Instead of spending millions of dollars campaigning, we suggest an alternative: jell-o wrestling on *Geraldo*.

•Egyptian Interior Minister Zaki Badr got into a fist fight with opposition members of Parliament during a televised debate. Looks like the Egyptians have beaten us to the (ahem) punch.

•Former Presidential candidate Pat Robertson wants to parachute thousands of solar-powered television sets on Third-World countries, so that they can receive broadcasts of *The 700 Club*. For people far beyond the reach of the hardiest "infantry missionaries", villagers could follow pictorial instructions to set up the TV's and then receive the program via satellite. But the villagers may turn on MTV instead.

•While the villagers are rocking to Guns 'n' Roses, the United Christian Broadcasters will be watching X-rated movies. It seems that 80% of the group members paid for a porno movie in their room at last year's convention. There was no mention of what Jimmy Swaggart was doing at the time.

•"Free the lobsters!" yelled members of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, who then spent $240 buying and ship-

Clipboard

Private Practices? Syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran: "Liberalism has an oddly gerrymandered sense of privacy. Legal abortion is justified as 'keeping government out of the bedroom.' Legalizing cannibalism would presumably be keeping government out of the kitchen."

You rude bigot!: "My modest proposal is to use [the word] racism sparingly. Save it for serious stuff. Instead of shouting racism at the drop of a hat, just substitute racial rudeness as the term for unbecoming white conduct." says economics professor Walter Williams.

AwFuL-CIO: "[Organized] labor gave Americans the weekend, but we couldn't remain grateful forever, and Americans by nature favor individual action nd individualism over the group-think of rganized anything. We are pledged to olitical and social egalitarianism in these arts, but we do not believe in or want conomic equality. Americans do not want to estroy the rich; we want to join them." —ichard Reeves, syndicated columnist.

Well, he *looks* like your son: "Whenever people refer to me as meone 'who happens to be black,' I wonder they realize that both my parents were ack. If I turned out to be Scandinavian or hinese, people would have wondered what e hell was going on." -Thomas Sowell.

Did he say that Reagan was right?: Mike Dukakis talked of Federalism and the states, "...since Reagan, states have been more deeply involved in economic, social, and educational issues and are assuming greater financial responsibility for things that were being provided by the Feds. Not only are we not being overwhelmed, but what you've been seeing over the past 3 or 4 years is more balance in the system."

In the February Clipboard: we mistakenly attributed a quote from W.E.B. DuBois to Bayard Rustin. Rustin was quoting DuBois in the essay we cited.

-staff

MILITARY INSIGNIFICA

Headed to Sea: The bigger, long range Trident II submarine launched ballistic missile is scheduled for its first underwater test launch this month. The missile will be launched from the *U.S.S. Tennessee*, the ninth Trident sub and the first designed specifically to launch the Trident II missile. Earlier ships of the class may be modified at a later time to carry the new missile, if funds can be found for conversions. Operational patrols with the Trident II are still at least a year away.

The incredible has happened: a big military procurement program that's under budget. Speaking of the Trident program, for the third year in a row, cost estimates for the British program to acquire four Trident missile submarines have actually gone down. The latest cost reductions are due to the strong dollar. The first boat, named *Vanguard*, should be ready for patrols in 1994 or 1995.

Up in the air some more (unless you're a B-1): "Mission-capable rates" (i.e.: availability rates) of various U.S. military aircraft have jumped dramatically over the past few years. The Navy's F-14 fighter's availability is up to 70% in 1987, from 46% in 1980 while the B-52's Mission capable rate jumped from 42% to 79% from 1984 to 1987. The B-1, though, was flight ready only 33% of the time in 1987.

Y'think there's a problem here: In the same report, the Air Force's large C-5 transport plane was air ready 60% of the time. By comparison the availability rate of commercial airliners is 99%.

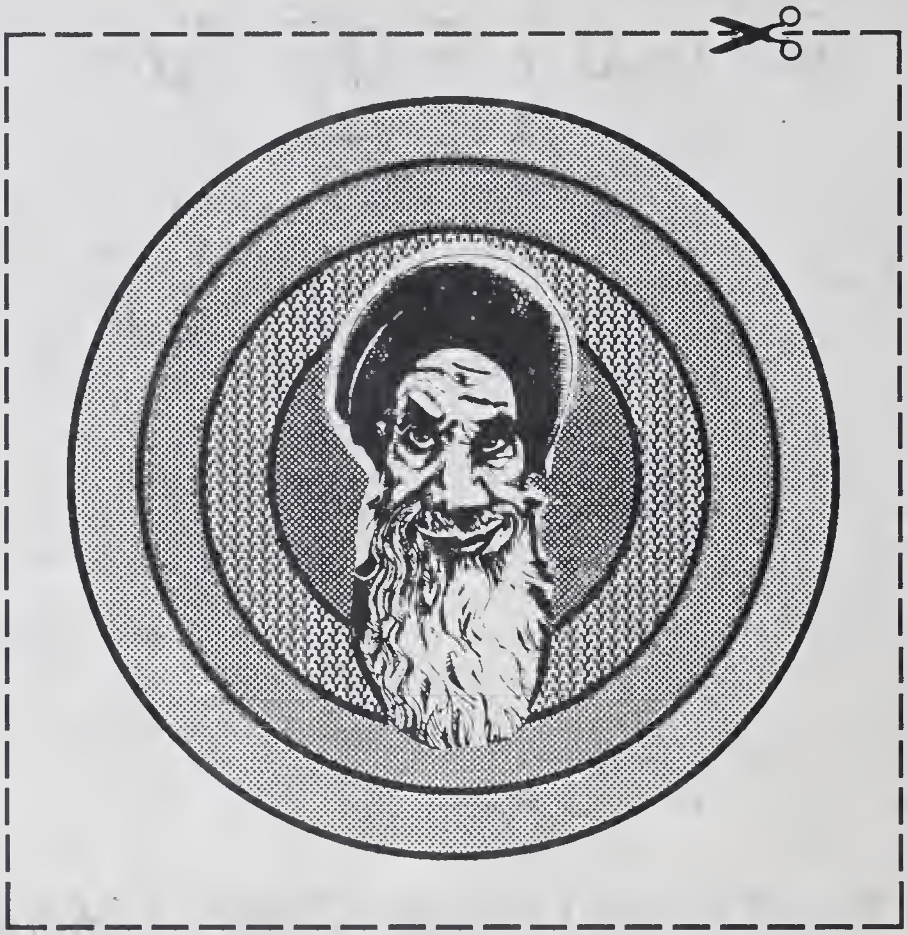
Legal and then some: The Navy's Transit 13 navigation satellite recently celebrated its twenty-first birthday. The craft, launched by a Scout rocket on May 18, 1967, is the oldest functioning satellite in orbit.

-Michael Lowrey

ping lobsters from a Maryland restaurant to the coast of Maine where the former death row inmates were released on their own recognizance.

•It is rumored that PETA is now working to stop the use of measles vaccines so that the innocent little germs can live a full and healthy life.

•Pity Salman Rushdie. The Ayatollah Khomeini put out a $3.7 million contract on the author, and stores across the country have threatened to take his books off the shelves. Just for a little blasphemy! What's a tolerant society to do? Fear not. The Critic *will* avenge this attack on freedom of expression. We hereby issue our own contract. Unfortunately, we aren't a major petroleum exporting nation, so funds are limited. By passing the turban, we were able to raise a stunning $3.76. This impressive prize will be awarded to the first person to pelt the Ayatollah with a spit ball. ($1 bonus if you're a Duke student.) Training for the Critic *jihad* begins immediately. We have generously provided a practice target. Launching straws are available at Lenoir Hall.



•Former pop-star and, like, socially conscious guy Cat Stevens has defended the Ayatollah's pronouncement as a legitimate punishment under Islamic law. This coming from the man who exhorted us to get on the "peace train." We wonder when he fell off.

•Wall Street raider Carl Icahn justifies corporate buyouts as the only effective way to remove entrenched mediocre management from American corporations. Now what is Marriott selling for, anyway?

Across the Bows

Corrections: In the February Critic, we mistakenly attributed a complaint about the Bush Inauguration to *Daily Tar Heel* editorial writer Daniel Conover. Matt Bivens actually wrote the article. We regret the error, but you're all *still* wrong.

As a parting shot, outgoing DTH editorial writer Sandy Dimsdale said: "Weird people feed on editorial writers." Remember the story of the pot and the kettle, Sandy, but good luck.

Black Ink editor Garraud (Capitalists are Evil) Etienne admits that he really is a godless socialist after all. "I firmly and unequivocally reject the Judeo-Christian notions of an all-knowing, benevolent ... deity " He also rejected "the fairy tale notions" of the Garden of Eden and the story of the Exodus. He even has become "insulted by ... the divinity of some dude elected Pope." We're not Catholic, but last time we checked, even they don't consider the Pope divine. "Leave me to my inevitable damnation," he requests. Request granted.

Phoenix writer Artie Sparrow thinks that Senator John Tower's record deserves closer scrutiny. So do we. Artie complains that in 1981, Tower voted to confirm (gasp) James Watt, Al Haig and Bill Casey. Guess who else agreed to confirm these men? Damn near everybody. Why, new Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell voted for Watt, erstwhile leftist Ohioan Howard Metzenbaum voted for Al Haig. Hell, even Teddy Kennedy supported Bill Casey! Come on Artie, whose judgement is flawed here?

What other evil crimes has John Tower committed? Well Artie says that he's committed the unforgivable sin of supporting the Contras, just like (hmm) Lloyd Bentsen. But please don't tell the kids.

Tower's most heinous crime was voting against the Civil Acts Right of 1964. A mistake to be sure, but it hardly means what Artie says. He claims that "a) Tower didn't think minorities should have civil rights in 1964; b) Tower did believe in civil rights for minorities but was too spineless to stand up for them; or c) Tower couldn't make up his mind about the status of minorities in our society ..."

Sorry, Artie. Tower said in 1964, "As a native Southerner I am deeply ashamed of the way that we have treated our Negro citizens [accepted term for African-Americans in 1964— *ed*.] in the South. I cannot justify that ... We have held them down..." Tower had deep Constitutional reservations about certain aspects of the bill. For example, he wanted to permit "employers to give ability tests to those seeking employment ... if they are given without discrimination." This amendment, though initially defeated, later passed. Artie implies that Tower is only willing to defend white males. In the words of General Bull Right: BULLFEATHERS! Also, Artie claims it's disturbing that ... Ah, never mind! When you check your *Congressional Record*, Artie, please read more than the roll calls.

We're happy to see that the *Phoenix* is now employing a Staff Astrologer. Does Student Congress actually read this thing before they fund it?

In honor of the new DTH editorial board, we have decided to temporarily reverse our position:

Honestly, folks, as campus dailies go, the DTH is pretty good. Good luck, Sharon: We'll wait to be snide until next month.

-Lukefahr and Henderson

•GRE PRACTICE QUESTION•

Answer the following question based on the content of this passage: According to the *New York Times*, CIA Director William Webster told the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee that at least 15 nations will be able to build ballistic missiles by the year 2000. At least 20 nations are already able to produce chemical weapons "despite multilateral efforts to stop their proliferation."

In the preceding paragraph, the author's main point was:
(a) Student Congress should increase its efforts to bring about arms reductions.
(b) Star Wars laser systems will be used to shoot helpless squirrels out of trees.
(c) The major auto makers have suppressed the sale of a carburetor that delivers 70 miles per gallon.
(d) Hulk Hogan is a dangerous man.
(e) Maybe we need SDI after all?

•Chile's authoritarian pinhead-in-residence Augusto Pinochet likened himself recently to Cincinnatus, who as everybody knows is the Roman patriot from the 5th century B.C. who came out of retirement twice to save Roman civilizaion. It would be ncer if he would nake like MacArthur and imply fade away.

Speaking of pinheads... uh, authoritarian dictators, Paraguay's President" Stroessner unceremoniously flew out of the counry after he was ousted by one of his own generals. At the helm or 34 years, he was the longest-reigning autocrat in Latin America. As Ferdinand Marcos also found out, if you don't fade way, you fly out.

On the domestic pinhead front, Washington, DC Mayor Maron Barry threatened to remove any police official who publicly alled for an increase in the number of officers to fight the crime ave that grips his fair city. If you want to stay out of trouble, Iarion, why don't you *legalize* drugs and prostitution?

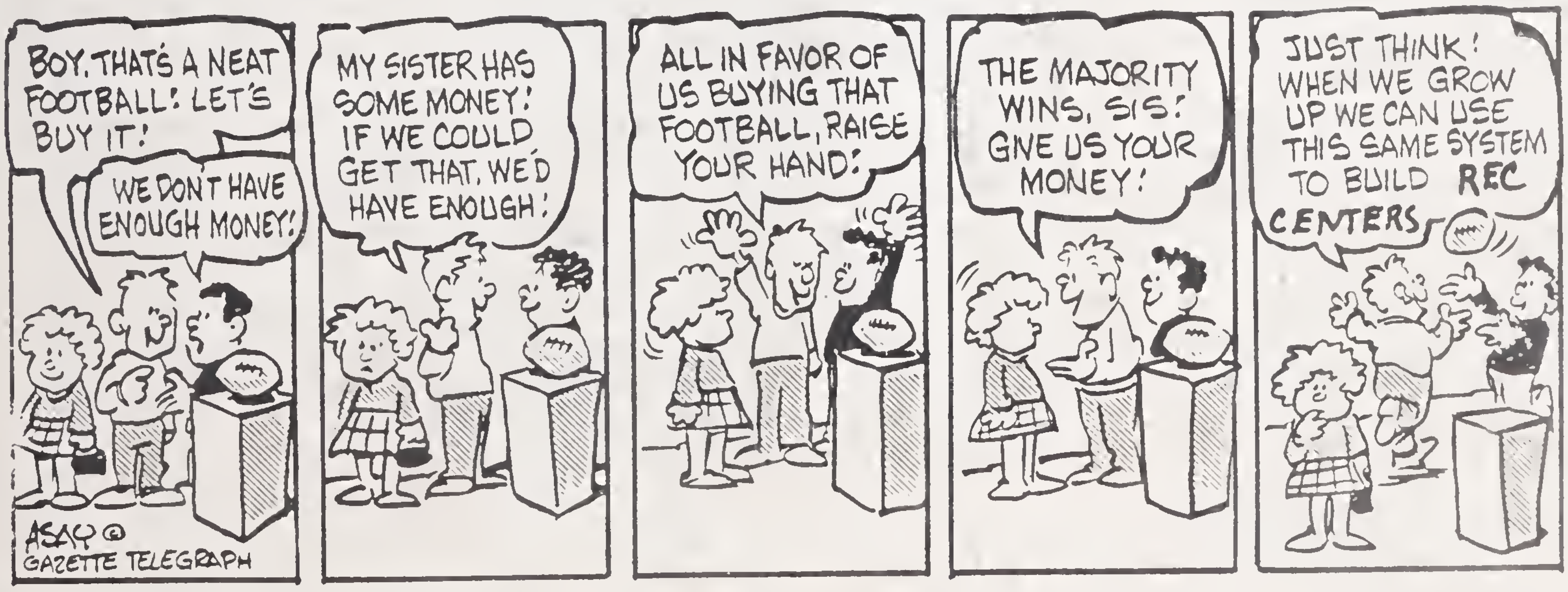
he London Observer relates that a Church of England report ggests that "the Church may have to accept sex [between embers of the clergy] within a stable homosexual relationship here the alternative is promiscuity." This, from the institution at used to believe the alternative was abstinence.

•Czechoslovakia has found playwright Vaclav Havel guilty of hooliganism and has sentenced him to nine months in prison. His crime: placing flowers on a dissident's grave. Next time, Vaclav, remember: your FTD florist delivers.

•In an unusual response to the nationwide nursing shortage, Rhode Island Governor Edward DiPrete called out the National Guard to staff a state hospital after nurses went on strike. National Guard member and Registered Nurse Sue McCabe said she was caring for about 10 patients, "so that's not really a big deal." We're waiting for the Guard's new recruiting slogan: "We're looking for a few good scabs."

•Barbara Bush set aside a White House tradition and didn't buy a new set of official china when they moved in. *Big* sacrifice! How many place settings does it take to serve pork rinds anyway?

•If we'd known it was gonna be this easy ... *US News and World Report* tells the story of a French military contingent helping Armenian earthquake victims. It seems the search and rescue team detected a group of people trapped under some rubble, and began a rescue effort. Once freed from the rubble, they saw the uniformed soldiers speaking French, assumed they had been invaded, and promptly surrendered.


BOY, THAT'S A NEAT FOOTBALL! LET'S BUY IT!
WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY!
ASAY © GAZETTE TELEGRAPH
MY SISTER HAS SOME MONEY! IF WE COULD GET THAT, WE'D HAVE ENOUGH!
ALL IN FAVOR OF US BUYING THAT FOOTBALL, RAISE YOUR HAND!
THE MAJORITY WINS, SIS! GIVE US YOUR MONEY!
JUST THINK! WHEN WE GROW UP WE CAN USE THIS SAME SYSTEM TO BUILD REC CENTERS

ELECTION WRAP-UP

Ian Schiller, a District 13 Student Congress Candidate, proposed that "separation between North Campus and South Campus should be eliminated," a unique idea that no doubt inspired all constituents with both brain halves to vote for the opposition. Among other suggestions, rumor has it that Schiller wants to begin a cultural exchange program for the two areas, pass a Congressional resolution forbidding students to refer to anything north of 15-501 as "south", and to require that everyone who refers to what is now known as South Campus call it simply, "that place with the tall dorms near the SAC."

Jim Taylor, District 5 Student Congress Candidate and winner of this year's "I Can Spend More Money Than You Can" Award, proposes increased spending for a "free" clinic in Carrboro, AIDS education, and student parking, along with funding of the BCC and the CGLA. Who died and left you with all the money, Jim? The UNC welfare state continues to expand.

Tom Elliott, District 6 Candidate, is "concerned about cutbacks in the in-state tuition waivers granted to out-of-state graduate students.". Apparently Elliott sees nothing wrong with making North Carolina taxpayers pay for out-of-state students to attend schools established primarily for in-state students. Could it be that Elliott's reasoning in this matter is affected by the fact that he is an out-of-state graduate student himself? The tradition of special interest politics in Student Congress continues.

Sonia Abecassis, District 7 Candidate, says that "graduate students tend to have less conservative beliefs than other University Students," and with this in mind, she wants "to bring a broader view to Student Congress processes." Thank God there will finally be someone in Student Congress that leans a little to the left.

Neil Riemann, Speaker of Student Congress, in a statement that confirmed the suspicion that Student Congress actually enjoys spending your money, revealed that higher student fees "wouldn't be a bad thing from our point of view." Here's a nifty idea Neil, how about looking at things from your *constituents'* point of view.

Gretchen Knight, Finance Committee Chairwoman, recently enlightened DTH readers with the typical logic of student politicians who don't understand arguments for eliminating student fees. The DTH reports that Knight said "students who have suggested that student fees should be abolished should consider that abolishing fees would probably mean the administration would take control of allocating fees." Okay Gretchen, syllogism time: 1) fees must exist to be distributed. 2) if fees are *abolished*, they will not exist. 3) the administration can't allocate fees that have been abolished. Any questions?

Archie Copeland, Student Union Director, informs us that Student Union programs could be more affordable if funding for the programs were increased, which in turn would increase attendance. C'mon Archie, most of the Student Union programs are already "free." Maybe the reason nobody comes to them is because they are BORING. Then again, there are those of us who can't attend those nifty programs because they have to work to pay their fees so the stuff can be "free" to begin with.

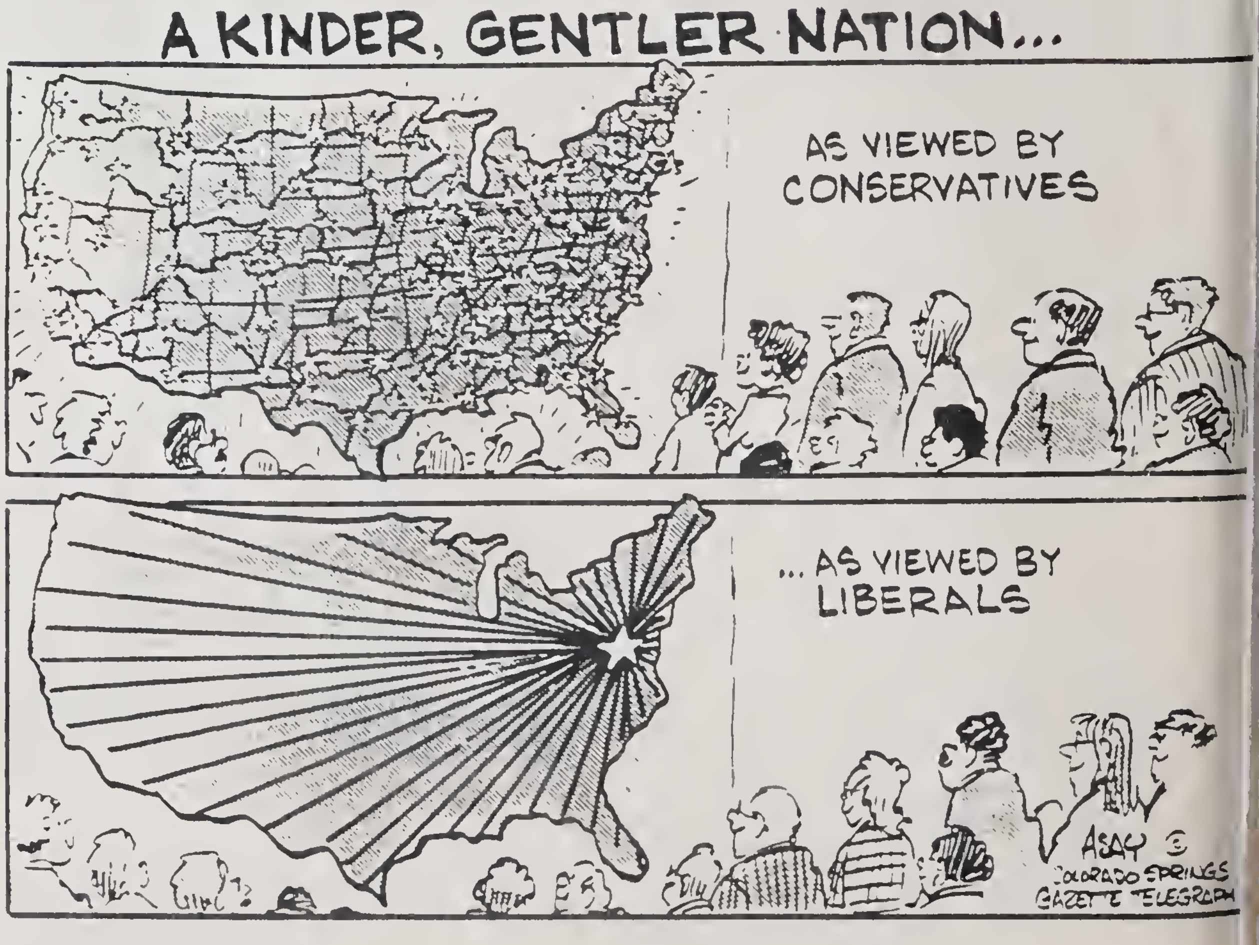
Lisa Frye noted that posters opposing the proposed $13 a semester increase in student fees to fund the Student Recreation Center were "misleading" because they portrayed the costs to each student as $104. Let's see, the typical student is here for four years, and that's eight semesters, at $13 each... apparently it's not a prerequisite that CAA presidents be able to perform simple math.

—Woodlief

•Exhibiting one of its multiple personalities three years ago, Congress coerced Japan into basing its new fighter aircraft, the FSX, on General Dynamics' F-16. Now many in Congress, displaying a different personality, won't allow the Japanese to purchase F-16's, afraid that we would be "giving away" technology. The U.S. Congress: Providing Leadership for the Free World.

•From the Glasnost Dictionary: **communism** (n): the longest and most difficult path from capitalism to capitalism.

•Where did all those damn pigeons in the quad come from anyway?


A KINDER, GENTLER NATION...
AS VIEWED BY CONSERVATIVES
... AS VIEWED BY LIBERALS
ASAY ©
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

CRITIC ALMANAC

% of Americans that are optimistic about the Bush Administration: 68

Liberal Quotient of Incoming Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell: 95

Of his predecessor Robert Byrd: 55

Portion of all single family homes sold in the U.S. each year that are mobile homes: 1/4

Percentage of state and local D.A.'s who say marijuana should be decriminalized: 25

Chances that an American born this year will have been exposed to illegal drugs in uterol: 1 in 10

Rank of Nevada and North Carolina in annual per capita beer consumption: 1, 43

The most popular chocolate bar in the U.S.: Snickers

% growth in social welfare between 1950 and 1980: 2000

% growth in population in the same period: 50

Average judgement in liability lawsuits in the early 1960's: $50,000

In the early 1980's: $250,000

% of Massachusetts drivers who are classified as high-risk: 55

Barrels of proven world oil reserves in 1965: 365 billion

In 1979: 611 billion

In 1989: 887 billion

Industrial Robots in Japan in 1986: 116,000

Robots in the U.S.: 25,000

% of the cost of stepladder that goes to liability insurance: 30

Number of pigeons in the quad today: 26

Projected number in 1991: ∞

ources: *National Review* (2-24-89, p.10); ibid.; ibid.; *Harper's Monthly* (2-89, p.13); ibid.; ibid.; *U.S. News & World Report* (2-27-89, p. 5); ibid.; *Executive Alert* (1/2-89, p.7); ibid.; ibid. (p.8); ibid.; ibid.; U.S. Geological Survey; ibid.; ibid.; *Newsweek* (2-27-89, p.17); ibid.; *xecutive Alert* (1-89, p.8); ???; ???

Basic Education Program Provides Neither

By Rick Henderson

"BEP CUTS INTO CLASS TIME FOR basics," read the headline in the January 30th edition of the (Raleigh) *News and Observer*. The much ballyhooed Basic Education Program will annually pump an extra $800 million into the state's public schools, and add 11,500 new teachers to N.C. payrolls when fully implemented in 1993. But it shows signs of being torn at the seams.

The Basic Education Program has become an oxymoron, along with such phrases as "postal service," or "downtown Carrboro." The program provides little in "education," and what it offers is hardly "basic."

The BEP was first proposed during the administration of Governor Jim Hunt. It was designed with a noble intent — to bring poorer, mainly rural schools up to par with wealthier, urban ones. Professional educators loved it; it was easy to sell to the people of North Carolina. Yet few saw or understood specifically what the program would do.

What the BEP mainly accomplishes is to take class time AWAY from instruction in the "3Rs," and instead requires "enrichment" courses which don't increase the teaching (or learning) of basic skills. An example was cited in the N&O story. "Teachers at Elizabeth Seawell Elementary School in Chapel Hill this year scrapped one of their four weekly lessons in science and social studies so their students could take dance."

The length of the school day and school year haven't changed. Yet schools are required to teach art, dance, music, drama and foreign languages to students as early as the first grade. Students at that tender age can learn a lot quickly; but the time that would usually be allotted for obtaining basic learning skills is instead used for more unstructured studies. As a result, students suffer.

Dr. Thomas Crumbaugh, principal of Frank Porter Graham Elememtary in Chapel Hill, told the N&O that Spanish classes alone take two hours (or almost ten percent of total class time) a week away from his first and second graders.

This teaching fragmentation also encourages the teaching of "processes," not specific content. Professional educators contend that children could "learn arithmetic, language and geometric concepts while building a model of their home." Apparently, under the BEP, the schools don't have time to teach courses in arithmetic, English and geometry.

Professor E.D. Hirsch, Jr., in his best-seller *Cultural Literacy*, pointed out that process-oriented instruction inhibits the transmission of the information that makes up our, or any, national culture. This especially deprives those on the bottom of the educational and economic ladders who might not receive intellectual stimulation at home.

At a truly basic level, the BEP is a curious way to tackle our educational problems. Nationally, standardized test scores are plummeting. The Educational Testing Service recently released the results of a survey stating that, in a six-nation comparison of 13-year olds, American students finished last in math and near the bottom in science test scores. As you probably know, North Carolina students usually score well below the U.S. average on such tests.

Yet the state's taxpayers have pumped huge amounts of additional money, and made substantial personnel increases, to reduce the time allotted for "basic education" in elementary and secondary schools.

PART OF THE PROBLEM IS A LACK of common sense in the discussions that preceded implementation of the BEP. North Carolina residents were told both that (1) the schools had to have more money to improve and (2) professional educationists could devise an effective plan to spend that money.

Instead, we were sold a bill of goods. The BEP emphasizes several goals: equalizing facilities between richer and poorer school districts; broadening the courses offered statewide; and reducing average class size. These objectives do not address the real problems in our schools: improving the basic reading, counting and writing skills of North Carolina students. If the BEP was supposed to do that, it was a peripheral goal at best. Still, politicians, educators, and editorial writers across the state act as if the BEP were a huge success.

Five years into the BEP, we find the schools worse than ever. What do the educationists suggest as a response? Longer school days, a twelve-month school year, and (oh, yes) more tax dollars so that we can have both diversified courses AND "basic education."

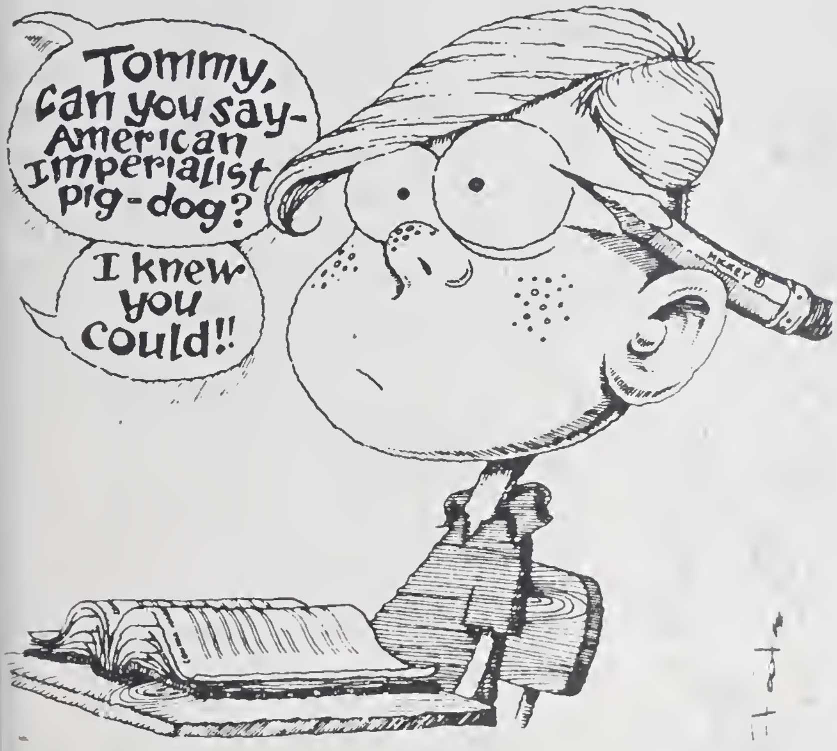
As former teacher Joe David wrote in his book, *Glad you asked!*, increased expenditures by themselves will not solve our educational woes. "If the school is second rate, spending more money on it will only succeed in turning out second-rate students MORE successfully."

Governor Martin has never been a big fan of the BEP. But it has become such a sacred

(continued on page 22)

Cultural Illiteracy: The Liberal Disease

By Earl Nelson, Ph.D.


Tommy, can you say- American Imperialist pig-dog?
I knew you could!!

courtesy of the Minnesota Spectator

THROUGHOUT HISTORY MOST cultures have had initiation rites. In tribal cultures boys would go off somewhere to be tortured and humiliated by their fathers. I'm not sure what tribal girls did, but I gather it was similar. When it was over, they got to be men and women. American schools should be more like that, according to E. D. Hirsch in *Cultural Literacy*, and Allan Bloom in *The Closing of the American Mind*.

Of course, Hirsch and Bloom don't really say anything about tribal initiation rites, and I am not encouraging schools to treat girls any differently than boys. I just think it is a good analogy to illustrate what they do mean.

The "tribe" Hirsch examines American ulture, and the "tribe" Bloom looks at is Western civilization. Both are cultures that equire initiation. The authors are convinced hat American schools are not currently delivering the kind of initiation rites that are needed or entrance. Consequently, they assert, most tudents are not making it into American and Western culture. Those are serious claims, ut both authors have good arguments to upport them.

Bloom and Hirsch are concerned with the ffects of what they call "value-neutral" eduation. As with other liberal projects, valueeutralism has been around long enough for mericans to see the results, if they will only ok. Hirsch is concerned with the decline in eading ability among high school graduates, nd Bloom primarily with the predominance f moral subjectivism among college stuents.

According to the value-neutral philosophy of education, all cultural perspectives are equal. The public school as an institution cannot appear to favor one perspective over another. While teaching students to read, for example, the schools will not use books that appear to have a particular cultural bias, since it would seem to promote one perspective. Obviously the Bible is out. But not only the Bible, its stories, such as Noah's ark, that are still so much a part of American culture, are also taboo. The same reasoning makes many facts of American history suspect; teaching them might appear to endorse a certain ideological perspective.

Hirsch attacks this philosophy because it prevents the inculcation of a national culture, which is natural and necessary for nation states. By avoiding any kind of specific cultural content, schools achieve only an equality of ignorance — and maybe not even that. The methodological justification for using culturally "neutral" reading materials is the assumption that reading is a skill that can be dissociated from specific content. Hirsch spends most of his time debunking this myth.

First he marshalls evidence that reading skills have declined during the era of value-neutral education. Then he points to convincing scientific evidence supporting his claim that reading is a skill that depends on knowing specific facts and information in advance. Much of this information is cultural. If you don't know who Grant and Lee were—not necessarily all about them, but at least who they were—then you will not understand written passages that assume you *do* know who they were.

He then cites historical evidence asserting that there is an American national culture. This culture consists of a rather specific body of cultural facts and information, including such banal national myths as George Washington's apple tree, that are still assumed in American literate culture.

Not only does Hirsch argue that cultural literacy is necessary because this culture already exists, he also argues that it ought to exist. Americans need a cultural vocabulary so that they can speak to each other, as Americans. Without this vocabulary, our common cultural life as Americans is severely limited. In the last part of the book Hirsch presents his famous list of things every American should know in order to be culturally literate.

An interesting irony emerges from Hirsch's argument. While American educators intended their dissociation of content from skill to make education more egalitarian, instead it has encouraged the creation of a cultural elite. Private schools, less privy to methodological dogma, have been doing a measurably better job of passing on cultural literacy to their students. By default, the public schools have been systematically "underprivileging" their students. Thus if you are not culturally literate, you may still find yourself in situations where you are competing with professionals who are culturally literate.

A further irony arising from the methodological fallacy of this philosophy is that virtually all American liberal intellectuals are themselves culturally literate in Hirsch's sense — no matter how much they might disparage Hirsch's concept.

I would caution my reader not to assume that Hirsch's argument is necessarily anti-liberal and conservative. It is not. Unfortunately, many in the American educational establishment regard it as such. Hirsch's argument is plain common sense. I have known many European and British intellectuals who were politically liberal, but who would recognize immediately the reasonableness of Cultural Literacy. And it is no wonder. British and European public schools have not, as a rule, fallen for the skills versus content methodological trap, and their students are usually more literate than comparably educated Americans.

Hirsch spends a good deal of time fending off possible objections that the cultural facts he includes in the basic intellectual tool kit are somehow prejudicial. He does not deny that the national culture has a certain ethical content. Instead, he maintains, it is a rather vague ethical content, having mostly to do with American egalitarianism. Why, after all, do

(continues on next page)

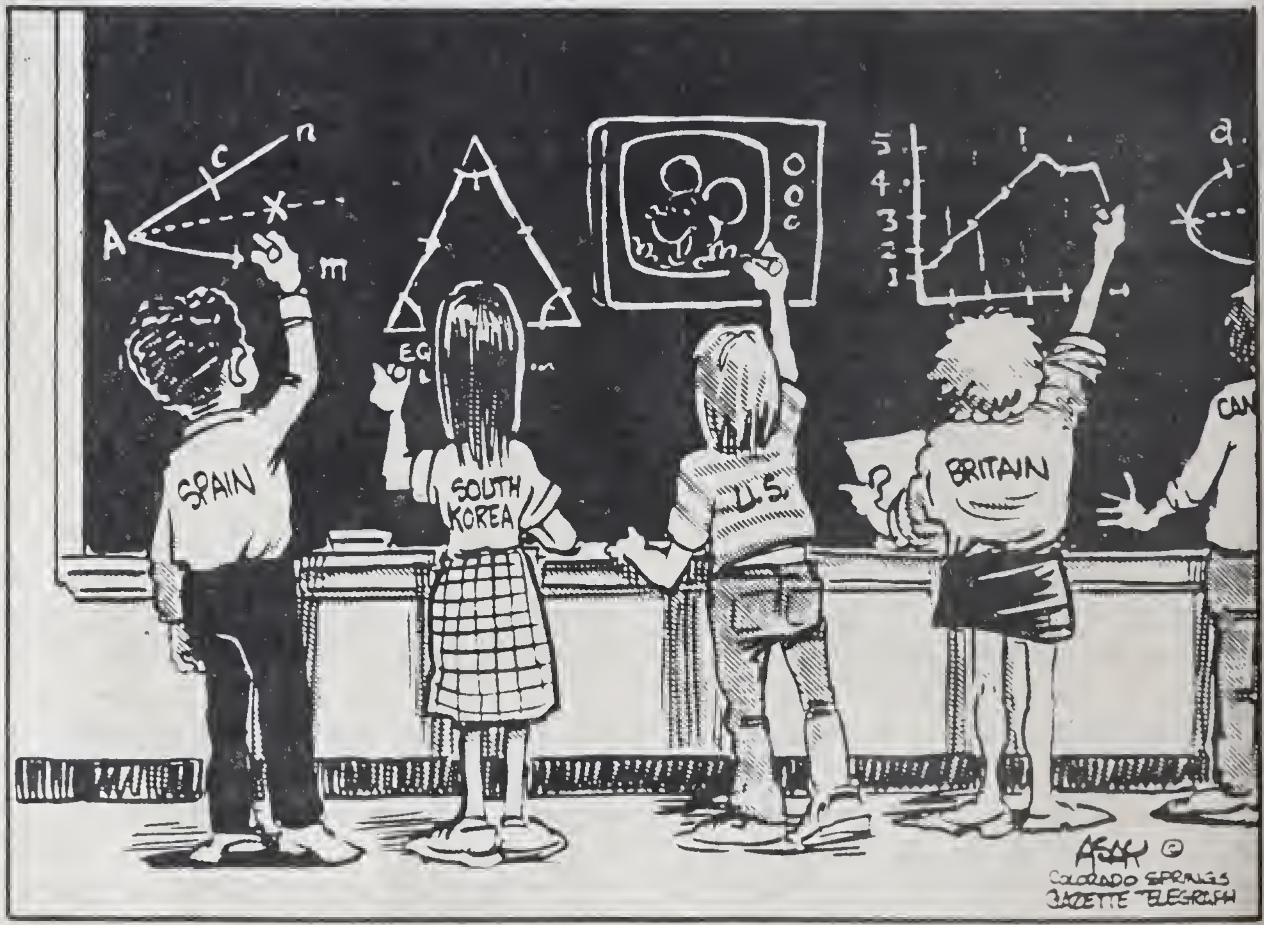
all culturally literate Americans know that Honest Abe was born in a log cabin? Because we all know that in America, one can rise from humble origins to the highest office in the land.

"But," my dogmatic interlocutor counters, "Honest Abe was a WASP. He probably even believed in the Protestant work ethic and other cultural baggage that we just can't assume every American citizen should believe." Hirsch would maintain that hard work and honesty are not necessarily Protestant. No American who wants to rise from obscurity (his own personal log cabin) to fame and fortune should expect to do so without working hard, whatever his religion (or race, or gender...). There is a tendency in the value-neutral mentality to go for the hole and not the doughnut.

Any liberal critic of Hirsch who does not want to be accused of dogmatism will have to somehow deal with Hirsch's observation that recent radical movements in America such as Martin Luther King and civil rights (radical at the time) and the Black Power movement (still radical) were culturally literate in Hirsch's sense. They used rhetoric that inspired by the Declaration of Independence and the Bible, just as Abraham Lincoln did in his Gettysburg Address.

The best time to teach cultural literacy is before high school, when students are still young. As college students, you may be among those who are not prepared to lead a full cultural life. If so, you will have to initiate yourself. Hirsch is a good guide. It may be humiliating to admit to yourself that you are culturally illiterate after 12+ years of schooling, but then it isn't really your fault. Take solace in the fact that the failure of American primary and secondary schools Hirsch identifies is not as profound as the failure of American higher education that Allan Bloom exposes in *The Closing of the American Mind.*

Cultural Literacy is a good preparation for Bloom's book because it introduces in a relatively mild form an idea: individuals may not have within themselves all that is necessary for them to achieve their full potential. They may need authoritative (I did not say authoritarian) institutions (and initiations...) to guide them along the path to individuality. In a sense, this is the fundamental idea behind both books. In *Cultural Literacy*, we learn that unless schools inculcate a national culture in us — we will not be able to communicate with each other well enough fully to realize our respective individualities.



If Hirsch seems paradoxical, Bloom will seem more so. Bloom's basic thesis is that value-neutral education has another legacy besides cultural illiteracy, that of a prevailing sense of moral relativism among the college educated.

Bloom opens his book by writing: "There is one thing a professor can be absolutely certain of: almost every student entering the university believes, or says he believes, that truth is relative." Having taught college students myself, I would add that relativism is so deeply ingrained in most students that they don't even know what relativism, as opposed to objectivism (or science, for that matter), is. It is as if they took it in with their mothers' milk.

WHATEVER THE GOAL OF VALUE-neutral education may have been, the result, argues Bloom, has been the raising of a generation that does not believe that the intellectual life consists of the pursuit of objective truth. This life requires the acceptance of a vigilant and often uncomfortable attitude of self-criticism. While this generation has been taught that cultural egalitarianism opens the mind, in reality it closes it by reducing all cultural perspectives to the level of opinion. Why be concerned about what is merely a matter of opinion? Whatever one happens to like or want is by definition as good as anything else one might happen to like or want, and that is the end of it.

I would expect most college students to intensely dislike what Bloom says. I had the infamous tome under my arm in a bar recently and the waitress—from Duke I think—asked me what I thought of it. I said, with a merely conversational reference to the ponderous title, that it had "opened my mind." She reacted politely, but with no irony whatsoever, that Bloom was "infuriating." Good. At least she is smart enough to understand that the book criticizes her state of mind, and she has read some of it. If she hates it enough, she may be able to remember it long enough to recognize its wisdom.

Don't misunderstand. Bloom is not purposely trying to alienate students. But he does not lie to them about what he is convinced is true, even though it is rather ugly. It would be much easier, and quite convenient, to lie. In this enlightened age of student empowerment, a professor has much to gain and little to lose by telling students what they already think they know. And from the perspective of value-neutralism, what difference would it make?

A good deal of Bloom's work is thus a criticism of prevailing student attitudes about things like love, sex, divorce, musical tastes, gender and race relations. Even when Bloom presents conflicts between supposedly equal cultures and moral positions, he finds that they do not appeal to any objective standards, except the pseudo-standard that there are no objective standards.

To take one illustrative example, Bloom points out that the racial egalitarianism of the young does not spring from the objectively conceived moral principle of natural rights which inspired the Declaration of Independence. But if all views are equal, then where does one get the considerable moral impetus required to reject slavery? The young have achieved "tolerance" without recognizing that this country was in fact founded on certain values that cannot coexist with certain other values.

Bloom finds that, ironically, these same students who are so tolerant of cultural diversity almost all root for the same team when sports aren't the issue. He marvels at the ease with which they have learned such exemplary tolerance while retaining such marvelous homogeneity in their own values, and an almost total ignorance of any others.

A key to understanding Bloom's thought is the section on De Tocqueville. This nineteenth-century French admirer and critic of America noted that in a society where so much emphasis was placed on the freedom of the individual to choose, the effort required to choose authentically would be so great that the majority would choose... not to choose. Public opinion would become the unspoken creed. Do as thy neighbor does.

This natural tendency to uniformity, already strong in so thoroughly democratic a society as ours, becomes irresistible when the schools and the universities cuddle up to it. Do not misunderstand Bloom as "blaming" students themselves for what he criticizes in them. What Bloom does blame is the the prevailing philosophical and ideological currents within American higher education.

If Bloom seems harsh on students, it is only to strike deeper in his critique of their teachers. Unlike the majority of his colleagues, Bloom conceives of institutions as founded on objective truths. These truths, ather than making them authoritarian, enable hem to enter into a dialogue with others that an be liberating for both the individuals and he institutions.

Thus when Bloom is done bashing stulents in the first part of *The Closing of the merican Mind,* ("Students") he lays the roundwork for criticizing their teachers in he second ("Nihilism, American Style"), and noves in for the kill in the last ("The Univerity"). Essentially, he criticizes his colleagues or abandoning the faith (not an improper ord in this context) that together, individuals nd institutions can make progress toward tional, objective principles of cultural, potical and social life by sincerely accepting e search for objective truth. Bloom does not eny that that search may be extremely difflt, especially in the modern era.

Nevertheless we must earnestly continue is search, he would argue, because the only ternative to rational institutions founded on objective truths, is authoritarian institutions based on arbitrary claims.

To what can the individual appeal when his institutions treat him unjustly, if not to objective truth? If he can only appeal to his "right to his own opinion" he may meet with profound indifference. When it is only a test of opinion, the opinion with the most force tends to win. According to the Founding Fathers, when an individual can show that his "natural right" has been violated, then he can justly claim the support of his fellow citizens in his defense. Tolerance and respect for others are not as simple philosophically as students believe.

The second part of *Closing* introduces some of the events of European intellectual history in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries which provided both the philosophical certitudes of the Founding Fathers, and the philosophical doubts which undermine those certitudes. In the third part Bloom chronicles how in the sixties and seventies, American intellectuals, under the influence of modern philosophy, embraced a skepticism profound enough to constitute a betrayal. This robbed the University of its status as an institution in a free society dedicated to the search for objective, not contingent, reality. When Bloom demands that one take a position supported by reason and to hold to it, he is not being authoritarian.

There is a tendency to dismiss Bloom too easily because he likes Plato, who wrote the *Republic*, wherein poets are banished and everyone knows his place. Although there is not a hint of democratic sentiment in the *Republic*, which would be astonishing in an ancient philosopher, it remains a particularly powerful statement of the principle that might does not make right. The truth is, Bloom is genuinely afraid of the tendency to authoritarianism in modern democratic societies that flirt with the kind of total subjectivism that has flourished in our humanities departments for two decades.

Although the last two parts of *Closing* are difficult reading, they are well worth the effort. They expose the dirty laundry of the modern American university that is in desperate need of public washing. At his most dramatic, Bloom reminds us that the prevailing relativism of the American University is strikingly similar to that of the German University before and during the rise of Hitler. German intellectuals had an opportunity to resist Hitler but did not. Bloom argues that this is because they lacked any strong convictions for which they would risk their well-being. Similarly, Bloom does not think Americans should trust American intellectuals, as a group, to defend democratic principles in a political crisis. I suspect that the radical skepticism which has taken root in the American University would not sit well with much of the general public, liberal or conservative, and that this may account for some of the surprisingly intense interest in this best seller.

So if you are a student, the real message from Bloom is like that from Hirsch: the educational institutions you pay for are failing you. If you are concerned enough by his arguments, the thing to do is not to avoid schools, but to look for those teachers who are intellectually secure enough to disagree with you, and conscientious enough to explain their positions in understandable language.

I do not say that you will always find such teachers agreeable and flattering, or that it will always be fun. It won't. The work they assign can be torturous. They will have the courage to stand in judgement of your intellect, and that can be humiliating. At times you must simply submit to their authority. But when I say authority, you now know that I mean their own commitment to the same ideal pursuit of truth to which you should also be committed.

Being a student means accepting a secondary status in many ways, and yet like the tribal boys and girls I vaguely alluded to at the beginning of this essay, you will emerge from your submission better equipped to be an individual. Ω

Earl Nelson was awarded his Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from UNC in 1986.

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute Presents

"Liberalism and Liberal Education"

Dr. R.V. Young, Prof. of English

Wednesday, April 12, 1989 7:00 p.m.

Essays

REFRACTIONS

Conrad X. and Racism

By Anthony Woodlief

I HEARD CONRAD X TILLARD SPEAK IN HAMILton Hall the night of February 17. I was prepared to write a stinging criticism of a member of an organization I consider to be racist, the Nation of Islam. Conrad X, who follows in the footsteps of controversial men such as Elijah Muhammed, Malcolm X, and Louis Farrakhan, was supposed to have been easy prey for my pen.

After all, Elijah Muhammed, founder of the Nation of Islam, was fond of declaring that all whites are devils. Along these same lines, Malcolm X claimed that whites are genetically inferior to blacks. Surely, I thought, anyone who is associated with such racism, who is a believer in black separatism, and who is reportedly much more anti-Semitic than even Jesse Jackson (remember "Hymie Town?"), will be easy to pick apart. I was wrong.

Conrad X is by far one of the best speakers I have ever heard. He delivered a powerful, emotional appeal to young blacks in the audience. He urged them to give back something to their people, to come together and build a strong black community in the face of a "corrupt society bent on destroying black men and women." He also defined six areas in which blacks need to improve in order to build what he called an "independent nation": spirituality, family and community, culture, education, economics, and politics.

Conrad X stressed throughout the evening what he believes to be the divine mission of blacks — to be a strong, independent community that insures freedom, justice, and equality for all of its members. His message was a persuasive one of self-reliance, and in many ways it was very heartening for blacks and whites.

The speech, however, also had undercurrents of racism that occasionally came to the fore. Conrad X is passionately opposed to interracial relationships, and he especially criticized black athletes for having them. He referred to interracial marriage as "genocide", and called on blacks to ostracize those who have intimate relationships with whites.

The ugliest incident of the evening came when one of the three whites in attendance asked why it was wrong for whites and blacks to marry. A woman who identified herself as being from the Black Cultural Center provided her own version of history by replying that white slave traders took black women on their ships only to rape them during their journey and then throw them overboard. This "fact" flies in the face of historical evidence which indicates that women slaves had a higher economic value than men to traders because they could produce children. Throwing them overboard would have been like dumping gold, which was what these men worshipped.

This woman then enlightened us with another tidbit of imaginative history by saying that the Civil War was fought just as much for slave owners to keep the black women for raping as to keep black men for planting. And I thought only a few idiots north of Virginia still deceive themselves with the self-serving notion that the Civil War was fought to free the slaves!

From these fanciful facts this woman concluded smugly that whites have no business marrying blacks now, and warned all the blacks in the audience that such marriages are dangerous. Apparently she believes that all white men have a genetic flaw that makes them want to rape black women.

It scares me to think that this woman is connected with the BCC, which I regard as a very respectable and valuable part of UNC (despite my opposition to funding it from student fees). She appears to have her own racist agenda born of ignorance that has no place here.

Despite having to momentarily endure this woman's garbage, I am thankful I attended. For the first time in my life, I really began to understand the horror of slavery, and of being a minority in a world of hatred. Conrad X told us to imagine being torn away from our families, seeing our mothers and sisters raped, being shackled, and put on a dark ship with no idea of where we were going, or even if we would live. I imagined the sounds of children crying out for mothers and fathers who would never again answer. I imagined the smell of vomit and death on an overloaded slave ship in which half of the passengers would die before ever seeing daylight again. I could hear the cracks of whips and the cries of once proud men, doomed with their children and their children's children to never again be free.

Finally, I saw in my mind a man hanging by his neck from a tree, with a cross burning in the background. I could see this man's face clearly, this man who had children, friends, a home. I realized that this could have been me. It could have been any of us that are white, if our skin color had been different.

I understood when Conrad X called UNC a "white man's school." He said that the same white men that beat and raped and killed blacks in North Carolina built a school, and now they le blacks come to it. He quoted Elijah Muhammed, who said tha "if a man will not treat you right, he will not teach you right." With this, Conrad X told the blacks in the audience that they could not send their children to the white man's schools. He told them that they had been duped into believing that if they can fi into white America, they will be all right. He compared the UNC basketball team to slaves going out and working for the master, and he compared blacks who think they have "good jobs" in corporate America to the "house nigger" who though he had a good job when all the rest of the slaves were out in the fields.

I asked Conrad X how he could speak of things such as freedom, justice, and equality when his message, which referred to Malcolm X and all whites as "the white man," was as racist and separatist as it appeared to be. His response was typical of the politicians against whom he had railed so eloquently earlier. First he told me that he had said nothing but the truth, and that whites just didn't like to hear it. He then defended the way Elijah Muhammed labeled whites as devils by implying that it was a necessary exaggeration. He reverted to more racist generalizations by saying that Muhammed's exaggerations were necessary because "you whites" have such high opinions of "yourselves." It seems that his racist remarks were truth when convenient, and exaggerations when inconvenient. These racist generalizations are a disappointing flaw in so impressive an intellectual as Conrad X. But I can understand why he thinks the way he does.

I wish I were merely reading this instead of writing it. Then I could simply write Conrad X off as a racist black separatist, and remain secure in my own white male perceptions and opinions. But I can't. Try as I might to condemn him for his beliefs, I am unable to shake off one nagging thought. If I were black, what would I do? Faced with a history of enslavement, brutality, injustice, and inequality perpetrated by whites, and faced with a white majority that today in many ways is just as racist as their forefathers, would I be any different? Would you?

It is too easy to condemn someone who is a racist in the face of racism as a hypocrite, and it is easy to scoff at black separatist movements as foolish. But given the record so far, maybe it sn't. Conrad X scares me because he is intelligent and his ideas re powerful, despite the fact that they go against my beliefs. He cares me because I know that if I were black, I probably wouldn't be any different from him. I can certainly disagree with Conrad X —but I can't blame him. Ω

nthony Woodlief is a junior Political Science major who ctually wrote this article. Honest.

One for One: Not a Bad Start

y Lee Newcomb

While I am not one who generally condones government terference in the free market, I have to give President Bush edit. His administration was barely two weeks old when he abbed the proverbial bull by the horns and started the process end the crisis in the Savings and Loan industry. The plan he oposed after a week-end pow-wow with his top advisors at mp David is the best solution to cure that ravaged industry. e president's proposal has five components, each addressing ajor problem. The result will be a drastic restructuring of the ancial industry.

To begin with, the plan calls for a $50 billion (that's 0,000,000,000) bond issue to provide capital for the bail out. S&L industry will cover the principle on these bonds, and Federal Government — which means the taxpayers — will cover the interest. The estimated cost to the public is approximately $5 billion. The government will also take over 350 insolvent thrifts to prevent further losses.

Also included is a proposal to bring the regulatory agency of the S&L's, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, into the Treasury Department. This is intended to eliminate the preferential treatment Savings and Loans receive because the members of the Board are usually former S&L executives. The insurance corporation of the S&L's will also lose its autonomy. The Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) will be placed under the management of the banking industry's insurer, the Federal Depositors' Insurance Corporation (FDIC). This essentially means the regulations for each industry would be set by the same organization. Both will pay higher insurance rates but the funds will remain separate. Each industry will pay for its own problems.

The final cog of the President's plan calls for $50 million to be allocated to the Justice Department in order to investigate those S&L managers who have made bad loans and in many cases committed outright fraud. The money is also to be used for tighter scrutiny of the practices of these institutions, hopefully eliminating any possibility of a recurrence.

Bush's plan calls for no great excursion into the realm of the market. It does, however, prevent a major catastrophe. Federal depositor's insurance was established to give stability to the financial industry after the massive bank runs of the late 20's and early 30's. If we sit back and let these institutions fail, people will lose confidence in the system. This will cause many of them to pull their money out of the banks. We will become a nation of mattress stuffers.

Mr. Bush's plan becomes even more appealing when contrasted with alternative plans. The most ludicrous of these was proposed by the Free Market's worst enemy, Ralph Nader. Among other things, Mr. Nader calls for a five point increase in the marginal income tax rate for the wealthiest 1% of the population. The extra money would go towards the bail-out. He also proposes a .5% tax on stock transactions. Nader goes along with the increased insurance fees, coupled with excise taxes on junk bonds, LBO financing, and mortgages on "luxury homes." According to Nader, each of these fees would raise $10 billion. He also wants to use the bail out to revamp the system and make mortgages "more accessible" to low-income families. He and his supporters seem to believe, as usual, that "the rich" should pay for it. I would like to remind Mr. Nader that the rich have far less to lose if the S&L's collapse. It is the poor he works so hard to help who would benefit the most from keeping the industry afloat.

The President's plan is bold, decisive, and most of all effective. Let's put aside our ideological reservations and press for its implementation. This issue is clear cut. We should solve this problem and move on to more important things. Ω

Lee Newcomb is a Freshman Economics and Political Science major.

Whatever Comes to Mind

By The Walrus

ROUND IN THE SADDLE, HE VITUPES AGAIN. THE Walrus returns to grouse.

'Twas brillig and the slithy toves etc.The CIAAC has received their lumps. Hey guys, isn't it good to know you're running a risk, so you feel more like freedom fighters? So it's just your GPA and scholastic record; you didn't come to college to worry about such inconsequential details, not when there are *real* things to worry about. Could you worry about them out of hearing and sight? The Walrus *did* come to get involved with scholastic affairs. Walrusii are into social activism — read this as effective, well-planned, and thought-provoking — and *not* into for-the-show-and-loud and useless to boot. Publicity for the cause, not for the causers. Walrusii dream a lot.

Did gyre and gimble in the wabe etc. Sour grapes. The Black Cultural Center. Temporary? We hadn't noticed any plans to tear down the Union. Its own building? Once again the Walrus asks about the Red, Yellow, and White Cultural Centers. Don't say the whole campus is a white culture center, it just evades the issue (and ignores a lot of varied student presence), and there isn't such a title up on wrought iron arches over the entrance to the campus, or on a door in the Union. Use the space you've got. You might want more, you might even *need* more: show you *deserve* more. You shouldn't get it just because you exist, or because you desire prestige for your cause, particularly when it is questionable whether you are addressing your cause or your ego. See above concerning for-the-show, under CIAAC.

In keeping with the give-us-a-building-at-student-expense, the Walrus offers up the CAA. You know, like in a sacrifice. Paid athletics is already a kudzu (a vining weed that takes over and strangles) on this campus, and they want us to expand into the intramurals? Urk. Double urk. Icky even.

All mimsy were the borogoves etc. Concerning bits and pieces of the election CRITIC, here comes militant-middle-of-the-road-dammit. One of the Walrus's favorite places, right on the yellow, no-passing line. We noticed the loudness of 'not-a-jot' on Vippy-skippy and Quaylude. If you can't praise them, don't burn them? Pfui. Too much gratuitous attacks of *Democratitis*, the desire to attack someone for their affiliation with the Democratic party and not their actions, and the avoidance of same for Republicans. Related to *Liberalitis*.

All told the Walrus was disappointed with the election. One of them was allowed to win. There wasn't a 'none of the above' for the truly discerning.

Florida is getting better in sanitation priorities. Walrusii approve of the removal of rabids. Speaking of mass murderers, maybe the Federal Government will do something about the one posing as a protector of constitutional rights. Yes, that's right, the Walrus has little use for the NRA. To them we say — Patrick Purdy.

Campus issues. Quit walking on my grass, quit throwing cigarettes on my walks, and quit writing dull graffiti on my bathroom walls. Interesting graffiti shall be praised. As would any miracle.

Best bit of it this week: "I sit upon a man's back, choking him and forcing him to carry me, but I tell everyone and myself that I am very sorry for him and would do anything to lighten his load — except for getting off his back." From Tolstoy, we believe. No idea where. Walrusii tend to avoid long, dull novels. Particularly with long unpronounceable Russian names. We prefer short unpronounceable Chinese names. We leave the Russian ones to the Carpenter.

While we're on the subject of graffiti, let's mention the proliferation of poly-posters. If you must put the damn things up, take them down the day after the elections. The Walrus will keep count and remind you. Maybe deposit them on your front step. If you put them where they can't be reached a complaint will be issued to you and whoever it takes to see them disappear.

The Walrus now wishes to thank all the fine people who work to pick up the trash that unthinking slobs deposit daily, who repair the lovely walks, and in general make this place green. Fellow travellers, go to the Arboretum, walk the walks, and look at the buildings (avoid Hamilton). The thing to do after reading the various student publications, just to get the junk, the poison, and the sheer idiocy out of your system. Yes, and the grousing too. Ω

Those who don't understand the ancient tongue spoken by the Walrusii should write them at their igloo.

The FDA's Red Tape: Bureaucratic Homicide

By Andrew Cohen

CONSIDER A WORLD WHERE YOU COULDN'T just march into a bookstore to purchase a novel of your choosing. Instead, because of the potential danger of "unsafe" ideas, all books had to be approved by the government. Publishers were required to submit the ideas in their books to a long and expensive series of government-regulated tests to determine any adverse effects. Books that then received approval were marketed to bookstores owned by individuals licensed and registered by the government. But bookstores can't sell you just any books "over the counter" (except cookbooks); you must first go to a licensed and registered literary scholar who would assess your reading needs and provide you with the prescription you request. Without this piece of paper, you could not legally obtain the recent release from Dr. Ruth.

Obviously, such a scenario would involve the violation of numerous liberties belonging to the buyers, sellers and writers of books. Yet why is it that we permit the government to regulate our lives in just such a fashion when it comes to pharmaceuticals? "No one has ever died over a book," might come the response. Really? Consider the Bible, *The Communist Manifesto*, or the *The Scarsdale Diet*. So we might wonder why drugs shouldn't be as unregulated as books.

Pharmaceuticals came under significant regulatory control in 1938 when, in response to the sulfanilanide mishap which cost the lives of over 100 people, Congress passed the Food, rug, and Cosmetic Act which established government review f all new drugs. Pharmaceutical firms were now required to ıbmit a New Drug Application (NDA) which was to specify ie intended use of a drug and show it to be safe when properly dministered. If the FDA did not generate any specific safety oncerns within 180 days, the drug was automatically approved.

These regulations appeared to have no adverse impact on evelopments in the field. The number of new drugs reaching arket grew to record levels in the 1950s. From 1938 to 1962, evelopment times preparing for the NDA were approximately vo years. Approval would usually be pending for seven onths. This all changed, however, after 1962.

In 1962, the 1938 Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was nended after the discovery of the dangers of Thalidomide. hought the drug had never been marketed, it had been released ovisionally in accordance with the terms of the 1938 law. It as soon learned that pregnant women in Europe who had taken e drug were giving birth to deformed infants. Consequently, e NDA for Thalidomide was rescinded. The government then came concerned over unsafe pharmaceuticals and thus ssed the 1962 amendments.

The amendments now required not just proof of safety but so of "effectiveness." New drugs had to be submitted to a ries of tests stringently monitored by the government. Furr, the provision for automatic approval without positive tion by the FDA was removed. During this entire process, the A was also able at any time to cancel the studies if they were emed ineffective.

One might charitably interpret the intentions of the islation's authors by saying that they sought to protect the ıblic interest." As Ted Weiss, a congressman from New rk City remarked late last year, without regulation of the lustry, we "would open the American public to great danger being killed by dangerous drugs." Upon cursory examination the record, however, it seems that such regulations have ely been responsible for more deaths and needless suffering n there would have been otherwise.

In a study of the effect of FDA regulations commissioned by American Enterprise Institute, Sam Peltzman reports that number of new drugs reaching the market since 1962 has lined by approximately 60 percent. Peltzman determined development time for new drugs has lengthened from two rs to anywhere from four to eight years. Other studies have wn that with the stricter regulations came an increased cost compliance, multiplying the total average funds needed to elop a new drug and bring it to market by over *100 times*. As sult of increased regulations, 70 percent of all new drugs hit ket in foreign countries before they do in the United States, often precede American approval by months or years.

here is a hidden tragedy to the Thalidomide disaster, one h goes beyond those who suffered from that particular ap. As a result of the 1962 amendments, drug approval is hostage to the bureaucratic self-interest of FDA administrs. A government official faced with approving a new drug make two very different errors: allow an unsafe substance marketed or withhold approval of a beneficial drug. In the former case, the victims are especially visible and the official's reputation is destroyed. From the official's perspective, it is best to err on the side of caution and withhold approval of a drug. But during the time approval was withheld, hundreds if not thousands of nameless individuals could have lost their lives. An example in point is any AIDS cure; for every two-month regulatory delay, 1,000 people die. But that's okay, the people who otherwise would have been saved are never revealed and the official's reputation and job are preserved.

So what once took two and one-half years from preclinical testing to approval now takes 7-10 years and costs significantly more. Not only are people being denied potentially life-saving treatment, but as a result of increased costs, pharmaceutical firms are less able to devote resources to developing cures for rare diseases. Again, nameless people with ailments that constitute "small markets" are dying each year because of drugs that would-have-been but never were as a result of government regulation. One example is the drug isoprinosine, an "immune booster" manufactured by Newport Pharmaceuticals. When the approval was finally granted in 1985, the drug couldn't be marketed because Newport was unable to afford the $2,000 per patient per year needed to comply with government regulations. By contrast, a year's supply of the drug cost $300 from Mexico. So if you have a rare disease and represent a market that won't make up for the $60 million dollar development costs (on average) for new pharmaceuticals, be consoled in your death by the public-minded mentalities of Ted Weiss and FDA administrators who wish to protect you from "unsafe" drugs.

As always with government inefficiency, a private alternative exists. Consider that it is not in the interest of pharmaceutical firms to market unsafe or ineffective drugs. A sound conception of legal liability would hold drug companies accountable for any negligence. We may also recognize the importance of insurance companies in constructing an unregulated market. No insurance company would reimburse a patient for the use of drugs not adequately tested by reputable laboratories. No insurance company would provide a doctor with malpractice insurance if he or she often prescribed unsafe drugs. Similarly, drug companies could not operate without complying with certain industry-established standards, nor could they retain insurance if they had a habit of marketing drugs the like of Thalidomide. In effect, an unregulated market would establish its own private, self-regulating mechanisms that would achieve an equilibrium between safety and optimum creation of new drugs.

Moreover, risky drugs could be marketed using some system of "informed consent" whereby the patient would acknowledge in writing the potential hazards of an incompletely tested substance. Such a system would end the counterproductive government "censorship" of the pharmaceutical field and would respect the liberties of drug companies, doctors, and patients. So if the writers, publishers, and readers of new books are able to decide what constitutes good literature, why not allow doctors, patients, and drug companies to decide what represents a good pharmaceutical? Ω

Andrew I. Cohen is a graduate student in philosophy.

Basic Education Program

(continued from page 14)

cow that he won't support its abolition. He has only proposed delaying further BEP funding so that he can institute merit pay for teachers. In a recent address, Marting intimated that he might support increased school choices for parents, but was no more specific than that.

The citizens of North Carolina, both young and old, are being ripped off by the Basic Education Program. We would be much better served if we dumped the BEP. Governor Martin's office should publicly identify the REAL problems our students face, and demonstrate how the BEP can't solve them. Then offer meaningful options (vouchers, for example) so that parents, teachers, and administrators can get the most of the time they spend schooling North Carolina's children.

Rick Henderson is the Senior Editor of the Critic and has been known to author subversive, unsigned Critical Eye pieces.

Animals Deserve Rights

(continued from page 4)

excessively cruel and unnecessary. The Food and Drug Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency have announced that they no longer regard the LD:50 as an essential test. Despite this, corporations continue to use both tests in lieu of alternatives because they are the most inexpensive way to "test" products in order to prevent lawsuits.

One of the most famous examples used by the research community to support animal research is the development of the polio vaccine. The irony here is that this is an excellent example in which animal research failed. When the first polio vaccine was developed from living monkeys, humans died, along with thousands of non-human animals. The breakthrough came when Ender grew the polio virus in human tissue culture. For this he received the Nobel Prize.

Penicillin, which was not developed through the use of animal models, is highly toxic to guinea pigs, and aspirin is toxic to cats. Had either one been tested on these species, we would not have either. On the other hand, thalidomide, which was responsible for thousands of birth defects in humans, was extensively tested on many species of non-human animals. The drug was marketed in Germany after three years of animal tests. During the longest criminal trial in Germany's criminal history, a long line of medical authorities, including the 1945 Nobel Laureate bio-chemist Ernst Boris Chain, co-discoverer of penicillin, testified that generally accepted animal tests could never be conclusive for human beings. The thalidomide example is not isolated; many other drugs have produced severe side effects not anticipated by "thorough" animal research.

No one argues that animal research has not produced valuable knowledge. This, however, does not mean that the same knowledge, and perhaps more, could not have been developed through different means. It is naive to claim that animal research is the only way to advance human knowledge simply because it is the only way we have tried.

This line of argument, however, misses the point. There still remains the ethical question: Benefit or no benefit, pain or no pain, on what moral principle do we ground our right to routinely use millions of healthy, unconsenting fellow mammals? The dominant pro vivisection argument is utilitarian. By utilitarian I mean the idea that morality is determined by the consequences of an action. Utilitarians believe that the ends do justify the means; therefore non-human animals are just tools to be exploited by humans.

This view is difficult to refute, because if you believe that ends justify means, then my argument will fall on deaf ears. However, there are many examples that show common morality does not allow for the justification of means by ends. For example, the American police are not allowed to torture criminals in order to get information, even if that information might save another's life. Even though Middle East terrorists are trying to bring about the existence of a unified, peaceful world, this does not justify the destruction of property and the murde they commit for their cause. This view of morality is ingrained in ou childhood training. Remember when your parents told you that resorting to violence was not the way to solve a problem? This is true is because even if it would solve the problem, violence is wrong.

Likewise, the use of non-human animals in research is an unjustified, no matter what the results. Non-human animals are living creatures with a sense of awareness, not simply resources to be reaped fro the earth.

Another argument used by vivisectionists is that certain rights accrue to humans simply because they are human. Thus, the needs o humanity supercede the rights of non-human animals. This view i commonly referred to as speciesism, which is a term used to describ those who are biased towards the members of their own species, an against the interests of other species. It is actually this idea of speciesism that is ingrained into our culture, just as racism was ingrained i the culture of pre-Civil War America. Speciesism, like racism an sexism, relies totally upon biological factors to determine mora superiority. Once more, I have to make an assumption, which is tha you consider racism and sexism to be immoral. If you do not, then m argument will again fall upon deaf ears.

I concede that there have been many advances in bio-medica science as a result of animal research. I can understand why peopl would hesitate to support a position that is completely opposed to th methods by which several wonderful drugs have been developed However, as I stated earlier, there are many alternatives. In light o these alternatives, the question once again comes back to "do the end justify the means?"

Furthermore, who is making the moral judgements for society? contend that moral judgements should be made by society. Apparentl the research community feels otherwise, for they question the rights o others to question their practices. Right on this campus, lab faciliti are off limits to interested students and community members, even b appointment. The Institutional Care and Use Committee, which exis primarily to review research protocols and ensure "humane" treatme of non-human animals, is closed to the public. Any informatio generated during these meetings, including the minutes, is not available to the public. *Frankenstein* was written to point out that humanit is in serious jeopardy if we place complete confidence in the hands o scientists who consider themselves above morality. Vivisectionis make up only part of the whole of society, and it is very important th society judges the actions of its members to determine their moralit Ideally, morals dictate that ends do not justify means. There wi always be some deviation by individuals, but the systematic butche ing of 70 to 100 million non-human animals a year by vivisectionis is not a deviation. The practice of vivisection is immoral, and we mu try to look beyond our own prejudices and to act honestly on the mora upon which society is based.

Chris Brannon is a Freshman Political Science major who claims be a Republican.

A Less Taxing Financial Aid

TIS' THE SEASON TO FILL OUT FORMS. AS THE APRIL deadline approaches Americans will begin speaking in a strange nguage about 1040's, W-2's, and some dreaded creatures named hedules A, C, E, SE, ... *ad nauseam*. For most students, however, tax ason is little more than a brief inconvenience. Thirty minutes alone th a 1040EZ and you're finished. But wait! Before you leave for Ft. uderdale, don't forget to grab ur 1040 and complete an FAF so u can take your SAR to the FAO nancial Aid office) before the rch filing deadline. Otherwise u will be lucky to get your financi aid check before Christmas.

> ***There is something wrong with a financial aid system that rewards sloth.***

If you plan to receive a federal, state or private grant, scholarship, o oan you have your own pile of forms to compile and complete. But b ore you put pen to paper, you will need to make sure that you haven't s ed too much money this year (that will count against you). If you h e, spend it. Oh, and if you worked all last summer and during the C istmas break: hang your head in shame. You've probably made too n ch money to be eligible for a grant or scholarship — especially if y were working at a good job (i.e.. one where they let you put in 50+ h rs a week). But don't feel too bad if you're not eligible for as stance. The guy living next to you, who didn't work, appreciates it. Y see you've made a contribution to his financial aid award (you did n your taxes this year, didn't you?).

There is something wrong with a financial aid system that rewards sl h. Idle students are "compensated" with grants and scholarships wh e working students are often only eligible for loans. And woe to th e enterprising young students who "take a semester off" to work fu time. They won't be eligible for aid next year. There must be a be r way.

T IS TIME FOR LEGISLATORS TO REEXAMINE THE cu ent approach to financial aid. Under the present system most fin cial aid is "need based." This is appropriate to be sure, but we sh ld be careful not to discourage self-reliance in the process. The ac al that I am, I would submit that it is good to encourage students o y their own way. How? Well for one thing we could pay students nc money.

lo, I'm not recommending a increase in the minimum wage. I am ug esting, however, that independent students, and dependent stu-der from poor families, should be tax exempt. Completely tax exc pt.

ow much of a difference would this make? Well if, for example, st ent works part time during the year, say 15-20 hours a week, and ull ne during the summer, she can reasonably expect to make around $45).00 a year. At this income level she will be safe from the IRS, but th tax collectors will be waiting in the wings.

f her $4500.00 a whopping $675 (15%) will go to the Social Sec ity trust fund. Then there are the boys in Raleigh. Rest assured tha ey're going to get their hands on some of our student's 4500 Their share, incidently, comes to $98.00 — thank you very Another $121.50 will be sent to North Carolina in the form of loyment insurance. Of course unemployment insurance is a hing, but not for students. They can rarely meet the "available oking for work" test required to receive benefits. Someone who rk full time during the Summer, for example, will not be able to wor ull time in the Fall and thus is ineligible. Then there are local taxes on personal property, sales taxes, phone taxes, and ... well let's not get too carried away here. The last thing we would want is to let a student keep *all* the money she earns.

If, however, students with a demonstrated financial need did not have to pay social security taxes, state taxes, and unemployment insurance it would go a long way toward meeting their financial needs. In the case of our mythical student above, she would have an extra $894.50 each year (enough money to pay tuition and fees for an entire academic year at UNC).

Such a system would be much more efficient. Cash direct to the student, from their employer, for services rendered. No financial aid bureaucracy. A line or two on the W-4 form is all the paperwork we would need. It would also encourage students to be more self-reliant and send an unambiguous message that America still believes in working for what you get. Ω

Bob loves to tell tall tales about his days in the Air Force.

So You Want To Be a Journalist?

Scholarships are now available for youthful journalists at the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C.

The NJC, established in 1977 to help correct imbalances in the media, trains young people in the basic skills of journalism, within a context of traditional values.

Highlights of the program include:

- Location on Capitol Hill
- Three 12-week sessions annually (summer, fall, winter)
- Practical experience with newspapers, magazines, columnists, news services
- $1,200 scholarship
- Assistance with housing location
- Seminars with working journalists and public officials
- Job placement services

If you are interested in pursuing a career in journalism and would like further information about the NJC, contact M. Stanton Evans, National Journalism Center, 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 2000s. Phone: 202-544-1333.

The Institute for Humane Studies
&
The Carolina Critic Society
Present

Economics & Ethics: The New Liberal Case for Laissez Faire

by

Dr. Howard Baetjer

**The Claude R. Lambe Fellow at
the Center for the Study of Market Processes
at George Mason University**

Thursday, March 30
7:30 p.m.
Room 209 Student Union

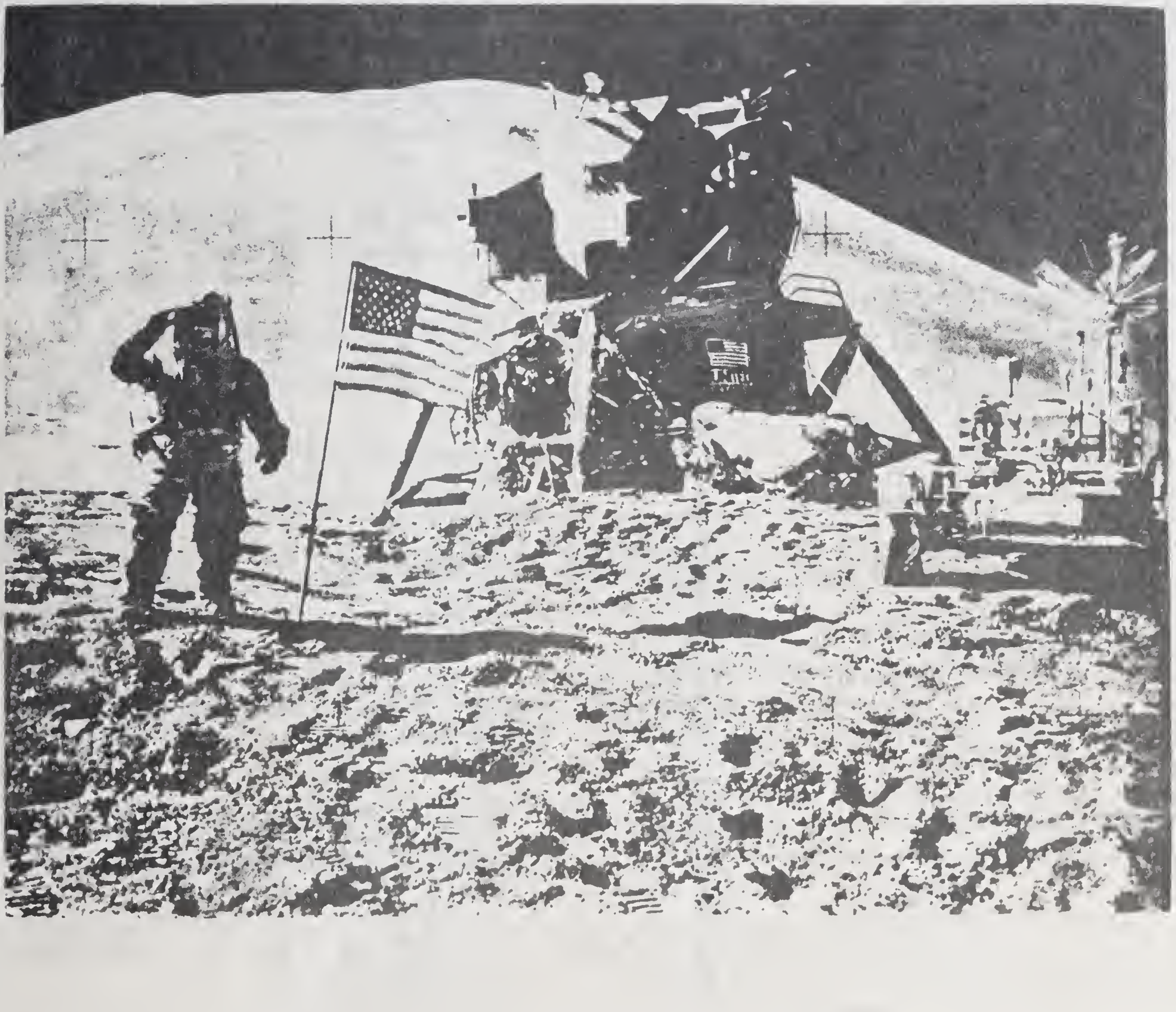
FC373/ U2cr

Debate: National Service Corps

Vol. 2, No. 8
April 1989

The CAROLINA CRITIC

Psychology • Psychiatry • Mommy • Tyranny • Sausage



Lost In Space?

Looking at the U.S. space program

The
CAROLINA CRITIC
A Student Journal of Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., Box 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group, although we are very sociable. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and art are welcome. Opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necesssarily reflect those of the editorial staff. This journal is dedicated to the proposition that ideas matter, and that our ideas matter more.
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That's all folks.

IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Critic Debate:** *National Service Corps*
Rick Henderson and Bob Lukefahr.

5 **Correspondence**
Garraud Etienne calls us names... Chris Osborn is taken to task...

8 **The Critical Eye**
A visit to Burger King, CIA revisited, a barbecue free America, & the Minimum Employment law...
Across the Bows
The Carolina Pork Barrel
Clipboard
Rattling the Cages
Critic Almanac

17 **Riding the Mommy Track**
Channing Rouse explores the options.

19 **What They Didn't Teach You in Psych 10**
Jeff Ensley takes full responsiblity.

22 **Textbook Tyranny**
Today's schoolbook is lacking in values.

24 **Cover Story:** ***Lost In Space?***
Jaynes & Lowrey evaluate NASA, etc.

28 **In the Zoo:** ***Defund the* Yackety Yack**
Help Wanted: Advertising Reps.

30 **The World Stage:** ***NATO and* Glasnost**
Gorby courts a receptive Europe.

31 **The Faculty Forum:** *Intellectual Rot*
Dr. Sidney Hook.

34 **Essays**
Lee Martin on tort liability... Newcomb on Newt... Bryan Wells in Africa... Charles Murray's new book reviewed...

39 **Altered State:** *Davis' Democrats*
Rick Henderson on the back page.

Should the U.S. Establish A National Service Corps?

ay — Rick Henderson

IN THE NOVEM-, 1988 issue of the TIC (p. 22), Bob kefahr wrote an excel- t column advocating , mostly private-sec- initiatives designed to lace government stu- t loans and grants. He ortunately also called a national job corps would allow under- ileged students to ex- nge labor on govern- nt projects for college ding.

The Democratic dership Council, a up of moderates and servatives in Con- s, recently proposed n a program. Their National Civilian ps (NCC) would re- e government loans grants with a national ice program. Those apply for a grant or loan would work one year in civilian service $10,000 voucher, or serve two years in the military for a $24,000 cher. These vouchers could be used for college or as a down nent on a home.

While Lukefahr correctly points out that qualified students need a to earn money for college, and that there is no such thing as a right free college education, establishing the NCC would be a mistake. , the program allows state and local governments to determine participating youth would be employed. There is no guarantee that enlistees would do any more useful work than that done by the Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps, in which workers dug les and then filled them up again. Makework programs such as this t teach job skills, they don't provide valued goods or services, and are a huge waste of taxpayers' money.

Next, this program would be ludicrously expensive. Dr. dman's Law (that's David Friedman, not his dad, Milton) states: government activity costs at least four times more than if the same were done by the private sector. John Pucciano, president of the ciation of Independent Colleges and Schools, reports that the will cost taxpayers about $5 billion a year and will assist about 00 students. Current federal loans and grants serve over 4 million nts and cost $8 billion. So for the NCC to help 4 million students uld cost at least $20 billion!

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Yea — Bob Lukefahr

MANY CAROLINA students seem to believe that they have the "right" to a college education. They are wrong. As I have frequently argued in these pages, America owes its youth an opportunity to earn a degree — not a free ride. Recently, the Democratic Leadership Conference (DLC) recommended replacing grants and federally guaranteed student loans with something called a National Civilian Corps (NCC). While I have serious reservations about the DLC's plan, I do think it is a step in the right direction.

First something about the specifics of the plan: young people who choose to enter the NCC will be required to spend one year working for their state or local government in exchange for a $10, 000 voucher which can be used either for a college education or as a down payment on a house. Those who choose military service instead will receive a $24,000 voucher after two years of service. The intent of the DLC's plan is to eliminate most (if not all) guaranteed student loans and federal grants.

Now this program has some obvious flaws. There is a danger that the federal government will use it as an excuse to fund unnecessary projects. It will probably encourage the federal bureaucracy to meddle even more in the affairs of state and local governments. Many view it as only the first step in creating a *mandatory* civilian service corp complete with uniforms and conscription.

Additionally, it will be expensive. The year-long commitment will discourage many would-be students. Its ranks will likely be filled by the poor, and it will do nothing to help the infamous teenage mother who can hardly leave her child for a year. In short, the NCC is not perfect, and it is certainly no panacea. Nevertheless, the program has considerable merit.

Many of today's high school students don't believe they will ever have the opportunity to attend college. Even a subsidized education at a state supported university seems prohibitively expensive to those on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder.

Tragically, this perception that higher education is inaccessible,

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Yea — Bob Lukefahr

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stifles the desire for academic excellence, and deprives the nation of one of its most valuable resources — innovative young minds. One of the most compelling arguments for the NCC is that it will do much to change this perception.

By providing a means of financing which is available to everyone, the NCC will debunk forever the myth that only those with money have access to college. The effect that such a program can have on expectations, and the import of such a change, should not be underestimated.

Another important feature of the NCC is its emphasis on self-reliance. While many students will continue to rely on the government for educational assistance, at least under the DLC's plan they will be expected to give something in return. Again, the pedagogical effect of this should not be underestimated. Congress is sending a message to the less fortunate that is loud and clear: we will help you only after you are willing to help yourself.

Not surprisingly, this program has a host of detractors. Many on the political left regard any work-for-tuition program as unfair. They argue that it will force poor people to work their way through college while the rich enjoy the advantages of a privileged background. So what. There is no shame in being poor, and there is certainly no shame in earning tuition money. Giving a bunch of underprivileged young people an opportunity for a better life is not unfair, it is noble. This entire argument sounds like nothing more than old fashioned envy to me.

A more substantive argument against the NCC is that it will move more money into the hands of government bureaucrats who will busy themselves inventing jobs. While this is an unfortunate possibility, it is not inevitable. Corp members *can* be put to work at jobs which need to be done anyway. Contrary to views of some Critic staff members, most Americans do believe that there are legitimate services provided by government. The challenge is to insure that the NCC is only used to provide these legitimate services.

Another objection to the creation of an NCC is its projected cost. Figures range from $5 billion to a staggering $20 billion annually. If the DLC's plan were implemented in its current form, it is likely that the price tag would be close to these estimates. Two things can be done, however, to reduce the cost.

First, the voucher should only be redeemable for *education* expenses. Funding higher education is an investment which will help insure that America remains competitive.The government should not, however, be in the business subsidizing the purchase of a house. If, after completing the program, a person decides he doesn't want to go to college, he should be allowed to transfer the voucher to another person who does.

Second, the plan should be only a part of a comprehensive education financing reform program. At the same time Congress should also institute tax-free Individual Education Accounts, make college student's income tax-exempt, and develop long-term tax incentives that encourage businesses to finance their employee's education. But for those students that can't take advantage of these other programs, the NCC will provide a welcome alternative.

Finally, to those who warn that creation of the NCC will actually discourage some students I say, good. If the hard work makes a few of our young people think twice about attending college then we've accomplished something grand. I hope that the program *does* weed out the slothful while encouraging the diligent. If so it will be money well spent. The last thing America needs is more lazy professionals who believe the government owes them a living. Ω

Bob, will you please, please, please stop telling stories about your days in the Air Force — or was that the Navy?

Nay — Rick Henderson

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Also, one element of the NCC is available right now: college money for military enlistees. You have probably seen the commercial for the New G.I. Bill, in which teenagers sit in a diner and listen to Jack tell them how they can earn college money by serving in the Armed Forces. This is a perk available to enlistees now: why do we need another bureaucracy to supervise a redundant program?

Finally, the NCC would be an easy way to introduce one of Gary Hart's "New Ideas:" mandatory national service. Knowing Bob Lukefahr, he probably opposes mandatory service, but Hart, Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia (a key sponsor of the NCC), and our friends at the *Daily Tar Heel* think it's wonderful to force every teenager to volunteer (interesting choice of terms) to serve their country.

For whatever reason they give, from the "need" for patriotism, to the "injustice" of only requiring the disadvantaged to join the NCC, to the wish to instill a "sense of national duty, just as they do in Europe," mandatory national slavery is the greatest thing since sliced bread for this crowd. Frankly, folks, mandatory service stinks.

You don't inspire patriotism and duty by pointing a gun at someone's head and sending him to a youth labor camp. And, to paraphrase columnist Richard Reeves, the original idea was that America was *different* from Europe. Mandatory service would not produce anything of use to the marketplace; it would only tell America's teenagers that Uncle Sam's needs were more important than their own.

So how do we help the unwealthy provide for college? Bob had some good ideas. Let students' earning be tax-free; allow tax-free savings accounts for college expenses; and establish incentives for businesses to pay for their employees' college educations.

If these are such hot ideas, then why aren't they in place now? Partly because the institutional incentives to encourage such savings don't exist.

I also think that the very existence of government grants and loans to students discourages the private sector from developing alternatives. As long as American businesses believe that Uncle Moneybags in Washington will take care of lower-income students (even at exorbitant expense), then businesses will feel little compunction to help them.

Every qualified student should have the opportunity to earn money for college. But let's not saddle the taxpayers (many of whom are students or parents of students) with a wasteful, ineffective new bureaucracy. Let's also not desecrate the legacy of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry by making America's teenagers Uncle Sam's indentured servants. Ω

Rick Henderson is a graduate of UNC who only favors one type of draft—the kind that doesn't come in cans.

"Godless socialist" / "future corporate cannibal capitalist" responds

Attention Critics:

In the December 1988 issue of *The Black Ink* I wrote an article condemning black leaders for their failure to preach self reliance, pride, self respect and pointed out that continual railings against the white power structure no longer could further the needs of the black underclass. I condemned Tawana Brawley, her advisers and that whole ludicrous episode as an insult to the once genuine and courageous Civil Rights Movement launched in the 1950s. In this same article I did write that no matter what your ideological framework is; liberal/conservative, socialist/anarchist, anyone who is objective can agree a capitalist system involves inequity and exploitation. This is not a judgement on the merits of socialism but a statement of fact; acknowledgment of a problem doesn't make one a revolutionary. (For those impatient reactionaries in our midst let me also state that pure Marxism, while inspiring and equitable on paper, ignores essential difference in human character and in its own way is inequitable to the most intelligent, hardest working segment of the masses.) From this statement, Critic writers Lukefahr and Henderson concluded I was a socialist and believe all capitalists are evil.

In the January 1989 issue of *The Black Ink,* I wrote an article concerning my atheistic beliefs, requesting that students, while they are in an atmosphere supposedly conducive to learning, knowledge and multi-cultural experience, not be so intolerant of less than mainstream views.

Put these two articles together and with help of some convenient, incoherent and self-serving paraphrasing I was slapped with a new and amusing label, a "godless socialist."

To be quite honest, I was surprised to find such nonsense in the Critic. Despite being a black student and a member of the BSM (thus an intellectually inferior militant cretin who managed to sneak into UNC through Affirmative Action, until I prove otherwise), I have been an avid reader of the Critic. For the most part, the articles are well written, researched and intelligent; I just read them as coming from a different viewpoint. I understand that the Critic thrives on confrontation and has made many enemies in the UNC community but this was expected; people don't enjoy being held to the light for questioning and ridicule. The Critic will surely lower its credibility however, if it begins to resort to conservative fanaticism, deliberate quoting out of context and unconstructive confrontationalism.

For example, using the same underhanded tactics Lukefahr and Henderson have begun using in "Across the Bows," a writer for a liberal newspaper rummaging through student publications could pounce upon "Conrad X. and Racism," an article by Anthony Woodlief and write:

> Anthony Woodlief, a writer for that reactionary rag the Carolina Critic, finally exposed himself for the arch-racist he really is. In the March issue of the Critic he writes about the brilliant Conrad X., "...it is easy to scoff at black separatism as foolish." His arrogant bourgeois complacency shines clear through when he talks about remaining "secure in my own white male perceptions and opinions." He admits he didn't hear a word Conrad X. said but writes from his own racist mindset. In his first paragraph he declares Conrad X. is a member of a "racist" organizaton, the Nation of Islam and Anthony believed "anyone who is associated with such racism who is a believer in black separatism...will be easy to pick apart." So much for keeping an open mind.
>
> Not satisfied with destroying all suggestions of black liberation this KKK lover disguised as a Political Science major tells us about a daydream he had: "Finally I saw in my mind a man hanging by his neck from a tree, with a cross burning in the background." Apparently Mr. Woodlief has his own "final solution" to black liberation.

(For those of you who don't get the point, this is an obvious exaggeration to show how silly the use of the "critical eye" can get when used by self-serving critics!)

Because of their inflexibility, hard liners (I don't care whether you're conservative or liberal) will frequently find themselves defending their one-sidedness, no matter how ridiculous they sound. During a conversation with a confirmed socialist (he *does* think all capitalists are evil), he called me a "future corporate cannibal capitalist;" my offense — I happen to be a business major (I bet you don't know many socialist business majors, do you) and I also pointed out the many successes controlled economies such as Hungary and China were experiencing by using free market incentives. Now from the Critic and the other end of the ideological spectrum strikes the gong of dogmatic stupidity.

I guess Lukefahr and Henderson chose to label me a socialist because they don't believe exploitation exist *at all* within a capitalist framework. Only three types of people could possibly see things this way:

The beer, babes and Bon Jovi crowd — they couldn't care

(continued on next page)

> less about the world living and dying outside of their hedonistic pleasures nor do they care about the forces that shape their existence.
>
> Those who read without comprehension — also a simple minded lot. They will read an article, make little or no attempt to grasp what is being said and continue to reject anything that doesn't fall within their accepted ideological framework.
>
> Those who are intelligent, do read with comprehension but in order to furnish entertainment for their audience ("Golly, the Critic sure puts those liberals in their place!") are willing to stoop to low depths in their search for a few guffaws at the expense of "the other side."

Since the writers take time to write and manage a journal, they probably can be excluded from the first category. That leaves the second and the third. Since I do not know the writers personally they should feel free to place themselves in which ever of the two remaining categories they feel most comfortable.

The Carolina Critic has been doing a good job as a mostly conservative "student journal of opinion;" don't start the slide towards fanaticism. Personally I prefer to distance myself from an issue, listen to what all sides have to say, then try to manage an objective, educated opinion. Even if a person can't manage this because of a particular political leaning (left or right) there's no need to get silly.

Garraud Etienne, Editor
The Black Ink

Stooping hardliners with low reading comprehension / into beer, babes and Bon Jovi reply:

We wish to thank Garraud for such a thoughtful reply. First, we certainly don't assume that Garraud, or any other student is "an intellectually inferior militant cretin, etc." until he proves otherwise. Nevertheless, it was a clever attempt to gain our sympathy. Garraud 1, Critic 0.

We did call Garraud a "godless socialist," but then he freely admits holding "atheistic beliefs." According to Webster, atheism is "the belief that there is no God." Ipso facto, there you have it, and so it goes. Our friend is indeed godless. Tie score.

As for being a socialist... Garraud wrote that "capitalism is inherently exploitative." We're objective guys, but if one believes that capitalism is inherently (i.e., intrinsically, fundamentally) exploitative, then we assume he is not a capitalist. Otherwise he would support exploitation! Now we didn't call Garraud a Marxist or a communist, because we didn't see any evidence of it. But someone who supports the many government programs advocated in *The Black Ink*, is not a capitalist, and is not a Marxist, is either a socialist or uninformed. Since the writer takes the time to write and manage a journal, we thought he should be excluded from the latter category. If we're wrong, and Garraud really is a closet capitalist, we apologize and welcome him to the fold. Garraud 2, Critic 1.

As for socialist business majors, syndicated columnist Richard Reeves once called investment bankers "socialists in pinstripes." The French have made "laissez-faire socialism" the rage of European politics. In short, we know far too many socialist business majors. Garraud 2, Critic 2.

Whenever one comments on another's work, there is a danger that the original meaning will be obscured. We hope it has not happened in this case, and agree with Garraud that you should take the trouble to read his articles for yourself.

Finally, we are glad that Garraud found the label "godless socialist" amusing. That was, after all, the idea. Thanks for reading.

Osborn States Poor Case for Research

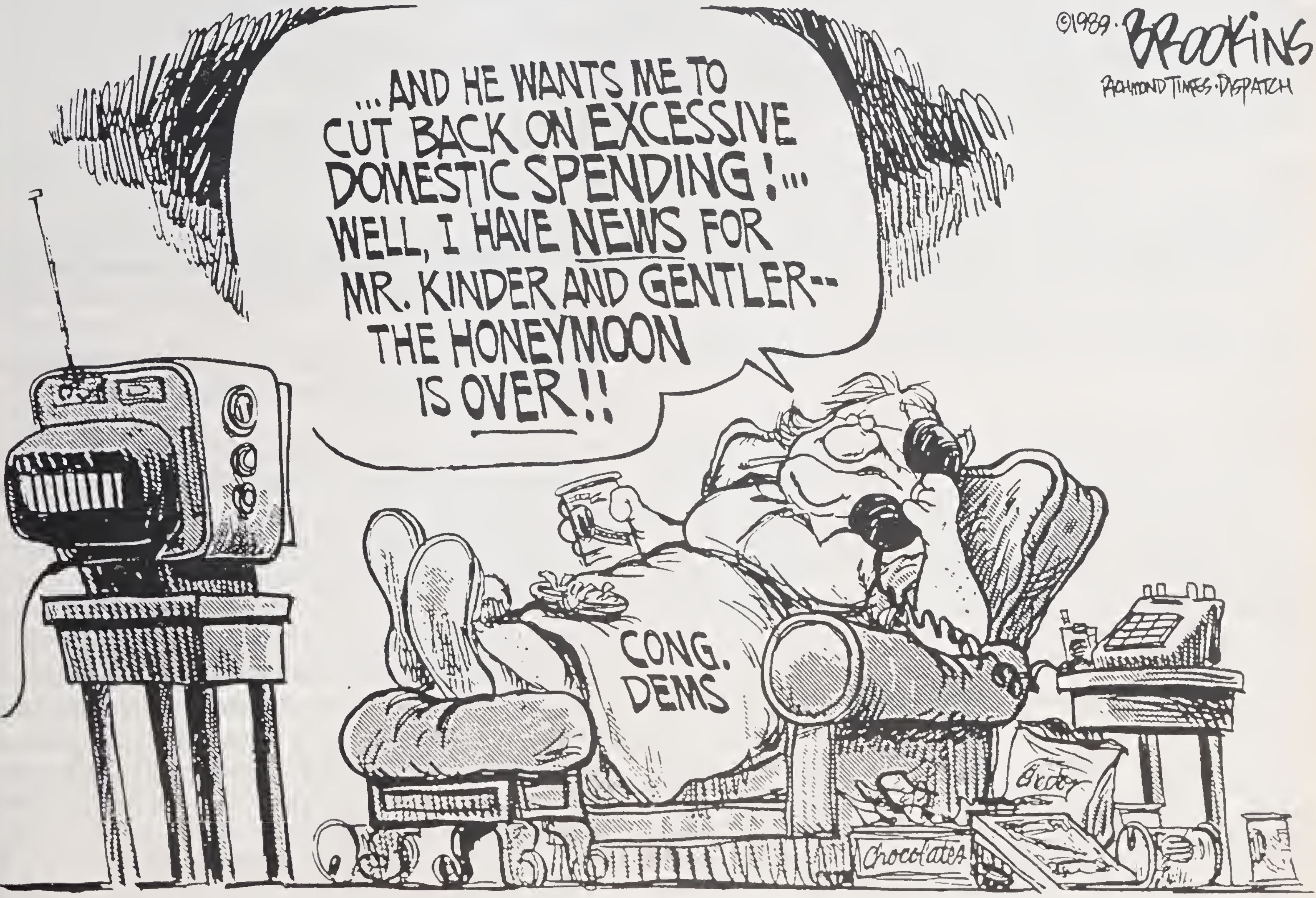
To the Editor,

I would like to thank the Critic for running the pro-con debate "Is Animal Research Unjust?" in your March issue. Considering the amount of criticism our Medical School is receiving concerning its use of live animals, the debate presented was timely. Chris Osborn, who attempted to argue that the use of animals in research is just, did little more than repeat the cliches produced by the biomedical research lobby. The life of "Little Jennifer Collins" (and animal advocates are supposed to be the emotionally manipulative ones) was predictably compared to the life of a rat in the vain attempt to convince the reader that in order for one to survive, the other must die. This artificial dilemma has been the self-serving scare tactic of choice for the researchers whose egos and paychecks depend on the animal model.

Most troubling is Mr. Osborn's naivete concerning the politics of alternatives. He is obviously unaware of the magnitude of the threat posed by a move away from the animal model (which is by no means responsible for all of the medical breakthroughs researchers claim). Many older professors and researchers, who are key players in the grantsmanship game, are only comfortable with the animal model and would become novices if a mandate from NIH to develop alternatives existed. In addition, a huge multimillion industry has sprung up around vivisection which would not take kindly to a move to alternatives. Osborn states that even if alternatives were perfected, "scientists will have a hard time convincing the general public of their reliability." Historically, we the public have been absolute suckers for anything that has been presented under the flag of science. To say that we shouldn't develop effective alternatives because the public might not believe they are effective demonstrates not only naivete but a callousness towards the 80 million animals that suffer and die each year in this country's laboratories.

The critical link in creating a mandate to develop alternatives lies in the philosophical arguments against vivisection which Mr. Osborn finds so interesting but has given so little thought. He begins to wade into these waters by stating that man is obligated first to use whatever knowledge and resources available to help his fellow man. It is hard to imagine that he really believes this. Does this mean that he would support doing research on orphaned babies, the mentally retarded, comatose patients or perhaps a few homeless women? Consider the manner in which he attempts to justify speciesism. He states that speciesism can't be compared to racism because nonhuman animals are different than human animals. "Therefore speciesism can be judged independently of racism; that is to say, speciesism can be morally or practically defensible while racism can not." If you are confused, you should be because he never goes beyond this superficial analysis. No attempt is made to articulate what he believes is the magic ingredient that somehow makes the morality of suffering species specific. Speciesism is associated with power. The reason we can intentionally inflict it on nonhuman animals is because we can control them. Just as men controlled and exploited women and whites controlled and exploited blacks, humans control and exploit other species. It's the old might makes right argument. The point that Mr. Osborn misses is that as moral beings we humans must place limits on the pursuit of our own self interests. The evolution of such limit setting has taken time and the time has now come to give consideration to the animals. Indeed the time has come to initiate policy at the federal level which mandates a move away from the scientifically questionable and morally offensive practice of vivisection.

Christopher Smith
Grad Student Social Work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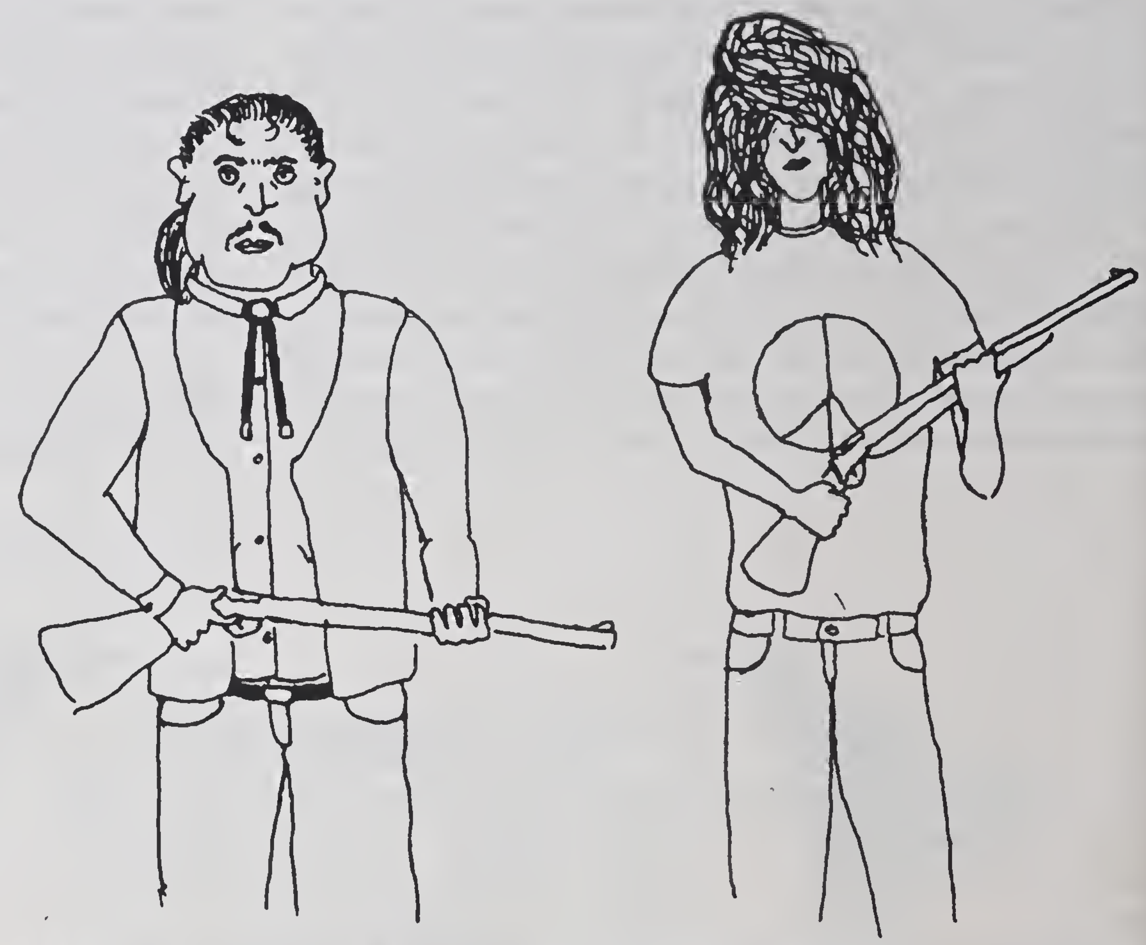
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
...AND HE WANTS ME TO CUT BACK ON EXCESSIVE DOMESTIC SPENDING!... WELL, I HAVE NEWS FOR MR. KINDER AND GENTLER-- THE HONEYMOON IS OVER!!
CONG. DEMS
Chocolates

The Critical Eye

Vol. 2, No. 8
April, 1989

A Knee-slappin', Loin-grippin' look at the world.



Gun Control Comes to Robeson County

➢ True fact: Eddie Hatcher asked the Soviet Embassy for political asylum. Sad fact: the Soviets refused.

➢ The Associated Press reports that last month "Pope John Paul II *encouraged* U.S. Roman Catholic bishops to proclaim church teaching even if it is unpopular."

➢ In an unrelated report, it was rumored that famous religious leader Moses was overheard encouraging his followers to obey the Ten Commandments even if they are inconvienient sometimes. Meanwhile his American flock was rumored to be calling for a doctrinal update. A soon to be released English translation, tentatively titled *Ten Ideas for Better Living*, will be in bookstores this Fall.

➢ Members of our staff felt very bad during a recent visit to Burger King. After finishing our Whalers to the drone of protesters outside the window, we realized that we had confused hunger with moral compunction.

➢ Break out your VISA card. A California company called Chi Concepts Inc. is selling pants with a piece of quartz crystal sewn into the seam. The New Age gurus tell us that this quartz will give you amazing power! According to the company's president Larry Ostrow, these marvellous stones can enhance meditation, enable one to talk to creatures from outer space and even allow you to converse with whales. All for only $35.

➢ Affirmative action reared its head in the Detroit Symphony Orchestra recently as the state legislature withheld $1.3 million in state funds until the orchestra, which is less than 2% black, becomes more representative of the Detroit population, which is 60% black. Two black candidates for positions have already declined, for fear of apparent favoritism if they were to be selected. Instead of lowering barriers to integration, affirmative action here, as elsewhere, has raised them.

➢ Fact: Peru suffered 1,722% inflation in 1988. The solution in 1989 to combat inflation: devalue the currency 16.6%. Sounds like throwing a drowning man a bucket of water.

➢ Capitalism is alive and well in West Berlin, despite the efforts of the authorities, who have tried everything from wire fences to arbitrary check points to stop Poles from crossing the border to sell goods and labor at duty-free prices. Perhaps West Berlin could use a little *perestroika*.

➢ The University of Massachusetts at Amherst, demonstrating as much commitment to free thought and speech as Moscow U., recently banned Republican Club members from using meeting rooms. Efforts have also been made to censor a conservative student newspaper. Still, Jason Rabinowitz, student body co-president and founding member of the Young Communist League, labels the campus "progressive."

➢ Also from the Free Speech Dept. comes the story of Ralph Engelstad, a Las Vegas casino owner who was fined $1.5 million for displaying Nazi memorabilia and celebrating Hitler's birthday. Sounds like authorities were exercising the

Across the Bows

Accuracy in journalism is obviously not in vogue at the *Phoenix*.. In the March 23rd issue, editor Ed Davis writes: "The Carolina Inn is owned and operated by UNC... This means they get money from UNC... Your money, my money, and N.C. taxpayers' money."

Get with the program, Ed. Do some research or something. The Carolina Inn is *self-supporting* ... It receives all of its revenues from room rentals and food sales. All of it, Sherlock. *Our* research shows that it has turned a profit each year since 1935. In fact, the Inn gives money to UNC.

Edward Rehkopf, Director of University Hotel and Conference Facilities, reports that the Carolina Inn has donated over $110,000 to the University libraries in the past six years. The *Phoenix*, meanwhile, owes its parasitic existence to coercive student fees. This means the *Phoenix* gets money from UNC students. Your money, my money, and student taxpayers' money.

This same article contained the Carolina Inn newsletter's masthead — you know, Ed, the one which clearly states that the Inn is "a self supporting activity." The least you could do is read your own article! Ok, we can't blame you.

An interesting *cattlelist* poster spotted in Greenlaw: "Nobody cares. Nobody understands. MAKE THEM." Hmm. Whatever happened to reasoned discourse and open inquiry? Ve haff vays of making you care. Gee, boys, break out the brown shirts.

As the Western World faces innumerable crises, so what makes Page One of the CGLA's *Lambda*? A debate on whether the word "Bisexual" should be included in the CGLA name. Pro-CGLBA writer Keely Kolmes wants the group "welcome all, regardless of sexual orientation." Anti-CGLBA writer Pippa Holloway is worried because she has no "desire to fight for [bisexual's] rights to have heterosexual relationships." Is the CGLA trying to promote tolerance for alternative lifestyles, or is it on a messianic quest to stamp out diversity (read heterosexuality) at Carolina? Should student fees fund publications that encourage bigotry? Stay tuned as the drama unfolds.

UNC's remedy for insomnia — *the cattlelist*. This month's exciting issue contains nine fun-filled pages on... Namibia! (Made possible by a generous grant from the United Nations.) Riveting stuff too. Millions starve in Ethiopia while the United Nations spends its (our) money providing yet another Marxist view of African politics for American college students. Good thing UNC has a "liberal conscience" like *the cattlelist*.

Before we fell asleep, we couldn't help but notice one quote from the Namibia extravaganza: "Fidel Castro can now represent himself as the most principled champion Africa has ever had." The Nobel Peace Prize awaits.

Of course, to put this in proper perspective, consider the letter from *cattlelist* co-founder Bryan Hassel: "It looks great and keeps me laughing." (Read: it looks like The Critic and reads like the DTH).

DTH editorial writer Kim Edens has once again provided us with arguments that are mercifully free of the tyranny of reason. Her article "Children going to the chair" is another DTH classic. You will find gems like "The use of the death penalty is founded on the dual principles of punishment and rehabilitation." Although execution certainly does reduce recidivism, rehabilitated dead people are extremely rare.

The article concerns a 12-year-old Florida girl who got frustrated while babysitting one day and strangled her 2-year-old brother. Kim is outraged that the good people of Florida have seen fit to arrest the girl. They even had the audacity to charge her with murder! According to our budding legal counsel, "If the girl were a delinquent with past examples of dangerous or erratic behavior, perhaps her prosecution would be more understandable." Oh, we get it, Kim, if she had killed two or three siblings *then* she would be worthy of punishment.

But as Kim points out, "according to her teachers, the girl was a good student and a responsible child." Maybe we are being a little bit harsh. After all this *was* her first killing.

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same discretion as the Coalition for Freedom to Dissent — free speech only for those with whom we agree.

➢ In a rally in the Pit against CIA interviews on campus, CIA Action Committee member and *former* UNC law student Joel Segal said of the CIA, "They have no damn business on this campus." Well, Joel, since this campus is for students, faculty, and staff, and since you don't currently seem to fall into any of those categories, practice what you preach, and hit the road.

➢ Joel is also disturbed about the Constitutionality of the CIA's actions. "If we don't defend the Constitution, we might as well shred it up and throw it away." Interestingly enough, Joel was part of the crew who damaged private property (at the University Inn) when CIA recruiters visited Chapel Hill, harassed the ecruiters during their visit, and supported the appearance of kidnapper-in-residence Eddie Hatcher at a rally in the Pit. When you defend the Constitution, Joel, be sure to defend all of it, not just the sections that seem to support your agenda.

➢ Displaying remarkable consistency, the FMLN have once again done their best to disrupt elections in El Salvador. Not only were polling places riddled with gunfire but in the weeks leading up to the vote *anyone* travelling on the nation's roads was declared fair game. Several firebombings backed up that threat. Be sure to drop by the Institute for Latin American Studies to hear how all this is an inevitable, and defensible, result of U.S. imperialism.

➢ In a classic example of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing, the U.S. Congress allocated over $100 million to irrigate corn crops in Nebraska. Unfortunately, Nebraska corn farmers currently leave over 2 million acres of farmland idle so that they can obtain federal "pay not to plant" subsidies.

➢ It seems that critics of airline deregulation have inadvertently stumbled onto the truth. They blame Eastern Airlines' woes on "too much" competition. Of course competition hurt Eastern! It was one of the few heavily bureaucratic, union-dominated airlines still flying. In the days before Uncle Sam let the market determine air fares, the airlines had nearly guaranteed passenger volume and profit margins. When the unions demanded higher wages, the airlines simply jacked up their fares. Now that airlines can compete within the same market, consumers don't have to pay for the rich to get richer.

Of course, this doesn't mean that Eastern President Frank Lorenzo couldn't benefit from taking a few Dale Carnegie courses. But as long as the airline gets you to your destination safely and on time, who cares if the boss is a jerk?

The Poor Get Poorer

The House of Representatives' decision to increase the minimum wage to $4.55 an hour performs a terrible injustice to all Americans. By arbitrarily setting a higher minimum, the federal government will throw thousands of Americans out of work and destroy opportunities for those at the bottom of the economic ladder.

Wages are largely determined by the value of goods and services an employee produces. Because of poor education, physical handicaps, or low job skills, tens of thousands of Americans can not produce $4.55 an hour in goods and services. Employers who hire those persons and pay them $4.55 or more an hour would lose money and soon go out of business. To avoid losses, at the higher minimum, businesses will not hire these lower skilled Americans.

It will become illegal to hire anyone for less than $4.55. An employee who cannot produce $4.55 per hour will earn ZERO dollars per hour; in other words, he or she will be unemployed.

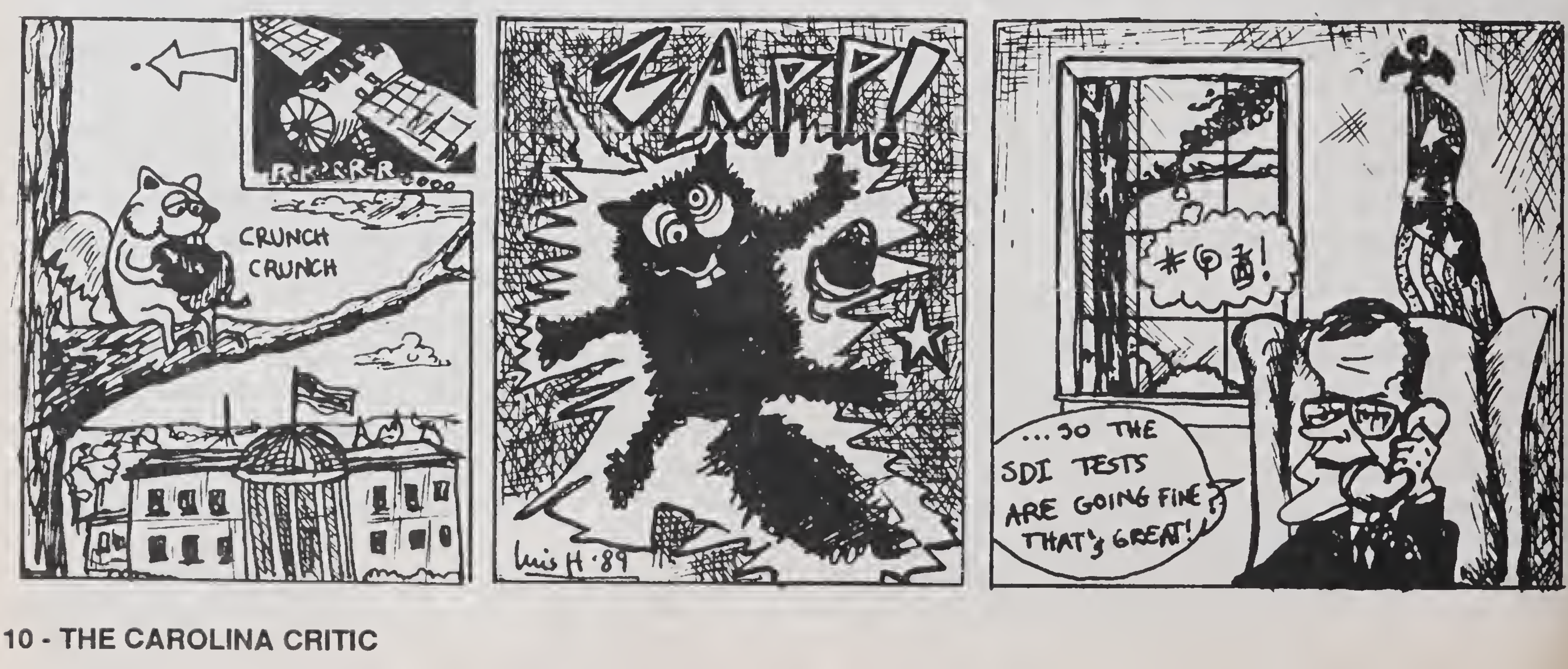
Advocates of the higher minimum freely admit that as many as 600,000 American workers will lose their jobs when this law goes into effect. This is even more tragic because the newly unemployed will be those who most need job experience — teenagers, the poor, and the badly educated. In effect, Congress will take the lowest rungs of the economic ladder and lop them off. It will establish a form of economic apartheid.

Recent experience with immigrants demonstrates that thousands of persons prefer employment at low wages initially to not working at all. Here's hoping President Bush can sustain a veto of this cruelly exploitative legislation.

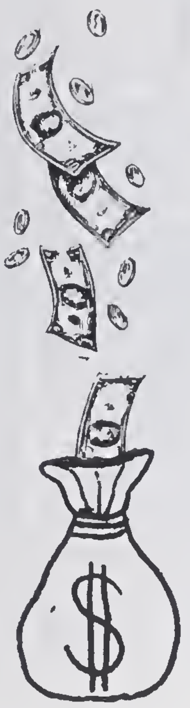
➢ In the interest of protecting local citizens from dangerous drug smugglers, killer pigeons and deranged Dookies, the Chapel Hill Police Department has invested in Austrian-made 9mm semi-automatic 17-shot pistols. The same type of pistols you probably can't buy anymore. Well as speechwriter Karl Hess once said, "if guns are outlawed, only the government will have guns."

➢ The State Utilities Commission might allow greater flexibility to phone companies when they set rates for local telephone service. Consumer groups have lined up on both sides of the issue, but one industry group, the Carolina Utility Customers Association, trembles with fear. After all, partial deregulation might allow companies to "charge customers based on the amount of service they use, rather than charging a flat rate." Heaven forbid — people might have to pay for what they use! No report yet on how many members of this industry group used to belong to UNC's Student Congress.

➢ OK, for the record, before lynch-mob psychology took control of the Senate last month here's what some individual Senators had to say about would-have-been Secretary of Defense John Tower: "John Tower's dedication... and attention to de-


R-R-R-R-R-oooo
CRUNCH CRUNCH
ZAPP!
Luis H '89
*@#!
...SO THE SDI TESTS ARE GOING FINE? THAT'S GREAT!

THE CAROLINA PORK BARREL



Santa came to several student organizations last month in the form of Student Congress. Here's a partial list of this year's big winners. (Please forgive me if my numbers are a little off, but every time I went by to get an official list of appropriations, no one seemed to have a clue about how to obtain one. Apparently they are better at spending our money than keeping track of it.) The Executive Branch: $21,785; The Phoenix: $17,138; Student Television: $14,395; Victory Village Day Care: $12,885; CGLA: $2,131. This is great if you happen to be a homosexual bureaucrat with children who has poor taste in newspapers and entertainment, but what about the other 99% of the student population?

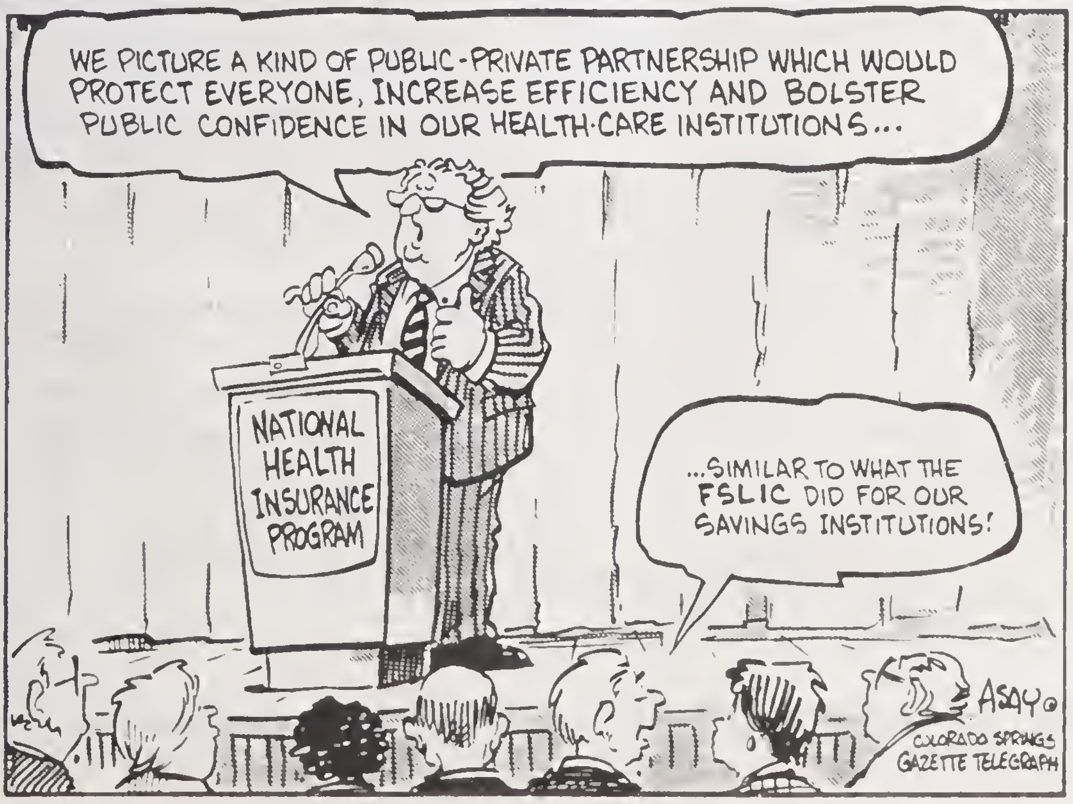
Cellar Door, a magazine of creative student writing, was also a big winner, getting more money than initially recommended by the Finance Committee. The apparent reasoning behind this generosity is that *Cellar Door*, which at present is only partially subsidized by our fees, will eventually become a "free" magazine. If Student Congress elects to make much more on this campus "free," we're all going to be broke. Anybody smell pork?

Surprisingly enough, Student Congress did vote to restrict the funding of some groups. The most notable of these was the *Yackety Yack*, which had its budget request cut nearly in half. Representatives behind this cut argued that the yearbook doesn't represent a broad enough spectrum of students to merit student fees. Apparently Student Congress wants to channel our money into groups that are more representative of the student body, such as Sangam (an Asian-Indian cultural group), KASA (Korean-American students), the Carolina Indian Circle, the African Students Association, and the Association of Black Graduate and Professional Students. Come on, if exclusiveness is suddenly grounds for defunding, then why did these groups get funding at all? I'm sure I smell bacon.

Don't be alarmed. Not all of our student politicians have lost their spend-what-isn't-mine attitude. Dist. 16 Rep. Gene Davis wants to someday see the yearbook funded completely by student fees, so everyone can have a copy. Clue in Gene. **Nobody wants one!** If nobody will buy one voluntarily, how can you justify making us pay for them?

Outraged at the idea that representation of student interest is suddenly a criterion for allocating student money, the DTH editorial board wrote an opinion condemning the yearbook's funding cut. This is certainly understandable. After all, if the idea catches on, some of our more leftward leaning editors might suddenly find themselves without a student subsidized backpage soapbox for the propagation of their political views.

—*Woodlief*


WE PICTURE A KIND OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP WHICH WOULD PROTECT EVERYONE, INCREASE EFFICIENCY AND BOLSTER PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN OUR HEALTH-CARE INSTITUTIONS...
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM
...SIMILAR TO WHAT THE FSLIC DID FOR OUR SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS!
ASAY © COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

tail has been unsurpassed. None of us could ask more of a chairman," said Daniel Inouye. Massachusetts Senator, and sometime river denizen, Ted Kennedy lauded, "[Tower's] knowledge of the myriad of complex defense issues facing the country is unsurpassed." Even rope carrier Sam Nunn cooed that Tower's "talent wisdom and experience are indeed national assets." Hmm...

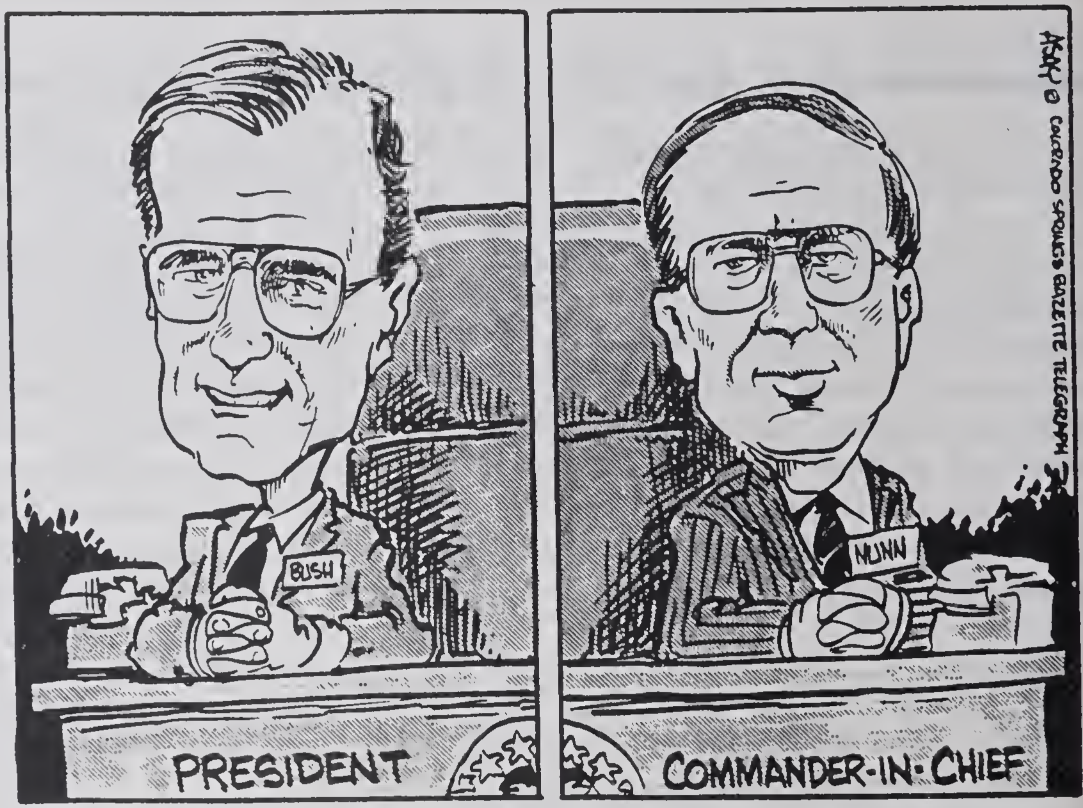
Obviously there is a lesson to be learned from this whole Tower affair: everyone who has recently returned from a week of drinking and partying at Daytona Beach should immediately destroy the evidence. Forty years from now you may be nominated for dogcatcher.

➢ Even if you aren't in the gulag, communism may be hazardous to your health. The AP reports that in a Soviet hospital, at least 49 mothers and children have been infected with the AIDS virus because nurses were using unsterilized syringes to intravenously feed patients. Since under socialism, the producers of medical supplies can't earn profits, there are shortages, and health care personnel have to reuse contaminated supplies. A study published by Rutgers University shows that since the mid-1960s, life expectancy has actually fallen in the entire Eastern Bloc. The life expectancy for Soviet males has fallen by four years. The infant morality rate in the Worker's Paradise has risen by one-third since 1970, making it comparable to that in Panama and Trinidad. This, while Congress considers a universal health care package that would begin to "Sovietize" American medical care.

➢ Yet another American soldier has been charged with selling secrets to the Communists. Army Spec 4 Michael Peri has been accused of passing border defense strategies to the East Germans. It's beginning to look more and more like 1989 will go down in history as the "year of the fink."

➢ A study by the Citizens for a Sound Economy blows a hole in the conventional wisdom that a tax increase should be enacted to lower the deficit. Asked whether they preferred spending restraint or tax increases to balance the budget, 73% of those surveyed chose the former while only 5% chose the latter. Just a myopic expression of public selfishness? Consider the respondents' belief by a 6 to 1 margin that a tax increase would go to fund new programs rather than lower the deficit. The public understands their Congress pretty well we'd say. All of which makes us wonder why they reelected 98% of the House members in 1988.

➢ The Central Intelligence Agency, mass murderers or wire service — you decide. Soviet newspaper *Argumenty i Facty* recently printed a C.I.A. analysis of the Soviet economy. According to the *New York Times*, this little stunt prompted Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov to call the cen-


BUSH
PRESIDENT
NUNN
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
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Clipboard

LIVIN' ON A PRAYER: "Statistics insist that Cars are more perilous than planes, but no one contemplates God in a Buick." — *U.S. News and World Report* editor Roger Rosenblatt.

ENCOURAGING WORDS FROM THE SENIOR SENATOR, Jesse Helms (R-NC): "[Henry Kissinger is a] revolving, peripatetic entity."

IMMEDIATE OPENINGS AVAILABLE: "Dissidents in Havana are few and far between; Mr. Castro has chased most of them to the United States." — columnist William Safire.

REMEMBER THE STORY ABOUT THE POT AND THE KETTLE: "Trivialization is the name of the game when a Democratic Party that elects Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., to be chairman of the Senate Education and Labor Committee spends day after day belaboring [John] Tower's reputation for chasing skirts and popping corks." — political analyst Kevin Philips.

THE CRITIC HONORARY DOCTOR OF ECONOMICS TO: Hon. James G. Martin, Governor of North Carolina. "The marketplace doesn't work when the government makes the decisions. If you get government out of it, the marketplace will have to work."

THE MEANING OF LIFE? "It is difficult in our culture for young people to recognize that there may be something more meaningful than sexual relationships or the romanticized love in which sexuality is often embedded." — Warren Nord, Director of UNC's Program in the Humanities and Human Values.

ANOTHER ROUND FOR THE BOYS: President Abraham Lincoln, responding to critics about General U.S. Grant's alcoholism: "Find out what brand he drinks and send a barrel to each of my generals."

HOW'S THAT FOR GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION: "The government didn't force you to get you pregnant." — Phyllis Schlafly.

FINALLY AN ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM WE LIKE: Economist Walter Williams, in his syndicated column: "Most Americans escape poverty through one of the greatest anti-poverty programs around — hard work, sacrifice, and prudent behavior. The program still works."

— *Staff*

MILITARY INSIGNIFICA

THE PLANS GO ON SALE TO THE KREMLIN NEXT MONTH, RIGHT? In this age of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the Soviets are less secretive and trying to increase exports, which probably explains why they are trying to get into the international remote sensing (i.e., taking pictures from space for money) business. Only one thing: the Soviets' pictures tend to show North Dakota and other areas where American strategic forces are based; the photographs, it seems, are directly from Soviet spy satellites.

HOW TO WIN FRIENDS AND GET WORD-OF-MOUTH ADVERTISING: Back in 1985, the South American nation of Guyana cut a deal — bauxite for planes. Only one problem, the deal was with the Soviets and the planes were a Tu-154 jet and three Mi-8 Hip helicopters. The airliner has since been returned as unreliable and Guyana is thinking about returning the helicopters, in spite of free replacement engines, for the same reason.

END OF AN ERA: The last Marine F-4 Phantom II fighter was retired from active last month as Fighter/Attack Squadron 235 in Hawaii converted to the F/A-18 Hornet. This versatile McDonnell-Douglas fighter first entered Marine Corps service in 1961.

— *Michael Lowery*

tral statistic agency. The PM wanted to know why the Soviet people had to "learn such things from the C.I.A." Of course if some campus activists have their way we may be getting our stuff from the K.G.B.

➢ The same paper published historian Roy Medvedev's calculations that Stalin actually killed some 40 million people (not the paltry 10 million we've always suspected). Let's see, that would be an average of over 1,500 people a day for each of the 72 years since the revolution. Back in the USSR/You don't know how lucky you are, boys...

➢ The Soviet government has put the squelch on one of the most successful of the new cooperative (read capitalist) ventures. Most of the 4500 private medical clinics that were flourishing earlier this year have closed down because of new restrictions placed on them by the state Health Ministry. Guess it's back to the old way... bribe your way into the hospital.

➢ No one ever said democracy is risk-free. Last month a deputy of the Turkish parliament, Ioriis Arikan, shot and killed fellow deputy Abdurrezzak Ceylan in an Ankara legislative building. Arikan had been arguing with a third parliament member over election loses suffered by Araikan's Motherland Party, when he became angered and drew a gun. He missed his debating partner and nailed Ceylan instead.

➢ Remember eight years ago when the media was full of stories about the 50,000 children abducted and killed by strangers each year? Ever wonder what happened? Well recent report issued by the Justice Department puts the actual annual number at around 4. This makes us wonder what the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children has been doing with the $2 million Uncle Sam has been giving them each year. We suggest someone report this to the National Center for Missing and Exploited tax dollars.

Food For Thought

UNC student Robert Slugg had the unmitigated audacity to ridicule that defender of freedom, that socially relevant group, The People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). PETA has been busy the last several years trying to establish the right to a Bar-B-Que free America. In response, PETA called out the big guns — national director Ingrid Newkirk — to write an article in the DTH.

First, Newkirk constructs a shaky argument against the PETA position, which she then cleverly destroys in pseudo-intellectual fashion.

Next, Newkirk brings out the only truly effective weapon PETA seems to possess — legal harassment. "As for Slugg's libelous remarks about PETA, our attorney is now in touch with him." Interestingly enough, Slugg mentioned in his article that a good deal of the contributions PETA receives go to fund such nuisance lawsuits. Clearly these are designed to harass and intimidate opposition to the PETA agenda.

For those who missed Newkirk's self-serving letter, here are some of the more enlightening tidbits: furthering the PETA agenda "would mean no 'cheeseburgers, leather basketballs and milk.' Two out of the three will give you heart disease anyway." We know Carolina basketball has caused a few heart attacks through the years, but which of the other two are we supposed to look out for?

We should note that the only reason we know these things can cause heart disease is **because** of research using animals. Finally, Newkirk informs us that Slugg's dissenting voice "will soon be drowned out" (with a little help from PETA's lawyer) "by the rising tide of concern for what we are doing to animals in the labs, in the factory farms and on the traplines." Gee, Ingrid, just what *are* you doing to these animals? Hang in there Robert Slugg, and pass the roast beef.

➢ DTH editorial writer Dave Starnes, always willing to defend he mediocre public school system, criticizes the view by some parents that "public schools are inadequate, so instead of doing something about it, [they] send the kids somewhere else." This 'somewhere else," of ccurse, would be private schools. He feels hese "are an option reserved for very few families," presumably only the wealthy. Wrong again, Dave. Private schools aren't only for the rich, and they don't have to cost more than their public counterparts. Take for example the Chad School in Newark, NJ. Its annual operating cost per student is only $2,200, compared to $7,600 for Newark public schools. Acording to *Insight* magazine, Chad's students reflect an ethnic nd social background "virtually identical to those of the eighboring public schools" — mostly disadvantaged blacks nd Hispanics.

he unique difference between Chad (and other inner-city private schools) and your revered public schools is that the school must produce results. Teachers have to produce successful students to keep their jobs. One teacher says Chad will "flunk the teacher before we flunk the child." The point is, Dave, that the marketplace will provide schools that respond to the demand for educated students. Chad director Leon Moore says that public schools are "spending all of my tax dollars, and they're spending yours, and they're producing failure."

➢ The British tabloids are having a ball. Former Miss India, and House of Commons researcher, Pamela Bordes, has allegedly been spending her evenings as an $860 a night call girl. Finally a government employee that gives her all to the people.

➢ *Insight* magazine reports that in the USSR a debate is raging over the quality of the state produced sausage. The magazine *Literaturnaya Gazeta* found that it contains pieces of cowhide and bones, and in some cases nails, sand and glass are added for

Rattling the Cages

DTH, are you listening? From the "Hazards of Reliance on Student Fees" department comes the story of the *Evergreen* of Washington State University. It seems the paper reported that certain student leaders were getting all-expense paid vacations to Hawaii to watch WSU in the Aloha Bowl. These same student "leaders" now "lead" the fight to defund the paper. Just another reason to divorce student journalism from student politics.

Columbia University's *Federalist Paper* tells of former New York University Law Dean Norman Redlich, who spoke at the law commencement ceremonies at Columbia. His advice: never apply legal reasoning to your personal life. Instead of examining evidence in order to form conclusions, lawyers are trained to work backwards to justify a given conclusion by slanting the evidence. The same issue of the paper describes lawyers as "parasites" and quotes RJR Nabisco's Chief as saying the removal of all lawyers and journalists from the US would restore the nation's productivity in 24 hours. We just thought folks in Howell and Van Hecke-Wettach Halls would like to know.

The *Harvard Salient* reports that principled social protest is still a part of the Cambridge, Mass. campus. Yes, their equivalent of the Pit has been invaded by protestors for... Lyndon LaRouche. They claim their hero, who has been sentenced to 15 years for credit card fraud and conspiracy, was the victim of Justice Department "fascism." Sound reasonable? Well, Lyndon himself provides the kicker: this fascism was "demanded repeatedly and energetically by the highest levels of the Soviet Government." Go figure.

Shocking Quote of the Month goes to SUNY-Binghamton Afro-American Studies Professor Carole B. Davies: "I'm sick of freedom of speech!" It seems Davies and others decided such a bothersome, inconvenient doctrine should not be invoked to allow Klan members to speak in a campus seminar class. Perhaps this should not be so shocking after all — more legitimate speakers (including such notables as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Ed Meese, and Adolpho Calero) have been shouted down in recent years when they tried to speak on our "enlightened" college campuses. Trendinistas abound.

Princeton Tory columnist Irfan Khawaja provides an interesting insight into student activism at private universities. Commenting on the recent takeover of a campus building by the "Concerned Students of the University Community," Khawaja points out that at Princeton students have a contract with the institution itself — and that occupation of office buildings (i.e., trespassing) is a breach of that contract, enabling administration officials to proceed as they wish with respect to those students. Or better yet, he asserts that if property rights under that contract are non-enforceable (as the leftists claim) then there is "nothing to stop the University from occupying student dorms and presenting *us* with demands." Too bad this wouldn't work at public colleges — imagine Paul Hardin, Donald Boulton, Ronald Link, etc. taking over CIAAC members' dorm rooms demanding campus access for the CIA.

—David Hood

nutritional value. Naturally, lots of salt is added to hide the taste. *Bon appetit* comrades.

➢ Outraged, Yuri M. Luzhkov of the Moscow City Agro-Industrial Committee, is suing the magazine for slander and for "denigrating the meat processors' honor and dignity." To prove their point, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* employed a crack team of thirty ideologically neutral cats to get a second opinion. Of the taste testers, 24 refused to touch any sausages, while 5 ate only the most expensive kind. One kitten ate everything, but she was only two months old. The magazine then queried, "Cats have always loved sausage, ever since people invented it. So why, for God's sake, wouldn't they eat this sausage? And why in the world should we?" Several UNC students were overheard saying the same thing after leaving Lenoir Hall. Ω

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CRITIC ALMANAC

Projected cost of the 1990 U.S. census, per person: $10

Expected Population: 250 million

Deaths caused by communism in the 20th century: 95,000,000

Deaths by all wars: 37,000,000

Percentage of people who think they are going to Heaven: 76

Who think they are going to Hell: 6

Percentage of businesses that forbid smoking: 25

Percentage increase in sales of fountain pens from 1978 to 1988: 108

Cost of the Waterman Le Man fountain pen: $8,000

Percentage of homeless Americans who are severely mentally disabled: 30

Percentage who have a history of substance abuse or dependance: 55 to 87

Percentage who served in the military: 20

Percentage of men aged 60 and over who worked in 1930: 65

Percentage in 1980: 32

Number of obstetrician-gynecologists who have been sued since 1985: 1 in 4

Percentage of white, Hispanic, and black girls who consider having a child even if unmarried: 23, 29, 41

Change in life expectancy of Soviet males since the mid-1960's: -4 years

Number of elected public officials in the U.S.: 504,404

Number of Bolivian families growing coca in 1978: 15,000

Number today: 70,000

Cost of mandatory AID's testing for Illinois couples: $5.6 million

Number of Illinois couples leaving state to marry: 20,000

Cost of the same antenna pulley on a F-16 from Taiwan and a U.S. Defense Contractor: $4, $8832

Number of lieutenant colonels needed to command fighter/bomber squadrons: 248

Number actually in the Air Force: 12,500

Average TV viewing time for 2 year olds, per week: 17 hours

Number of fatal airline accidents per 1 million departures in 1978: 1

Number in 1987: 0.4

Sources: *USA Weekend* (3-31-89, p.18); ibid.; *International Journal of World Peace* (7/9-88, p.36); ibid.; *Newsweek* (3-27-89, p.53); ibid.; *U.S. News & World Report* (4-10-89, p.72); ibid. (4-3-89, p.76); ibid.; *Executive Alert* (3/4-89, p.1); ibid.; ibid.; ibid. (p.2); ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; *Reason* (5-89, p.58); ibid. (p.19); ibid.; Lars-Erik Nelson (2-28-89 syn. column); ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; *1989 World Almanac*; ibid.; ibid.

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7:00 p.m.
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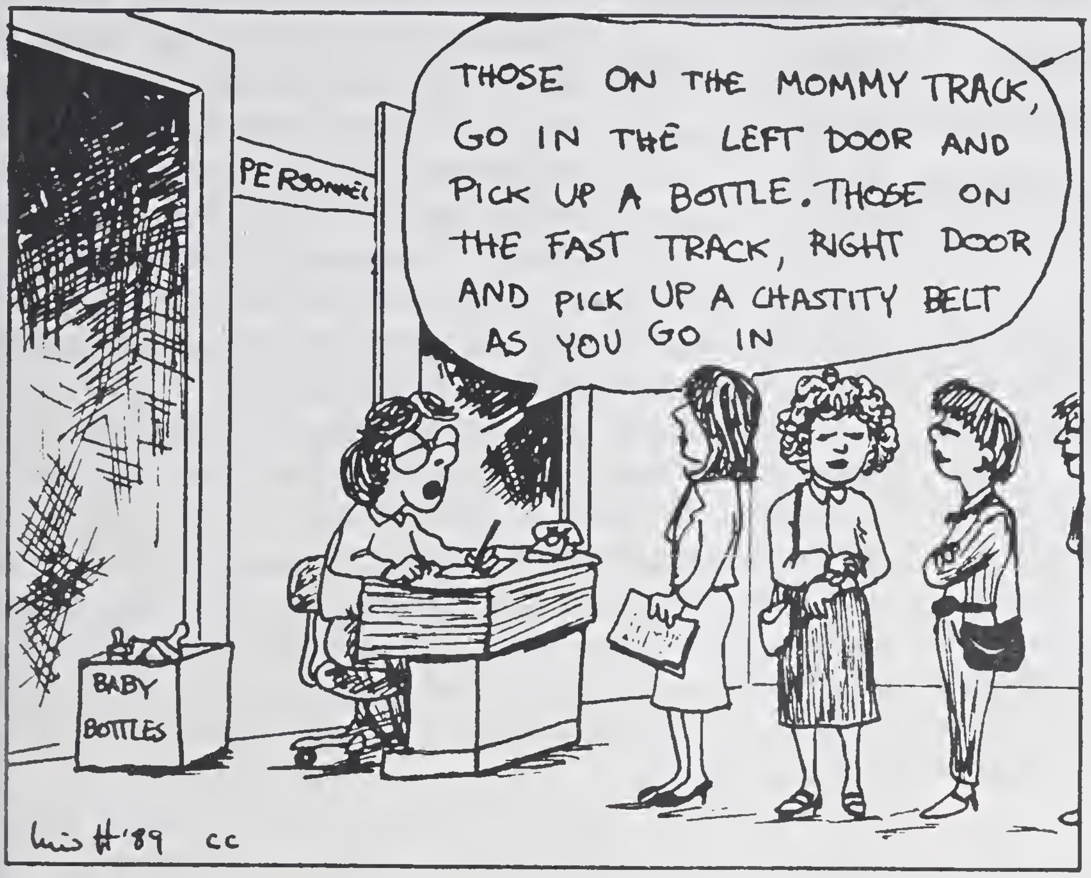
Riding the "Mommy Track"


THOSE ON THE MOMMY TRACK, GO IN THE LEFT DOOR AND PICK UP A BOTTLE. THOSE ON THE FAST TRACK, RIGHT DOOR AND PICK UP A CHASTITY BELT AS YOU GO IN
PERSONNEL
BABY BOTTLES
'89 cc

y Channing Rouse

The phrase "Mommy Track" is a misnomer. Although the itle implies a sole focus on motherhood, the opposite is in fact he case. The original idea only argues for one important change n the workplace — flexibility. By offering alternative work atterns for both professional women and the companies that mploy them, businesses are increasing opportunities for omen who place an equal emphasis on their family *and* their areer. Furthermore, it does not hamper those who are more areer oriented. Instead, the plan will help eliminate the "male" ias many companies perpetuate when hiring top-level execu- ves.

The premise of the "Mommy Track" is that prospective emale professionals should place themselves in one of two ategories: "career primary", or "career and family". "Career rimary" would apply to employees who either expect to main childless, or who intend to take only standard maternity ave after having children. These women would be groomed r top-level management positions.

The second category would be filled by those women who an to follow a "career and family" path. They would assume iddle-management positions which require a less demanding ork schedule while remaining in important positions within a mpany.

The "Mommy Track" was not the invention of some male auvinist trying to eliminate women from the workforce. Instead, the plan was presented by Felice Schwartz in the January-February issue of the *Harvard Business Review.* Schwartz is the president of "Catalyst," (a women's business-research group) and a leading expert on career women. Her goal is to provide opportunities for women and to promote equity between female executives and their male counterparts. This is exactly what the "Mommy Track" will do.

The only relevant argument against a flexible track system is that it draws distinctions between men and women in the workplace. Opponents complain that separate standards for female employees will reinforce prejudices against women. This is aptly expressed by a female lawyer who, when questioned about the subject said, "The more employers make special provisions for women, the more they find reasons not to hire them." While this position may initially appear compelling, those who hold it are using false assumptions.

First, one must consider the statistical evidence. Industrial reports have concluded that top-level female managers leave their jobs *two-and-a-half times* more often than men in comparable positions. This extremely high turnover rate has been directly attributed to having children. Additionally, almost one-half of these women will either take extended leaves or never return to the workforce. The cost of replacing them has been estimated at as much as two million dollars in a single year. With this in mind, it is difficult to argue that differences between men and women *don't* exist. But rather than encouraging these differences, the plan presented by Schwartz provides options and actually eliminates categorical distinctions.

Keep in mind that the workers involved are not part-time fast food employees. The women that the "Mommy Track" would affect are top-level executives and company managers. These are employees that businesses spend many years and a great deal of money training. Remember that a business is under no obligation whatsoever to bear the substantial financial and productivity losses that result from a woman's *personal decision* to spend more time with her children.

While it may be true that historically (and perhaps currently) society has considered a woman's role to be "barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen," businesses should not be held responsible for this prejudice. The women who desire options will certainly have them. They can either a) take the standard maternity leave and then place the child in some type of day care (remember, the expense is basically irrelevant because top executives are paid with top dollars), b) have the husband take a leave of absence in order to play a more active role in the child's early development years, or finally c) choose *not* to have children.

Since some women decide not to have a family (or at the very least, do not take a substantial amount of time off from work) the first aspect of Schwartz's proposal is justified. Because female managers sometimes cause lost time and money, businesses are *less inclined* to hire them. Within the current system, these businesses are acting responsibly. The risk of unexpected resignations are two-and-a-half times lower when hiring males, which translates simply into "dollars and sense." It is here that the prejudice against women is manifested.

Current demographic trends make the "Mommy Track" a virtual necessity.

Businesses that compute a cost-benefit analysis, will conclude that it is inefficient to bring females into management or promote them. The "Mommy Track" won't cause segregation, but prevent it.

Under Schwartz's proposal, businesses will know which of their employees are career-focused. Again, it must be stressed that this differentiation does not prevent a female employee from having children. Identifying one's self as "career primary" simply indicates a desire to have a family while still focusing on a career. With this knowledge businesses will be able to respond positively and place "career primary" women in top-level management positions.

Current demographic trends make the "Mommy Track" a virtual necessity. Forty percent of all managers are now women (up 20 percent since 1970). By the end of this century, females will account for 65 percent of all the new entrants in the workforce. For this reason businesses need to provide solutions that are fair to both the women and their employers. This solution is the "Mommy Track."

Not only does this practice aid women who place a primary interest on their careers, but it also allows flexibility for those who wish to spend equal time on a family as well as a career. Without a plan similar to the one proposed by Schwartz, this is virtually impossible. As the statistics have shown, many women are leaving their management positions because most employers do not offer suitable options. Under the "Mommy Track" those women who considered themselves "career and family" *are* placed in middle-management positions.

However, the trade-off creates a worthwhile balance. Instead of being forced to give up their jobs, women are able to effectively manage home, children and career. Alternative work schedules, extensive time off and at-home work programs are all benefits of the "Mommy Track". The company is also able to keep valuable employees instead of losing them. Clearly, the Schwartz proposal does not impose restrictions on women. Rather, it allows them flexibility and choice.

A final concern is the assertion that Schwartz's idea promotes inequity among female and male employees. The answer is apparent. Schwartz recognizes that there is a slow, but growing interest in "career and family" options within the male workforce. Therefore, she has stated that the term "parent track" would be more appropriate. Her plan is not exclusive to women, but instead would make it possible for *men* to balance work and family more readily — thus further eliminating double standards.

Controversy about Felice Schwartz's idea is merely unsubstantiated rhetoric. Riding the "Mommy Track" does not require a one way ticket. Since flexibility is inherent in the plan, changing goals and therefore, categories, is always possible. Making the proposal a reality is not only an option, but a necessity. In doing so, businesses as well as their employees will profit. Ω

To our chagrin, Channing wrote a Russian paper instead of working on the Critic.

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What They Forgot to Teach You in Psych 10

By Jeff Ensley

Almost every time I read a newspaper, I encounter some article in which journalists are aiding their allies, the mental health experts, in a dangerous effort to destroy personal responsibility and individual liberty. Like lemmings marching to the sea, the public shows an increased willingness to trade in the values and traditions that so many have fought and died for over the centuries. People are lining up to turn responsibility for their actions over to psychotherapists and social scientists. In return, these "scientists" promise to eliminate guilt and blame by assuring the faithful that almost every regrettable act they commit is the result of some mental illness and not their own choices. But there are dangerous consequences of this cure for guilt: the destruction of individuality and a willingness to have government "experts" take control of our lives.

A recent example of this propaganda was about the efforts to free singer James Brown, who is serving a prison sentence for trying to run over two police officers. The paper quotes Jesse Jackson, that world-renowned expert on mental health, as saying, "Obviously, James has some problems. We want to help him work through those problems so he won't repeat the same offenses." Silly me! I thought James Brown tried to run over the policemen to avoid getting arrested and didn't care about their lives.

Nevertheless, Rev. Jackson informs us — and too many behavioral experts would agree — that Brown's behavior is the result of past experiences, not free choice. Poor James! But if people like James can't be blamed for their misbehavior, can we honestly praise them for their hard work and talent? Is this beyond their control as well? If people deserve no punishment for their actions are they entitled to the fruits of their labor?

Perhaps you've read about the efforts to excuse Hedda Nussbaum for doing nothing when Joel Steinberg murdered his 6-year-old daughter Lisa. But Hedda had been battered herself so she didn't know what she was doing (so say the experts). Yet she refused to call for help for 11 hours while Steinberg was away and the child was in a coma. Just when did she become a victim and unable to act on her own volition? The first time Steinberg hit her? Or after a year or so of beatings? Maybe she never had control of her actions because of some unresolved conflict from her childhood (as the psychoanalysts would say).

But why let her testify or even drive a car when her judgement is, according to those who know, severely impaired? Perhaps her judgement wasn't impaired. Perhaps she just avoided the responsibility of saving the child to protect herself from Steinberg. Perhaps she's just a coward — or every bit as evil as Steinberg.

An episode from recent history funnier than any Joseph Heller novel was the reaction to Janet Cooke, the journalist who won the Pulitzer Prize for her story about an 8-year-old heroin addict. Unfortunately, it turned to be false. Naturally, *The Washington Post*, who employed Ms. Cooke, was embarrassed by the situation. But rather than admit that one of their journalists (those guardians of truth) was a liar, Executive Editor Ben Bradlee said, "We've talked to professional help about her, and we're going to get it for her and pay for it." A *New York Times* editorial said, "We do not know what possessed Janet Cooke to invent an interview..." How absurd! Machiavelli would have known what possessed her: blind ambition, not demons or madness. But psychotherapists, who have nothing to gain but money, power and prestige, are more than willing to assure us that she must be sick! Why else would she invent such a tragic tale and peddle it as real? To get ahead? To win recognition? Unthinkable! Maybe college seniors who pad their resumes need some professional help too.

Speaking of help, have you noticed all the articles and talk show time devoted to this new "addiction" to sex? The experts tell us that sometimes people just can't control their sexual urges. That's what I told girls when I was a teenager. Dr. Morton L. Kurland, a Palm Springs psychiatrist, asserts that people do not choose to commit adultery. "In almost all cases, the cause is depression," he says. But what he really means is, "anyone who doesn't live by my moral standards is obviously sick."

> *If people deserve no punishment for their actions are they entitled to the fruits of their labor?*

Since psychiatrists can't make money from moral counseling, "immoral" behavior must be pathological. Not surprisingly, since the discovery of this disease there has been an explosion of new cases. Can you think of any disease you would rather have? How nice. After you've grown bored with your spouse, simply catch this disease when a new co-worker starts flirting with you. If you're really sick then you shouldn't feel guilty for breaking those silly wedding vows and, if your mate believes in Psychiatry, you're off the hook should you get caught. As far as illnesses go, I'll take this one over all others any time.

As we learned from a *Daily Tar Heel* editorial several weeks ago, alcoholism is a disease just like cancer or heart failure. Chris Hood explains that medical professionals, geneticists, and mental health experts generally agree that alcoholism is a physical illness. The alcoholic has no more control over his alcoholism than someone with Down's Syndrome has over his genes.

Do you believe this? If so, answer these questions. If an otherwise good driver has a heart attack while driving, loses control of his car and kills someone, should he be tried for manslaughter? Most people think not. Then should we not extend this immunity to the alcoholic? After all, he is sick. Attorneys have tried, so far without success, to use this illness argument to defend drunk drivers. Do you really favor their efforts? Or does something in the back of your mind warn you that excusing the alcoholic for his act would only help the experts and drunkards spill more blood on the highways?

Just the same, calling adultery an illness will assure that more innocent spouses than ever will contract AIDS from their "sick" mates. If these really are illnesses, why is conversation (psychotherapy) used to treat them? The Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) treatment plan, for the disease they call alcoholism, would appear to be religious in nature to a naive observer (the type of person who cannot see the Emperor's fine clothes). AA, and the many private treatment programs that copy it, talk about trust in a higher power. That sure doesn't cure an ear infection.

It gets worse. Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General and Chairman of the National Advisory Council of the ACLU (unbelievable!) published a book in 1973 called *Crime In America*. In it, he blames crime on mental illness and calls punishment of criminals a crime. The goal should be rehabilitation. But he should have dedicated the book to George Orwell with tongue in cheek. Clark says that fixed sentences are irrational and should be replaced by indeterminate sentencing. In other words, whether your crime is mass murder or a single act of public drunkenness, you stay as long as it takes the mad doctors to fix you.

Did I mention that Clark was once the U.S. Attorney General and an ACLU leader? Of course, many social scientists and anti-Jeffersonian humanitarians (benign Stalinists) have endorsed this "enlightened" approach to dealing with crime, perhaps because they cannot accept the fact that the poor and oppressed people they worship are capable of evil. These same mental health experts, who I might add have an extremely high suicide rate, have advocated testing school children to intervene on their behalf as soon as possible. What a Brave New World it is!

Of course, in the past and even now, such proposals have been politically infeasible. With the raging hysteria about crime and drugs, citizens are not quite ready to exchange the current judicial system for psychiatric justice. But the idea that all undesirable behavior results from mental illness (which results from poverty, racism, television, junk food, etc.) is gaining acceptance and is certain to be passed on to our children. Of course we can expect them to behave quite poorly since they will know that their behavior is beyond their control. I wonder if this has any connection to the increasing rates of teenage apathy, pregnancy, suicide, and murder?

Already, some criminals are excused of their guilt because of their behavior in other situations (like John Hinkley). This increases the incentive to commit certain crimes. Getting the attention and sympathy of mental health workers, especially if no one else notices you, certainly makes committing a criminal act more attractive.

Today people are denied the right to die and are forcibly treated when they try to end their own lives. Why stop there? Why not commit those who get caught driving without a seat belt or participate in dangerous sports? Aren't they sick? We make motorcyclists wear helmets. Why not take away their motorcycles and give them some electroconvulsive therapy so they'll lack the desire to do anything dangerous? Is it humane to let them destroy themselves because of some silly notions about individual liberty?

Don't forget, both Ezra Pound and Frances Farmer were treated against their will because of their dangerous political beliefs (which indicated that they *must* be demented) — not in the Soviet Union but in the United States. Why not do the same to other activists now?

Let me assure the reader that I, like the professionals, believe that background, etc., does influence behavior by influencing choices. I believe that alcoholics are genetically different and find it easier to abuse alcohol. But I believe that choice is theirs to make. They have the capacity, if not the incentive, to stop.

If one is poor, uneducated, and self-hating, the consequences of committing a crime are less than those for a middle-class person with a Ph.D. But promising the criminal lots of attention, sympathy, and a comfortable life if he gets caught (and the rewards of his crime if he doesn't) actually increases the incentive to commit crimes. Excusing rape or child molestation as the result of illness makes them more likely to occur.

And if you accept the premise that all aberrant or immoral behavior results from forces beyond one's control, and not from personal choices, doesn't it logically follow that all behavior is beyond the individual's control? Why even try to do what's right? Who needs freedom if people can't make choices? Aren't good mothering, creativity, and being productive all results of uncontrollable impulses? When some poet gets caught writing depressing verses, why not destroy his work before it damages someone's mind and treat the poet for his acute melancholia? But can anything have meaning if we're all nothing more than strands of DNA controlling a mass of molecules whose only purpose is to protect and pass on the DNA? Such a view is widely accepted by psychologists.

Furthermore, call me cynical if you like (Please do! I'm really sick and I want to be abused!), but I believe that psychotherapists invent illnesses for their own gain. Taking adultery away from the priests and calling it an illness is a perfect example. They'll make millions.

The American Psychiatric Association used to consider homosexuality a disease. But many well-educated friends of psychiatry didn't like this, so in 1973 homosexuality was removed from the official diagnostic manual as a mental disorder. However, psychotherapists, who understand the marketplace, still wish to treat homosexuals and help them come to terms with themselves and adjust to an intolerant world. While 20 years ago most psychiatrists thought homosexuals were sick, today when a layman feels that way, the good doctors claim that he must suffer from homophobia (one of those *new* diseases).

Maybe I'm just unsophisticated, but I believe that both engaging in homosexual acts and finding such acts distasteful are signs of human diversity, not psychopathology. But both the homosexual and the homophobic do need help! They need protection from the mental health professionals who are more than willing to destroy their dignity with diagnostic labels that will encourage others to treat them with hostility.

You know what's really frightening to me? This is a scientific age in which most intelligent people recognize that science has vastly improved our quality of life. Can you imagine life without polio vaccines, modern sewage disposal, electricity, etc? Unfortunately, most people believe that psychology and psychiatry are as scientific as chemistry and cardiology and will soon be capable making everybody happy. But if you study mental health science without the necessary faith, it sounds a lot more like religion than anything remotely related to science.

There are thousands of different ideas about what causes and cures misery. Can you imagine what would happen if aerospace scientists had as many disagreements about what causes flight? I sure wouldn't go within 30 miles of an airport. Of course psychology can provide us with interesting and useful information and psychotherapy can help some people. But so can exercise or talking to a friend. Christianity or Buddhism could help too. Do we want to surrender our liberty to any of the many religions that are more than willing to take control of our lives?

The Christian Right is fighting for control of our lives by trying to gain political power and persuade us that our whole reason for being is simply to prepare our souls for Jesus and, that being the case, we don't need freedoms that are irrelevant to the *real* purpose of life. But strangely enough, many people who are frightened by the prospects of America becoming a theocracy are themselves fighting for another type of paternalistic state.

If the government tried to prevent suicide because people who kill themselves go to hell, many people would be outraged. But since psychologists assure us that only crazy people want to die, few people fight for this inalienable right. We don't excuse child killers when some priest claims they're possessed by demons, but if the murderer whispers the right sick nothings into the psychiatrist's ear, he'll certainly be rewarded with a few years of professional attention before he gives the correct response again and returns to the freedom that he cruelly denied others.

Unsurprisingly, even the ACLU believes it's OK to rrest some people, guilty of no crime, hold them someimes for life, and inject them with brain-damaging hemicals to make them submit to their fate. Of course, lmost everyone agrees that these people are crazy. But what does that mean? Isn't there always a value judgement when someone is considered crazy?

Sure, some people talk to people who aren't there. ome people pray and speak in tongues. I can't underand this. But I don't want to lock up these people. I elieve it's foolish to forgo medical treatment and pray or recovery if one has cancer, but to me, denying omeone this right is a greater crime than letting them die their own hands.

Although I fear these paternalists and their efforts to stall their psychiatric Politburo, I think the real danger es in the average person's willingness to believe that y regrettable or undesirable behavior must be someing he cannot help. The newspapers say so, Phil Dohue agrees, and two-thirds of all therapists are willing to pretend that free will is a myth. But believing is seeing. And if people believe themselves incapable of walking past the ice cream shop without eating two gallons of mocha chip or saying no to that good-looking delivery boy because their car got towed last week and they're feeling down, they're probably going to see themselves incapable of taking action that might improve their life.

One thing that psychology has shown us is that people who have an internal locus of control do better in school, have higher incomes, are more creative, and report themselves as happier than people who believe they are incapable of controlling their own destiny. Locus of control does change in response to experience, good or bad. But disowning one's undesirable behavior and responsibilities is the first step to making oneself a passive zombie, incapable of anything more than turning on the TV. America could become one big hospital with millions of patients looking to the media for their instructions on living.

Of course, it's painful to ask yourself why you did something and to blame (without punishing) yourself for your bad grades, betting all your money on a horse, or maintaining a relationship with some jerk who mistreats you. But once you do you can recognize that you have the capacity to change because these are mistakes of life, not illnesses. Or you can listen to those who tell you otherwise and have a life that's guilt-free but utterly void of meaning and true happiness. It's your choice. Ω

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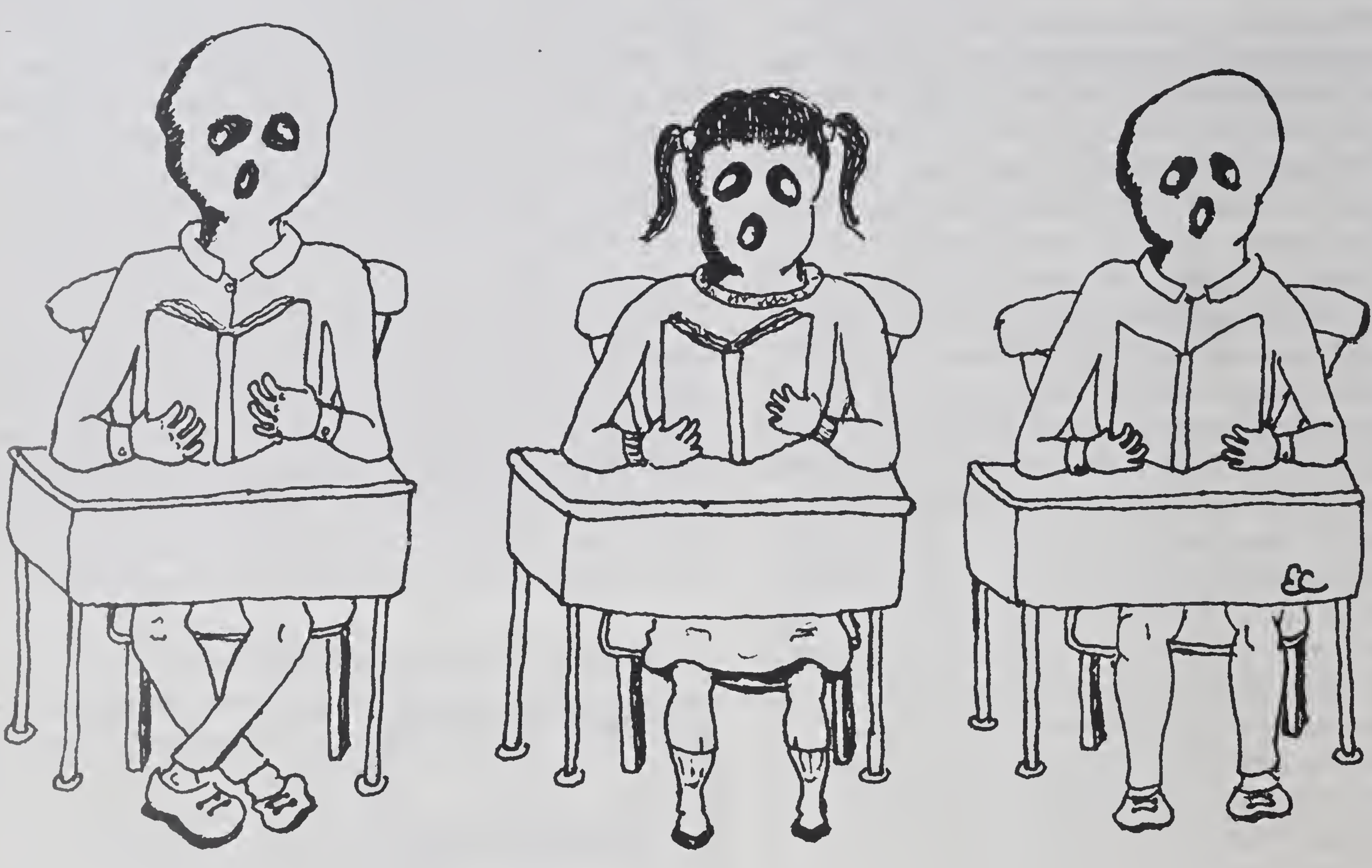
Textbook Tyranny: Creating Mindless Drones



> *We are faced with the paradoxical fact that education has become one of the chief obstacles to intelligence and freedom of thought.*
>
> —*Bertrand Russell*

I am reminded of something that happened recently to one of my brothers, who is an eighth grader in Winston-Salem. He is a bright kid, and is always getting into disagreements with his teachers. As is the case in most schools these days, some of my brother's teachers don't look favorably on a dissenting voice in their classrooms. After getting in trouble with one teacher, he was suspended. When my mother called to speak to the principal, she was told that my brother is a smart, likable child, but that he "acts like he has a mind of his own." After examining several social science books used in the Chapel Hill/Carrboro City school system, I am not surprised.

It appears that today's education establishment is more concerned with turning out automatons, than thinking individuals capable of criticizing prevailing attitudes and beliefs. The content of the new textbooks I examined is instructive. Although mostly value-neutral (something Allan Bloom sees as a problem in itself), the books all place great emphasis on deference to rules and law. They portray government as an unqualified good.

The textbooks follow the concept of "expanding horizons," beginning with a study of the individual, family, and community, eventually expanding to the worldwide level. In order to placate a myriad of watchful special interests, textbook writers are forced to remain largely neutral when treating subjects such as wars and political conflicts. These textbooks give children a set of facts about these subjects, but do not address their causes, or more importantly, how they might have been resolved differently. The advantages of studying history are largely eliminated, because children do not get the opportunity to examine alternative views or interpretations of history. California school superintendent Bill Honig has described this as "teaching history as if it were a landscape viewed from a speeding car."

There are two dangers to such a teaching method. First it gives teachers a great amount of discretion in influencing how children view historical and contemporary events. A second, more fundamental danger is that these books indoctrinate children with the belief that government is good, and that anything spawned from the "democratic process" has a mystical virtue that should not be questioned.

An example of this is a high school level book titled, *Civics: Government and Citizenship*. In the beginning, the book has nothing but praise for the limited Constitutional government that once existed in America. But as it begins to deal with more contemporary U.S. history, it treats the expanding role of government as good, or at least acceptable. This completely contradicts the ideals of freedom and limited government originally applauded. Students are never allowed to question the growth of government as something contrary to the intentions of the Founding Fathers. Instead, the textbooks implicitly reconcile this contradicton by telling them that big government is justified by nothing other than its existence.

Another example of this deference to the rule of the State is found in *North Carolina: Our People, Places, and Past*, a middle level textbook. Students reading this text are warned that "People sometimes pay more attention to their rights than to their responsibilities." These responsibilities entail doing things for the ever-elusive "public good," such as "paying taxes, and supporting the public efforts of state agencies..." At points the text altogether abandons the pretense that these responsibilities are between citizens. Instead they are "Our responsibilities to state government..." The book reinforces the idea of "public good" by defining the word "fair" not on an individual level, but as doing "what is best for most of the people concerned." Who is to decide what is "fair"? You guessed it.

> *"Lies by omission are the stock in trade of the educational system, which are a sophisticated training ground in advanced forms of lying."*

Another book, *Civics*, tells us that "life as we know it would be impossible without government." Not only are children being taught that government is virtually unquestionable, they are taught that it is essential to their existence. Some of us still choose to believe the reverse — that we are essential to its existence. Instead, our children grow up with the belief that government is an end rather than a mean, and that their obligaion to honor its existence is as great as its obligation to protect heir rights.

Here are some more interesting "facts" with which children re being indoctrinated:

•Samuel Gompers, father of labor monopolies in the U.S., vas a "wise and strong" leader. One wonders whether the illions of workers who have suffered unemployment due to e restrictive activities of labor unions since then agree.

•In the U.S., we are "free to do as we wish only if we do not ke away anyone else's freedom." Apparently the author has ever considered drug laws, blue laws, labor and business laws, d a number of other victimless crime laws that restrict dividual freedom. This statement illustrates the opinion of any that in the U.S. we are not really free, we only think we e.

•Government "provides us with many services we otherise would not have," such as garbage collection, highway construction, and police protection. This ignores the fact that private industry already provides many such services, and can do so at a lower cost than governments. We are not so dependent on government for our well-being as the textbook writers would have us believe.

•In the U.S. we elect our leaders, says one textbook. Interestingly enough, a voting percentages table for presidential elections in the back of the book shows that the "we" the writers speak of has never amounted to more than 34.6% of eligible voters. So much for majority rule.

•"Inflation results when there is an increase in the money supply, and a stable supply of goods." A better definition than most college texts, but the very next sentence says, "Rising prices are the cause of inflation." Looks like something for the Department of Redundancy Department. Most would argue that rising prices are the indicators of inflation, not the cause.

•Two textbooks deal with the Cuban Missile Crisis, and both tell the reader only that the Soviets placed missiles in Cuba. No mention is made of the fact that the U.S. had missiles in Turkey, aimed at the Soviet border.

Similar examples of distortion, bias, and lies by omission abound. I am reminded of Claude Steiner, who wrote, "Lies by omission are the stock in trade of the educational system, which is a sophisticated training ground in advanced forms of lying." Some may argue that these books merely inculcate students with a sense of citizenship necessary for the workings of an ordered society. This may be true. But there is a difference between giving children a sense of responsibility to their fellow humans and making them passive to actions of the State.

People who fear the power of a strong State should consider the fact that the State is teaching their children. In the U.S. we are lucky enough that most people aren't killed by the State for their beliefs. But by training future generations to accept the rule of the State without question, the State does something more than kill people — it destroys ideas such as freedom and individualism. These textbooks I examined, although criticized for being value-neutral, are dangerous because they foster unquestioning acceptance of the State. Furthermore, they foster apathy in general, because they don't make students interpret events, they merely make them memorize them.

When college professors wonder why students seem so apathetic to the world and contemporary events, they should look to the elementary schools. Opinions and individual ideals are being trampled daily, both in the textbooks and in the classrooms. Something is definitely wrong when having a mind of one's own is looked down upon by a school principal. I hope for the sake of future generations that more children get suspended for voicing opinions. Ω

Woodlief once spoke for five minutes without saying "defund".

Tranquility + 20

by John Jaynes and Michael Lowrey

✳ It will be 20 years ago, come this July 20th, that Neil Armstrong set foot on the Moon. Few events, past or present, still bring as much pride and sense of achievement for Americans as the moon landings. The technological challenges were huge; when President John F. Kennedy spoke of putting a man on the Moon and returning him safely to Earth in 1961, merely putting a spacecraft into orbit was still something of an achievement. Yet the seemingly impossible would be done, only 12 years after the first artificial satellite orbited the Earth.

The moon landings were, in a broader context, an affirmation of American technological know-how and world leadership. The space race of the late 1950s and 1960s was begun as little more than a proxy arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States, and was continued largely on the grounds of national prestige. The rockets that sent satellites and manned spacecraft into orbit were the ICBMs and IRBMs of their day, the backbone of a nation's nuclear attack forces. The country which scored the latest coup in space was assumed to have the best missile know-how; failure in space flight meant military weakness. Indeed, until the space shuttle era, the Saturn rockets were the only manned launch vehicles not derived directly from military missiles. Winning the moon race was not cheap: NASA's peak budget in 1965 was a hefty 4.3 percent of the total federal budget.

✳ So where do we stand today, near the twentieth anniversary of this triumph? If the late sixties were the era of *Star Trek*, the U.S. space program of recent years might be better described as *Lost in Space*. The worst accident in the history of manned space flight occurred on January 28, 1986 when the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded 73 seconds after launch, killing all seven of its crew. Three unmanned rocket launches failed spectacularly in the following 14 months. The nation that pioneered much of space exploration now finds that the routine launch of a weather satellite atop an Atlas missile built in 1961 rates a page-two story in the *Charlotte Observer*.

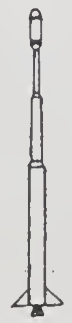
The different parts of what is called "the" space program are in various states of disarray. Indeed, there is no longer a single space program. There are at least five different space programs, operating virtually independently of each other: the manned space program, general military uses of space, the Strategic Defense Initiative, commercial operations in space, and the space science program. The success of, say, RCA's latest communications satellite has little effect on or relationship to the next unmanned probe to Mars or on the Department of Defense's latest generation of sea-scanning spacecraft. In all areas, though, America's leadership in space technology has slipped or is being challenged. Our space efforts are adrift, and this did not happen overnight.

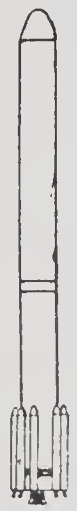
✳ The best-known of these space efforts is the manned space flight program. None of our space programs is as troubled.

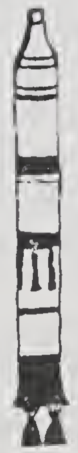
After Apollo 11's moon landing, with public interest and support waning and with President Nixon (while publicly lapping up the credit for Apollo) indifferent if not hostile to "Kennedy's" manned space program, there was little support for the next exploratory steps, a permanent base on the moon or a manned Mars mission. Instead, NASA higher-ups decided that "reliable, low-cost transportation to a working space station to launch future missions, manned and unmanned in deep space had to be the goal."

The shuttle they advocated was to be completely reusable, with launch costs about a tenth of the one-shot Apollo rockets'. In hope of getting the shuttle/station, NASA agreed with the Office of Management and Budget to cancel the last four moon flights and end the Saturn program — throwing away Apollo's costly technology. But without real Presidential support, the space shuttle program, begun with the idea of ensuring cheap access to space for NASA, started turning into a battle to convince the President and Congress that the shuttle could launch everything: NASA's, the military's, commercial satellites; and do it cheaper than expendable rockets. The space station became something to worry about once the shuttle was flying.

At the same time, it became clear that the original shuttle would be too costly to develop in the prevailing budgetary climate. It was repeatedly redesigned to suit the budget office and the Defense Department. The original, fully reusable shuttle was changed to a partly reusable one, with a droppable fuel tank for the orbiter and a manned, fly-back booster stage. Then it had two unmanned, liquid-


Scout (U.S.)
payload to low orbit, 460 lb.
present


Delta (U.S.)
3,900 lb.
present


Titan II (U.S.)
8,600 lb.
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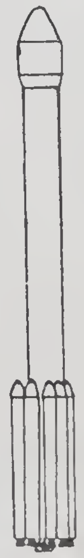
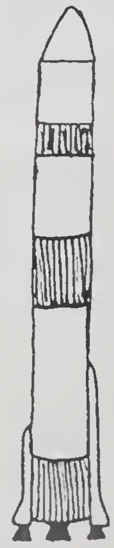

Delta II (U.S.)
11,000 lb.
present


Atlas - Centaur (U.S.)
12,700 lb.
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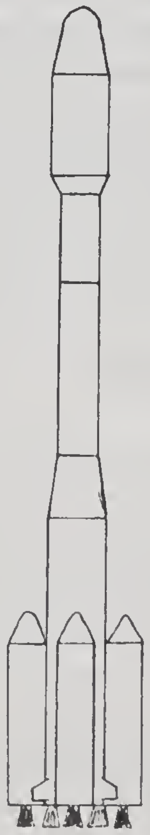
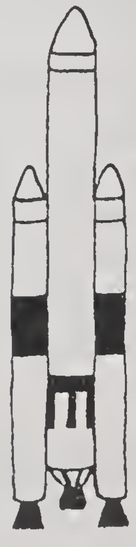
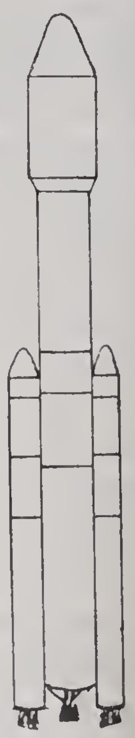

Ariane 4 (Europe)
14,000 lb.
present


Titan III (U.S.)
28,700 lb.
present


Titan IV (U.S.)
38,400 lb.
in testing

fueled boosters. Then two solid-fueled boosters. The size of the shuttle fleet dropped from seven to five to four. As development costs were slashed from $10-12 billion to $5 billion, the chances of the shuttle's operations staying cheap went way down too. But NASA kept promising to beat all comers; sometimes it looked to be paying more attention to its public-relations staff than to its engineers. Losing the shuttle funding fight, it seemed, meant an end to U.S. manned spaceflight.

It is said that camel is a horse designed by a committee. The Space Shuttle that eventually got funded was the result of many compromises, cheaper to build and better for the military, but dearer to run. NASA was once again developing leading-edge technology, but this time trying to do it on a shoestring. The old "zero defects" philosophy of NASA could not, and did not, last long in such an atmosphere.

✳ The shuttle that was to mark the beginning of a new age of space light, with launch costs so much lower than expendable launch vehicles (ELVs) it would make them obsolete, turned out differently. NASA's self-styled "space bus" was more of a temperamental, imported sports car, difficult to keep in service and with frightful bills. Cost overrun followed cost overrun. The first launch, originally cheduled for 1979, occurred two years later. By 1985 the Department of Defense and NOAA had concluded that that ELVs would be cheaper o operate than the shuttle after all. Instead of a horse, we got a camel. he launch schedule slipped from month to month; NASA could queeze out only nine flights in 1985 by massive overtime work and by annibalizing shuttles to be used on later flights to meet the needs of e next orbiter to go up; while at least two dozen flights a year had been romised from a four-shuttle fleet.

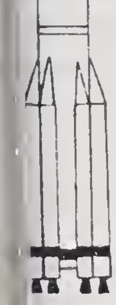
Then the *Challenger* blew up. No single event has ever forced such rastic changes upon the American space effort. Major changes in ASA management and the shuttle were necessary, and that fact could o longer be ignored. Equally clear was that the remaining shuttle fleet, ith a lighter and more realistic launch schedule, would not be able to eet the launch demands of both NASA and the DOD. Expendable ckets, such as the Delta, Atlas-Centaur, and Titan were ordered back to production, for both military and commercial launches. The efense Department, always lukewarm about the shuttle, ran from it much as possible. Only two or three military shuttle flights a year are w planned. Commercial satellites were dumped from the shuttle anifest entirely. The American rocket industry, which had been threatened with becoming totally dependent on the shuttle, was reinvigorated since it was no longer forced to compete with heavily subsidized shuttle flights. The European rocket company Arianespace got a golden opportunity and did not waste it; it now owns roughly half of the world market.

Lost in the aftermath was a more fundamental problem, the general lack of purpose in the entire manned space flight program for years beforehand. The justification for the shuttle had been essentially a financial one all along, but at some $300 million a flight it was not cheap. The shuttle was not based on any great vision of what America should be doing in space; no president supplied the leadership. Most of the administrations who presided over the shuttle program had an attitude of benign neglect. (Vice President Walter Mondale did have a strong opinion — he wanted to kill the manned space program entirely.) The shuttle was not built to support a space station, it was not built to explore space. It was built to save us money.

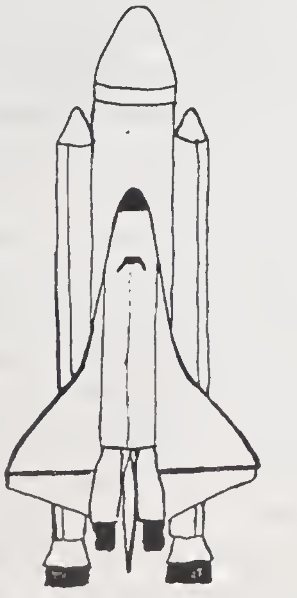
NASA, with no real direction from outside, was for its part intent not so much on getting something done, but on getting money from Congress, for which it needed manned missions, and on continuing manned spaceflight, for which it needed money. The shuttle was not a means but an end in itself. As NASA chief James Fletcher is quoted as saying in a recent issue of the Wall Street Journal, "The public looks at the shuttle as the main event. They're interested in seeing people in space, not robots." NASA not only sees a value in manned spaceflight, many there feel it is essential to get funding for the unmanned exploration of space, which is much safer and cheaper outside the Earth-Moon system. But "let's have a shuttle so we can keep flying people in space" is hardly a useful space goal!

And the space station, the original reason for the shuttle? It may get built. If it does, the shuttle will then be over ten years old.

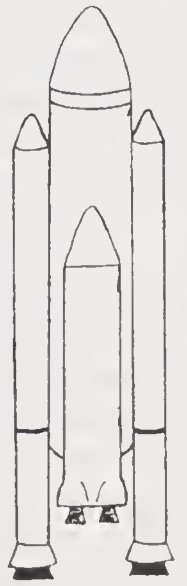
✳ The largest user of space in the Western world is the American Department of Defense. In the average year, at least half of the free world's space shots carry U.S. military cargoes. The most critical (and largest) systems, early warning, eavesdropping, and photo or radar mapping missions, are put up by the shuttle or Titan 34D/IV rockets. These systems are now not in the best of shape, with the military forced to keep using spacecraft that are nearing their tenth birthday (design life: five to seven years at



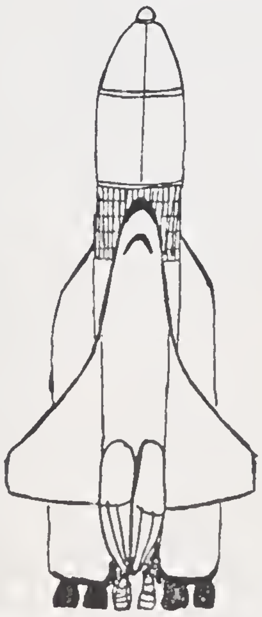
ton (U.S.S.R.)
4,000 lb.
resent



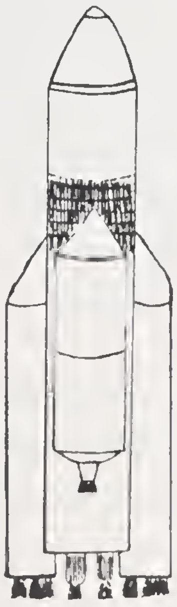
Space Shuttle (U.S.)
55,000 lb.
present



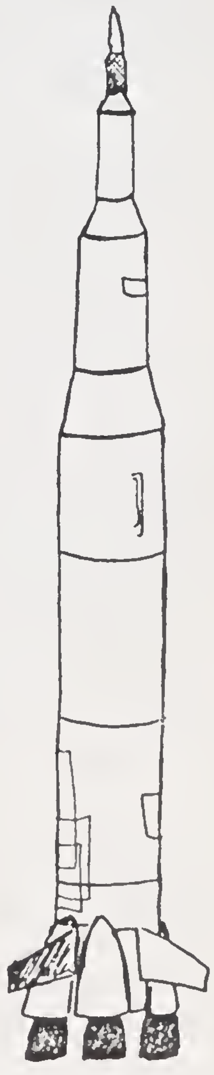
Shuttle-C (U.S.)
100,000 - 150,000 lb.
testing 1993 (?)



Energia/Shuttle (U.S.S.R.)
60,000 lb.
in testing



Energia (U.S.S.R.)
220,000-330,000 lb.
in testing



Saturn V (U.S.)
285,000 lb.
past

most) and running on back-up systems. Expect numerous launches, mainly on Titan IVs, to rebuild these systems over the next few years. Twenty-six Delta IIs have also been ordered; their main task will be launching the Global Positioning System, a precise navigation system originally scheduled to fly on the Shuttle. The first of 21 satellites was launched in February, and the system is supposed to be in place by the end of this year. A series of communications satellites will be sent in to space on Atlas-Centaurs. Smaller payloads will continue to be launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base on Atlas, Scout, Pegasus, and Titan II rockets. Still, the Department of Defense, even with a $10 billion push to expendable rockets, will not clear the space backlog from the *Challenger* disaster until at least 1992.

✻ A separate question is the Strategic Defense Initiative. A key problem, perhaps the key problem, is to develop a missile-defense system that is effective but small and light enough to be transported at reasonable cost into space. Given the launch needs of the other players in space, the SDI organization might well have to develop its own inexpensive launch capacity. SDI launch needs could be huge. One of the projected test satellites, Zenith Star, is so heavy (100,000 lb.) that no existing U.S. launch vehicle could orbit it; a complete system might require hundreds or thousands of satellites. Until an actual, final SDI system is better defined, look for perhaps a test or two a year in space. The latest test, called Delta Star, was launched a few weeks ago on a Delta II rocket.

✻ For as long as there has been space flight, there have been people dreaming of how to make a buck in space. Their ideas (often, so to speak, spacey) fall into three broad areas: using space to provide services, manufacturing something in space, or using the resources of the solar system. The traditional, proven way to make money in orbit is by selling a service, such as bouncing phone calls and television pictures off a satellite. Satellite launch efforts are rapidly recovering from the *Challenger* and subsequent disasters, and most of the money made in space in the next few years will be from launching communications satellites. American companies are for the moment doing well in the launch business, and start-up companies are preparing to try their new rocket designs in the marketplace.

Space-based manufacturing efforts, all the rage earlier this decade, face a huge hurdle: the cost of putting a pound of payload into space remains about $3,000 despite the shuttle. Nothing has yet been devised that can be made more cheaply in space than on the ground. The problems and delays with the shuttle have slowed experimentation in space, and the delays and possible funding problems with the space station portend even more difficulties. There are still good prospects, mainly in medical products and computer chips, for products which can be profitably manufactured in weightlessness. Holding one's breath while waiting for success, though, is not recommended.

As for schemes to build solar power satellites from lunar materials mine the asteroids, or build large colonies in space, suffice it to say such things will remain in the distant future as long as we can barely get our act together enough to launch rockets reliably and we can' agree on what, if anything, we want to do in space.

✻ Space scientists are not a happy lot; they have been hit hard, twice, by the shuttle's problems. First the shuttle's high (and underestimated) cost cut deeply into the amount of NASA money available fo space science. Then shuttle problems delayed those projects whic were funded. For example, the Galileo mission to Jupiter was originally scheduled to be launched in 1982; current plans are for a October 1989 launch. The project is $500 million over budget, $30 million of it because of the four extra years needed to get to Jupiter onc the spacecraft is launched. Safety concerns forced the use of a les powerful upper stage, so the probe must fly by Venus and Earth twic before building up enough speed for the trip to Jupiter. The Unite States has launched fewer scientific satellites in this decade than i 1975 and 1976. After 15 years of sending at least one mission to th Moon or beyond, the United States has launched no such mission sinc 1978.

Space scientists point out, as they have been doing for years, tha a relatively unreliable shuttle is not well suited for planetary mission that can be launched only during a "window" of a few days' duratio once every year or few years. (Some say that space science would b much better off without a shuttle, and want to end manned flight i deference to robot probes. Space opponents are happy to play bot ends against the middle.) Nor is the space shuttle by itself a grea science vehicle for experiments in Earth orbit; it can stay in orbit n more than ten days at a time and the power supply available t experiments is enough to run three hair dryers. But we may at leas begin to get science missions flying again this year.

✻ Overall, America's space program has not been in worse shap in many years. Yet while we stand still, others, notably the Soviets an Europeans, make steady advances. America has much to do in spac if it is to retain (or regain) its lead. Above all, America's space effo remains without a clear-cut objective. Recent efforts to develop a spac policy, while admirable, are so far only a partial solution. The Nation Commission on Space report, the first real effort at long-range planning in many years, was an excellent start. It mapped cut a path towar the exploration, exploitation, and colonzation of space over the ne few decades, and identified technologies which must be develope now in order to make major new initiatives in space possible.

The Reagan space policy was also an admirable effort, but it w too little, too late in an administration which otherwise qualified for t "benign neglect" category. Late is, however, better than never. Th policy did contain some excellent ideas, such as carrying the shuttle external fuel tanks into orbit for use as space structures or ra materials. It did remove the shuttle from competition for commerci launches. It did include some of the long-term goals of the Nation Commission on Space, in very general form. But without endorseme by the Bush administration, the policy has little force. President Bu has said that the space program should always be at "full throttle," b he has made little in the way of specific proposals so far.

The Congress has not been idle; a Space Settlement Act was sign into law late last year, declaring that "the extension of human li beyond Earth's atmosphere leading ultimately to the establishment space settlements will fulfill the purposes of advancing scienc exploration and development and will enhance the general welfare

The space program's greatest need, more than money or ne launch systems or a space station, is for long-term goals with enou

Space Shuttle Flights, rest of 1989:

Apr. 28	*Atlantis*	Magellan space probe
July 1	*Columbia*	DOD payload(secret)
Aug. 10	*Discovery*	DOD payload(secret)
Oct. 12	*Atlantis*	Galileo space probe
Nov. 13	*Columbia*	LEASAT 5, Syncom 4/5, & pick up LDEF experiment
Dec.11	*Discovery*	Hubble Space Telescope

national support to be meaningful. If not the ambitious programs of the National Commission on Space or the Ride Report for manned outposts on the Moon and a mission to Mars, and extensive space development and colonization, then perhaps less grandiose ones.

With a long-term plan, we can point to specfic benefits from near-term actions. A space station, for example, can be justified because it provides a platform for space-manufacturing experiments, it supports research into long-term residence in space for manned planetary missions, it provides an assembly point for unmanned planetary missions, or because it is a base for further manned expeditions to the Moon — instead of becoming a NASA end in itself, like the shuttle did. Our space activities will not be just an instrument of national prestige, or the fulfillment of a dream advanced by a popular president, but undertaken to get specific results. We will not waste more time and money floundering towards the future.

✳ The American and Soviet space programs in the past twenty years are painfully reminiscent of the story of the tortoise and the hare. The Americans raced to the Moon, won, and then spent the best part of two decades wondering what to do next. The Russians pursued a program of building on past successes, plodding methodically forward. To give just one example, in 1969, the U.S. had the Saturn V, capable of putting 285,000 lb. in orbit, and the U.S.S.R. had the SL-13 Proton, capable of putting 43,000 lb. in orbit. In 1989, the U.S. has the shuttle, capable of putting 55,000 lb. in orbit, and the U.S.S.R. is testing the SL-X-17 Energia, capable of putting 220,000 lb. in orbit. The Saturn V? You can see one in the museum area down at the Kennedy Space Center.

1987 Space Launches

Soviet Union

Photo Reconnaissance	31
Communications	14
Meteorology/Remote Sensing	4
Navigation/Geodesy	9
Science	2
Early Warning	3
Electronic Intelligence	13
Minor Military	3
Manned	3
Man-Related	8
Launch Vehicle Test	3
Unknown	2
Total	95

(includes 1 communcations & 1 navigation which reached orbit but failed)

Rest of World

U.S.	8
Japan	3
China	2
ESA(Europe)	2
Total	15

✳ If we adopt a plan like that of the National Commission on Space, vhat can we expect? The shuttle, barring more major problems, will be dequate to do its now-reduced job. If the space station is to be built on chedule, the shuttle can (barely) meet the launch needs of the station, 0 flights in 1995-1998. There is much to be said for building the huttle-C, a version of the shuttle with an unmanned, expendable argo carrier replacing the orbiter. It could lift between 100,000 and 50,000 lb., two or three times as much as a shuttle, so that four flights f a Shuttle-C could replace roughly half of the manned shuttle flights eeded to orbit the station. Also, launching larger pieces will reduce e amount of difficult and tiring assembly required of the astronauts.

We will not throw away the shuttle's expensive capability as we did e Saturn rockets, but rather build on it. Improved solid boosters could ring the Shuttle's payload capacity up to 67,000 lb. from 55,000 now. ater, liquid-fueled boosters could be cleaner-burning and cheaper an solid-fueled models; an improved shuttle, with a reusable fly-ck booster, could begin to realize the original goal of cheap shuttle ights. Unmanned versions could fly when manned shuttles are ounded.

Complementary to the manned shuttle will be better expendable ckets. The Advanced Launch System project, administered jointly the DOD and NASA, has as its goal cutting the cost of launches by factor of ten with a partly reusable, partly expendable unmanned stem. The rocket manufacturers will be developing their own de-ns for the commercial market. We will not again make the mistake putting all our space-launch eggs in one basket, especially with a ace station to support.

The military space programs, including SDI, will probably still nt their own launch capability. With a large variety of launchers to ose from, there should be no launch backlogs, unless SDI requires uly huge number of launches.

The commercial market will remain largely independent of the er space programs. Subsidies to rocket companies may become a major trade issue.

The space scientists will be happier because they will have dependable access to space on a variety of vehicles, and unmanned probes will be needed to support manned space exploration as well as science for its own sake.

Soon after we build the space station, we can begin returning to the Moon, both for exploration and exploitation. The possibility of obtaining materials from the Moon instead of the Earth will allow more space activity at lower cost. The space station can act as a spaceport in orbit, making trips to and from the Moon easier and less expensive. We will not be dawdling, but we will not be wasting money and talent "racing" to beat artificial deadlines.

Our manned flights to the planets will not be "flags and footprints" journeys, with little lasting benefit besides being able to say, "we were there." Instead, they will be designed to advance a continuing program of exploration and eventual colonization. International cooperation, with the U.S.S.R. for example, may be welcome, but we should not expect miracles, and we must not let enthusiasm for a joint American-Soviet manned Mars mission preempt all other space efforts.

We can also begin work on solar power satellites and space colonies, but that is for the longer term yet. We must take the first steps now.

✳ Perhaps President Bush will be the one who finally takes enough interest in space to establish a broad-based space policy with national goals which will outlast his administration. If so, we may have progress to report twenty years from now which will make the eight years' progress from Kennedy's declaration to the moon landing look tame. Or perhaps the fortieth anniversary of the landing of the *Eagle* in the Sea of Tranquility may bring even less cheerful news than the present one, as the tortoises leave the hare in the dust. Ω

The authors are really space cadets anyway. But don't tell anyone.

IN THE ZOO

BY DAVID HOOD

Selling the *Yackety Yack* Short

DURING THE ANNUAL STUDENT budget deliberations in March, Student Congress actually came up with a good idea. Instead of simply rubber-stamping the budget request from the *Yackety Yack* (UNC's college yearbook), the Congress significantly reduced the Yak's allocation. This, of course, led to a series of hand-wringing stories in the DTH about how other universities guaranteed funding to their yearbooks, etc.

Why was this such a good idea? The sponsor of the motion, Jurgen Buchenau (District 3), had two justifications for the partial cut-off of funds. First, it seems that a student group must pay a fee to appear in the pages of the Yak. Buchenau and others felt such a policy was discriminatory, in that the poorer student groups have not been able to afford this fee thus denying them access. Of course, were the Yak to end this policy, they would have to ask for a greater allocation from Student Congress to cover the resulting revenue loss (and increase in space for student organizations.) So what Buchenau was really saying was, "Ask for more money!"

Needless to say, this is not the reason I support the lesser allocation to the Yak. The yearbook should not have to provide free space to any organization that requests it — that would greatly increase the cost of the book, just because some friends got together and decided to form a "university-recognized" student group. If the group wants the exposure that inclusion in the yearbook can provide, they should pay for it.

No, the good reason for the cut-off in funds is the Yak's lack of advertising. Somewhere down the line the yearbook staff decided to forego advertising within the pages of the Yak, hoping to increase the "aesthetic" quality of the book. Student Congress reasoned that since the Yak is a publication, it should at least try to recoup some of its operating costs by selling ads. Kudos to the Congress for trying to foster some degree of self-sufficiency in the groups it funds. These organizations should have to pay *some* of their own way — nowhere in the real world will publications, for example, be guaranteed an income regardless of their readership/ad base.

Predictably, this stance was not popular with the staff of the *Yackety Yack*. They began to throw out a variety of questionable arguments to support the position that they should not have to solicit advertising. First, they argued, no one will buy ad space, since the Yak only comes out once per year. Baloney. Every high school yearbook has ads in it; I sold them myself when I was on my high school yearbook staff. In addition, while at home for Easter I perused my dad's *Yackety Yack* from 1962. Wanna hear some of the names that bought at least a half-page ad back then? Fowler's Food Stores, Julians, The Hub, Carolina Inn... This is nothing more than a smokescreen for the staff's reluctance to spend their time pounding the pavement.

I can identify with that. We have been successful in getting a lot of ads for THE CAROLINA CRITIC from national advertisers, but up until this issue we put little effort into soliciting local ads. On the other hand, *the catalyst* has been fairly successful in getting local ads, and it is a monthly publication run on a shoestring. Surely the well-established Yak could do better if they put forth the effort.

The major argument put forth by the Yak, however, is not the availability of advertising, but its desirability. They claim advertisements would mar the aesthetic beauty of their product. In other words, they think ads are dirty, cheap invasions of journalistic integrity necessitated by our capitalistic society. This is the same argument used by commentators on the national scene to trash Whittle Communications' proposed "Channel One" program, where high schools can receive a 12-15 minute news broadcast if they agree to the two minutes of commercials that go with it.

What the Yak is basically saying is that it should be allowed to publish what it wants without regard to the wishes of potential advertisers. By extension, of course, they are also arguing that the wishes of their customers shouldn't matter, since advertisers base their decisions upon the projected interest and circulation. The Yak feels their funding should be guaranteed by taxing students, whether those students will buy their product or not. A similar stance is taken by other campus media, particularly WXYC (which also refuses to solicit outside sources of revenue.)

This is a not a legitimate position. One may not like advertisements, but in a free economy businesses survive by serving the needs of their customers, not by pursuing their own agenda. In the media business, the product being offered to consumers is information (or entertainment). What commercial advertisers do is "piggy-back" on this dissemination of information, by paying a fee to include information about their products or services. In this way, subscriptions/user fees borne by the consumer can be lessened, which in turn allows for greater access to information to the poorer consumers.

Indeed, advertising in the media plays a crucial role in the market's ability to give consumers' info upon which they can base they purchasing decisions. Without avenues like newspapers, magazines, and television/radio producers would have to self-advertise, which would prove so expensive that only a few of the wealthiest consumers could afford to gather information.

Advertising also plays a crucial role in the quality control of publications. Sponsors seek out the most efficient ways to disseminate their information; they try to get the most "bang for the buck." This improves the media's responsiveness to the public, as they compete with each other for ad revenue. This is why funding the Yak and WXYC without insisting upon advertising is a bad idea. Student Congress reps cannot evaluate the worth of such enterprises better than the market. They only have one weekend to do it, and rely mostly upon information supplied by the money-hungry student groups themselves.

Allowing the market to decide the fate of WXYC or the Yak would be much more efficient. WXYC can talk until they're blue in the face about how important they are to the student body — but the only way to really find out would be to see if anyone is willing to advertise. The same is true for the Yak. By cutting them loose from tax-produced money we can find out how valuable their product truly is. They will have to make money by selling books and selling ads — both of which are dependant upon the quality of the Yak versus its production costs.

In Britain you have to pay a tax for each television you own, to pay for the government-run programming. The beauty of the American system is that decisions about what to watch, and which programs to fund, are made by the people themselves, not by bureaucrats.

Obviously this argument could be used to justify a total defunding of the *Yackety Yack* rather than just the partial cut-back approved by Student Congress. Any subsidy to an enterprise which purports to serve the interest of consumers is a bad idea. Defund the Yak. And WXYC. And *The Phoenix*. I'd throw in the DTH, but they are considering a voluntary withdrawal from the student budget. Why? Advertising pays their bills nicely. Ω

David Hood is a first year law student.

The Circus of Politics

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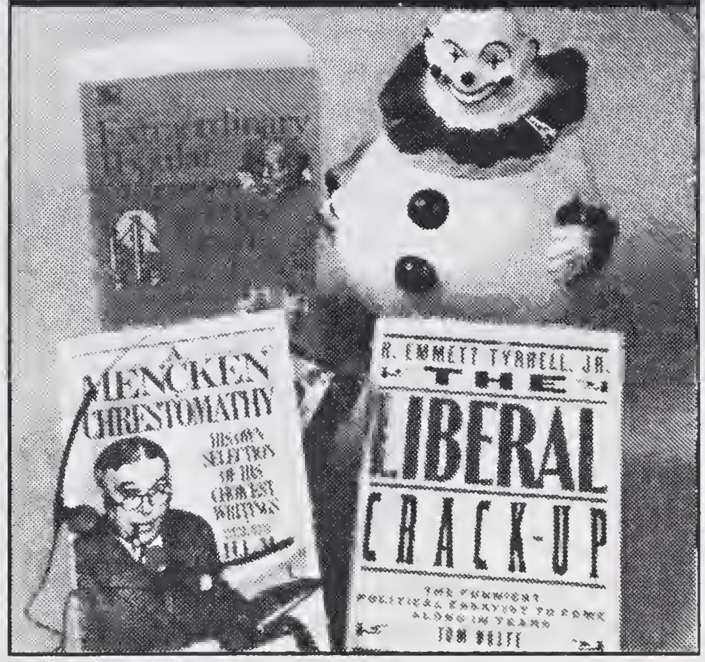

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Will *Glasnost* Destroy NATO?

IT WAS FORTY YEARS AGO THAT twelve nations signed a mutual defense pact to oppose Soviet expansion in Western Europe. This alliance, now made up of 16 nations, is known as NATO. It has, over the years, proven to be a great military and political success. That said, NATO now faces its greatest test. There is a leadership and propaganda contest taking place in Europe. It is, simply put, a struggle for the hearts and minds of the peoples of Western Europe. They want to know what the military balance will look like and who will shape it. Unfortunately, it seems that a few years of Gorbymania might do what forty years of expansionism and oppression did not do — divide America and its European allies.

In the past such a struggle would have been unthinkable. The Soviet Union of Stalin's or even Brezhnev's day was not a very trustworthy neighbor, much less an appealing place to live. The Soviet interventions in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 are difficult things to forgive or forget. But under Mikhail Gorbachev, and his concepts of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the Soviet Union seems a more open and less repressive place. The failures and shortcomings of the Soviet Union are now readily admitted. Information about the Soviet military that five years ago was a state secret is now being released daily.

Such moves by themselves would not greatly undermine NATO's unity. If a nation were to openly announce it had a less than friendly nature, its neighbors would be on guard, not deeply divided. However, what Gorbachev and company have done is openly announce that they seek arms reductions and less tension in the world. The dramatic announcement at the United Nations of the scheduled unilateral removal of six tank divisions plus 5,000 tanks from Eastern Europe comes to mind. Throw in announced cuts in the East German and Czechoslovakian armies for effect. No merely warm fuzzy phrases here — the Soviets seem to mean business.

Note that these moves may not be militarily significant. In military analysis, the details matter. For example, where the removed tank divisions go is a key question. Removal of excess 1950's vintage T54-55 tanks could actually benefit the Soviet military, allowing greater standardization of equipment and training on newer, more powerful models. Gorbachev's troop cuts might also reflect the lack of qualified men for the Soviet military. It seems that the number of under-educated, non-Russian speaking Muslim members of the Soviet population are growing rapidly while ethnic Russians are declining as a percentage of the total population.

At the same time, Europe is susceptible to arms deals. The psychological cost of being on the frontline (literally) of the struggle with the Soviet Union for over forty years is quite high, especially on West Germans. The Federal Republic of Germany serves as a base for just under 400,000 American, British, Canadian, French, Dutch and Belgian soldiers and airmen (not including their dependents). On a clear day, literally hundreds of sorties are flown by NATO air forces, often only hundreds of feet above ground. From this comes the inevitable crashes, which sometimes kill innocent civilians. Troop maneuvers clog German roads and destroy crops.

No merely warm fuzzy phrases here — the Soviets seem to mean business.

Additionally, many West Germans are questioning the need for such large military forces in their country. An increasing number of West Germans in the political mainstream see any conflict in central Europe as bad for their country. Tactical nuclear weapons, which NATO forces might feel pressured to use, would leave a lot of dead Germans and a devastated countryside. For that matter, so would chemical or biological warfare, or even a prolonged conventional war. This is a high price to pay for what is seen as a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

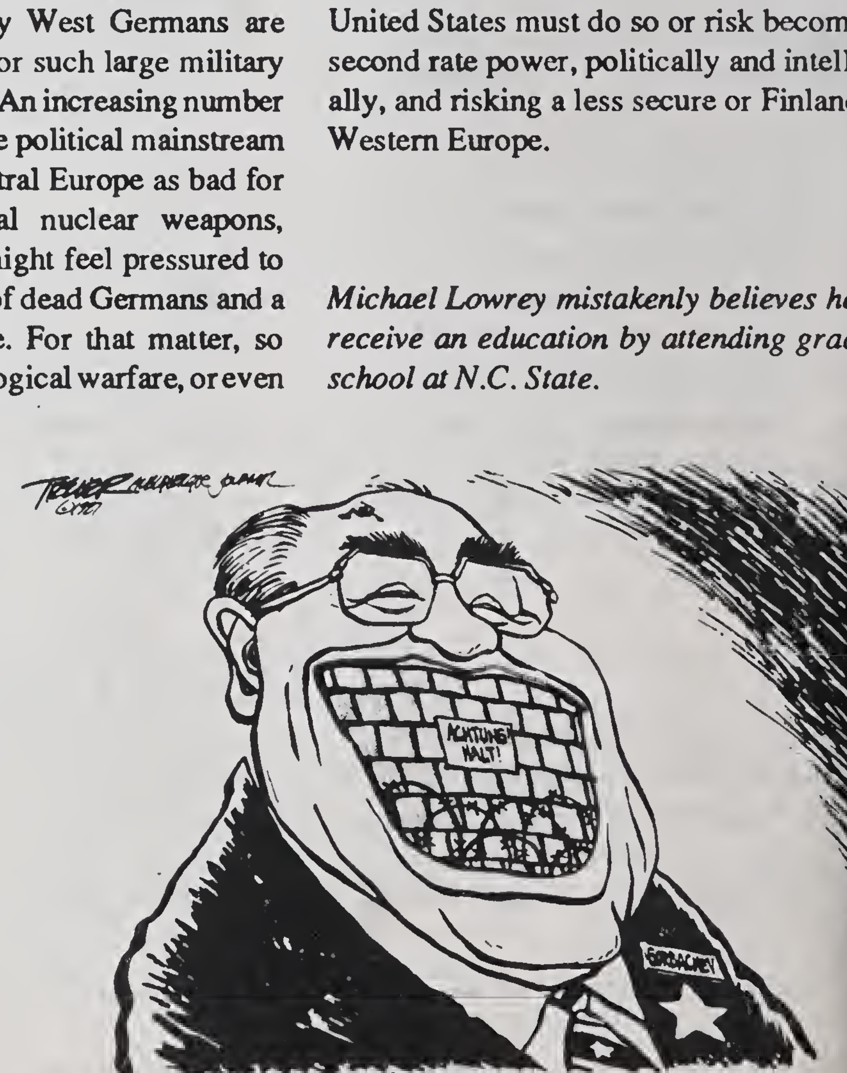
THE PLANned modernization of NATO's short range nuclear weapons is causing these tensions to come together. The current delivery vehicle, the Lance, won't be serviceable unti the late 1990's. The United States, Britain and several other NATO members want a replacement to be deployed as soon as possible fearing that delay might prevent the missile from being built.

To avoid the political cost of saying yes t the missiles, West German Chancello Helmut Kohl of the conservative CDU Part has put off his decision until after the 199 German elections. The foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the FDP Party (th CDU's alliance partner) sees agreeing t modernize the missiles now as sending th "wrong signal" to the Soviets.

NATO, as an alliance of independen nations, depends on a shared definition o security to maintain its existence. The challenge for American leadership is to respond t Gorbachev's challenge. The U.S. must develop a strategy that will address Wester Europe's fears and hopes while recognizin that the success of *glasnost* rests with one ma — Gorbachev. The next Soviet leader migh not be such a nice guy.

It is a difficult task for any administratio to set a global agenda, but especially for on that lacks an agenda of its own and pride itself on being "Kinder and Gentler." Yet, th United States must do so or risk becoming second rate power, politically and intellectually, and risking a less secure or Finlandize Western Europe. Ω

Michael Lowrey mistakenly believes he ca receive an education by attending graduat school at N.C. State.



SMILIN' MIKE

Intellectual Rot

FROM TIME TO TIME A document comes to light which brings into focus a noteworthy tendency in educational or cultural life. Those scholars who have recently banded together to defend the integrity and objectivity of scholarship, and to resist the growing movement to politicize studies from the tandpoint of some partisan point of view, are sometimes taxed with gross exggeration and even of inventing straw men and women as targets of their critiism. A recent response to a meeting of he newly organized National Associaon of Scholars (NAS) provides an opportunity to exhibit to the academic community a typical illustration of the kind of hinking or lack of thinking which those oncerned with upholding standards of cholarship, especially in the humanities nd social studies, believe unacceptable.

The specimen we shall examine is a itical report of the meeting fo the NAS nd an abusive attack on its organizers. he author, Jay Parini, Professor of nglish at Middlebury College, contends at there is no such thing as objectivity, at the very claim to objectivity is “a ask” that “hides every form of prejuce.” The essay is featured in *The hronicle of Higher Education* of Deember 7, 1988. Its fundamental incoherence is already suggested in its title “cademic Conservatives Who Decry ‘oliticization’ Show Staggering Nivete About Their Own Biases.” The ahor seems blissfully unaware that if he had any convincing evidence of his claim, he would be refuting his assertion that knowledge is always “biased” and that objectivity is always a mask of prejudice.

The point is a simple one although Parini seems unable to grasp it. If someone says everything we see is distorted, we must have some way of determining what is undistorted. If one says all is change, the rule or criterion by which we measure change must remain unchanged. We may conclude that everything changes only if not all things change at the same time or rate.

In other words, if some freshman were to ask Parini: “If what you say is true, how can you also assert there is no such thing as objectivity, that it is always a mask? How can something be called a ‘mask,’ if there is not something objective that is unmasked? If your own remarks are biased in accordance with your own assumption that knowledge is always ‘biased,’ why should we believe you? You refer to the scholars as academic conservatives. Do you mean that they are political conservatives? But politically and economically they differ among themselves, some are defenders of completely free enterprise, some of a welfare state, some are socialists! Do you mean they are educationally conservative? But some are disciples of John Dewey, some critics of Allan Bloom.”

Let us leave Professor Parini to whatever answer he is able to make and examine some of the other things he says, and their assumptions and implications. According to him in the lexicon of those opposed to the politicization of scholarship, “‘political’ remains a dirty word.” He claims that “Joseph Epstein, for instance, writing in *The New Criterion*, abhorred the ‘intrusion of politics into culture.’ The naivete here is staggering.” Parini is mistaken. What is truly staggering is the depth of his misunderstanding. Politics is no more a dirty word than culture. What is dirty or rather intellectually reprehensible, is the practice of misstating or distorting or denying a truth or judgment for which adequate grounds can be given, in behalf of a partisan political cause whether it be a revolutionary one or a counter-revolutionary one. This reprehensible practice has nothing to do with legitimate inquiry into the political, religious, national, economic, racial and sexual influences that may enter into the creation and interpretation of a cultural product. To be sure, even in inquiry there are certain dishonorable practices that make the scholarship illegitimate, like suppressing relevant data or ignoring sources or findings because they would invalidate antecedently held political beliefs or allegiances.

As a matter of fact Parini's article illustrates what Joseph Epstein had in mind, viz. that our judgment of the literary significance or excellence of a writer's achievement should not be affected by whether we find ourselves in political agreement with him. “As a teacher of texts,” Parini writes, “I want my students to learn to read well...to appreciate what is ‘good’ about certain works, even works that I find politically reprehensible, such as Celine's anti-Semitic *Journey to the End of Night*.”

We assume, of course, that what Parini regards as “good” or “good writing” is not mere political bias, no more justified than the political bias of dissenting students. Otherwise he would be left in a kind of choking incoherence. We do not assume, we have already established, that Parini himself has not been taught to read well, otherwise he would not have so egregiously misunderstood Professor Epstein's plain meaning. That he has misunderstood Professor Epstein, is the most charitable interpretation of Parini's essay. I cannot yet bring myself to believe that Parini knew what he was doing despite the suspicious absence of the context and passage quoted from Professor Epstein's work.

WHERE PARINI IS NOT INCOherent, what he says is either a commonplace truth, inconsistent with his thesis, or false. Who are these “highly vocal reactionaries” against whom he is jousting? They are, according to Parini, “Cold War ideologues...joined by a few younger academic bureaucrats on the make as well as by some neoconservative Jewish (sic!) intellectuals. They all enjoy raving about the shutdown of the so-called American mind.”

A very interesting inventory. His characterizations are meant to be not epithets of description but abuse. But I think it is true, even if irrelevant, that most of those he denounces are anti-Communist. They are neither young nor bureaucrats. They do not all rave about the *Closing of the American Mind*, certainly not in the same numbers as those who rave against it. And why should Parini be so concerned that some neoconservatives among them are *Jewish*? Has he not told us that he regards anti-Semitism as reprehensible?

We are now entitled to ask: Who is Parini? He is frank in telling us. He writes that he is a "radical of the 60's," which takes in a lot of ground, and proud of it. He says, "After the Vietnam War, a lot of us didn't just crawl back into our literary cubicles; we stepped into academic positions. With the war over, our visibility was lost, and it seemed for a while — to the unobservant — that we had disappeared. Now we have tenure, and the hard work of reshaping the universities has begun in earnest."

In other words, Professor Jay Parini is, to use Irving Howe's apt phrase, "a revolutionary guerilla with tenure." In passing it is interesting to observe what he regards as the use of tenure. One must lay low until tenure is won. After that, guerilla operations can begin in the classroom. Those who want to abolish the tenure system will welcome Parini as a temporary ally. However it should give administrators pause.

As scholars, however, we should not concern ourselves with Parini's political beliefs regardless of what they are. As scholars we, as well as Middlebury College where he is Professor of English, should be concerned only with his ability to teach his students how to read, his own capacity understand what he reads, and his violation of accepted canons of scholarly integrity as illustrated in his article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education.*

It is hoped that there are not many like Jay Parini at Middlebury College. If there were, one might wonder how long it could remain an accredited institution of higher education. Unfortunately there are others like Parini in the university today. Not long ago a Dean at one of the universities in Arizona was quoted in *Newsweek*: "I am a political activist and I regard my task as Dean as a continuation of my political activism." That this could be publicly proclaimed with impunity is astonishing. That criticism of such a stance should in some quarters be denounced as "McCarthyism" is even more astonishing.

What is disconcerting is that Parini's elementary error can be found expressed in more sophisticated form by individuals who judging by external forms are more qualified scholars and do not regard themselves as "guerillas with tenure" dedicated to reshaping the university for partisan political purposes. But that is a theme for another day. Ω

Professor Hook is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institute.

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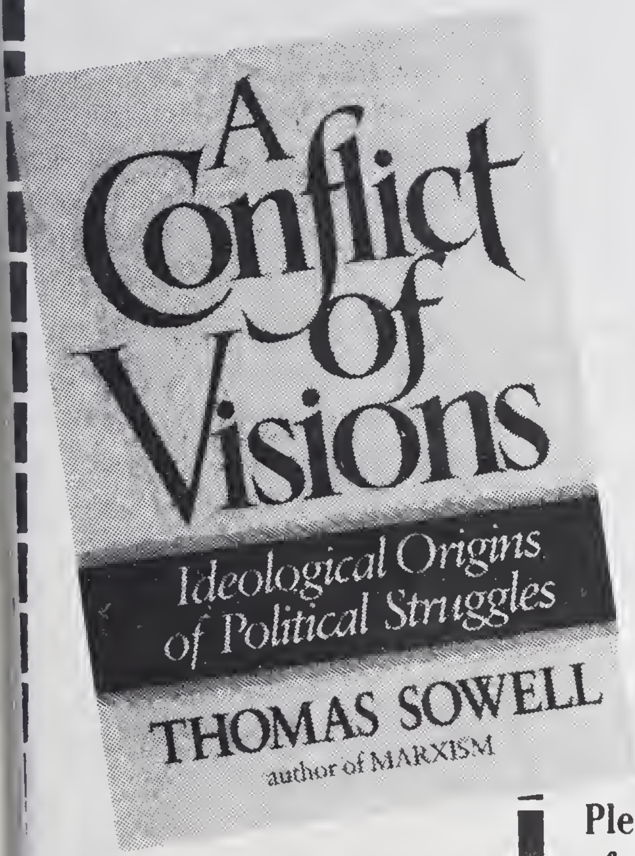

- *Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?*
- *Can these differences ever be resolved?*
- *Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?*
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Essays

REFRACTIONS

Creating a Risk Free America

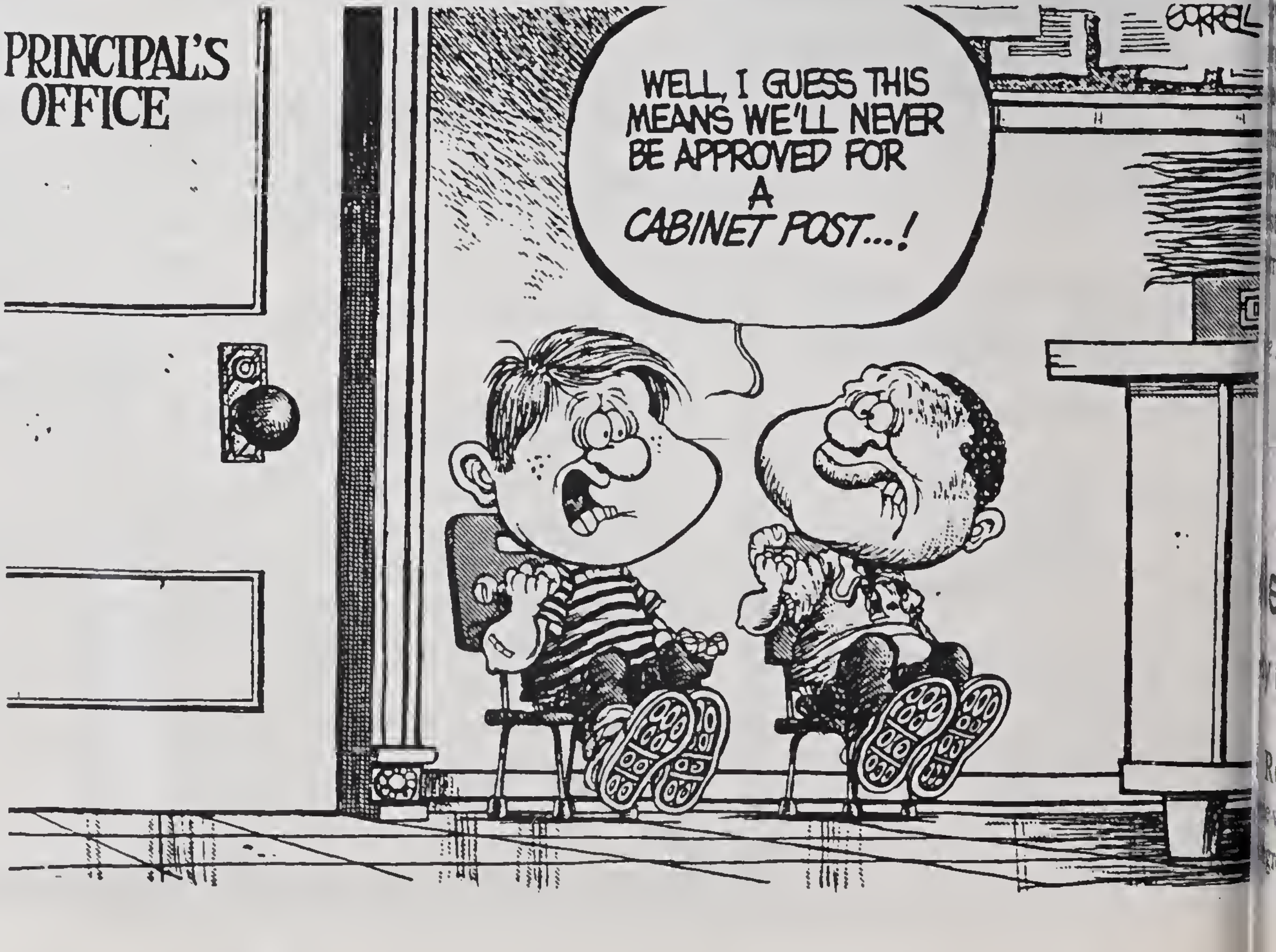
By Lee Martin

Just when governmental regulation seemed to be under control, American manufacturers have encountered another regulatory "agency" which threatens to drive the country's manufacturing into a technological Stone Age. This new regulatory system is the development of tort law in the field of product liability. Product liability law now discourages growth and innovation in American manufacturing, and the consumer is the ultimate loser.

The legal system must shoulder a substantial portion of the blame. Tort liability for products has moved away from the idea of a consenting, contractual relationship between buyer and seller. It is no longer necessary to demonstrate the fault of a producer before an accident victim can collect damages. Manufacturers are held "strictly liable" for any and all accidents caused by a defect in their products.

This radical change in product liability law was not performed through the deliberative process of the legislature, but by judicial fiat of a state supreme court. As with other judicially-created "legislation," this doctrine has continued to expand to the point where it is detrimental to society.

Despite the burden this tort theory puts on businesses, no one advocates that manufacturers be absolved from blame for all accidents. When a product injures someone because the manufacturer was negligent, reasonable compensation is justified. There should also be legal safeguards for the manufacturer. However, the new theory's chilling effect on production is not decreased through successful litigation; manufacturers are deterred by even the prospect of having to defend a product in court.


PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE
WELL, I GUESS THIS MEANS WE'LL NEVER BE APPROVED FOR A CABINET POST...!
SORREL

The development of this legal doctrine found acceptance in society because of the diminished concept of personal responsibility. If consumers are injured by a product, they can now look to producers for accountability. Blame is focused on the thing rather than the operator (for example, ban guns but furlough murderers). The object is seen as the evil rather than an instrumentality for the evil.

Another reason for accepting this concept of product liability is the desire for a risk-free society. While the reduction of certain risks to an acceptable level is a legitimate goal, Americans, with the help of the courts, have declared that the only tolerable level of risk be zero. A product which causes injury can be eliminated from the market on the basis of one large jury verdict.

An example of a small risk being declared unacceptable is the field of nuclear power. While nuclear plants are approved for operation, protests prevent the implementation of this technology where the guarantee of safety is less than 100 percent. As we twiddle our thumbs, Europe pushes ahead in developing their nuclear industry.

America has lost faith in its technological ability. Where we once learned from our mistakes, now we refuse to take the chance of making a mistake. One writer has pointed out the paradox of our fear of technology and our belief that it can create a risk-free society. Technology will never advance unless we are allowed to experiment, make mistakes, and then correct them. Technological stagnation has crept into American industry via the legal system.

The development of strict liability for products was intended to make manufacturers more careful in inventing and introducing new products. But other unintended effects have come to predominate. Premiums for manufacturers' insurance have skyrocketed, with the costs being passed to the consumer. This cost has been labelled the "safety tax." The "safety tax" is responsible for thirty percent of the cost of a stepladder and inety-five percent of the cost of childhood vaccines. This "tax" s supposedly fair because it spreads the cost (of injury) from the onsumer to the wealthy corporation. The assumption of this conomic risk-spreading is that the corporate producer is better ble to absorb the cost. This is not necessarily true since roducts may come from smaller businesses which are not as vealthy as larger companies. (Besides, all the wealth a comany has ultimately comes from its customers.) Smaller busiesses are forced out of the market because of the economic oercion of the tort system.

The "safety tax" has created a dilemma for manufacturers. hey are caught between the competing interests of making a roduct which is profitable yet withstands the scrutiny of the egal regulatory "agency." Economy cars are an example of ese competing interests — make the vehicle crashworthy yet el-efficient. Consumers continue to purchase smaller cars espite their poor safety record. Protecting the public from itself ould not be one of the manufacturers' responsibilities.

This tort system forces producers to choose between two ptions: 1) pass the added cost to the consumer and hope this es not affect the demand for the product; or 2) stop producing w products. The hope that manufacturers would produce fer products has turned into the reality of a decreased availality of goods. It is more economical to make trivial changes in oducts which have withstood the test of litigation than to roduce new ones. As one pharmaceutical executive asked, Vho in his right mind would work on a product today that uld be used by pregnant women?"

The problem with strict tort liability for products is that it ls to distinguish between "good" risks and "bad" risks. ood" risks are the ones which tend to advance society. nericans cannot let the fear of danger paralyze this society so ich as to make it unable to compete with other countries' nufacturers. The legal system has developed a paternalistic itude toward consumers. The courts have intervened as the west regulatory agency to prevent consumer exploitation by ge companies. This type of reasoning has obscured the fact t consumers' greatest protection is their freedom to choose ich products they purchase. Products which do not satisfy the chaser will no longer have a market. This theory will be the t regulation so long as the courts confine their role to recting faults rather then guaranteeing a perfect world. Ω

Martin is a second-year law student.

ewt Whips Up the GOP

Lee Newcomb

ROBERT BORK, EDWIN MEESE, JOHN TOWER: ALL were victimized by the blood hunts of liberal members of gress. All three had their personal lives exposed to the public. Matters that would in no way affect the performance of their duties were opened up for public scrutiny. At last, some Republicans have awakened and realized what has happened. In their rage and shame they have vowed vengeance.

This will be exacted on the person of Jim Wright, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. His dubious publishing activities and his disclosure of intelligence information do not constitute appropriate behavior for the man who is third in the line of succession to the President. The recent election of Congressman Newt Gingrich as House Minority Whip illustrates this desire for retribution. Gingrich has pledged to have Wright answer these charges, and rumor has it that Gingrich wants to see Wright in prison.

The constant bickering and immature behavior exhibited by our elected officials are outrageous. They remind one of children in a school yard. The Democrats hit the Republicans after throwing a tantrum, and now the Republicans are going to hit back.

Those of us who dwell on the Right side of the fence advocate responsible government. With so many problems facing the nation, our elected officials should not carry on this way. Jim Wright does not deserve to be Speaker of the House. David Stockman called Wright "a snake oil salesman of the highest caliber" and a national disgrace. The House Ethics Committee, and the full House, should take appropriate action to remove him from office. Then, both the House and the Senate should get down to the business of balancing the budget, solving the S&L problem, and dealing with the rest of the country's difficulties.

There should be no more double standards in Congress. What is appropriate for Republicans should also be appropriate for Democrats. It would be nice if our Representatives were above reproach, but they are human and therefore not perfect. I am not suggesting that we condone loose morals by Congressmen, only that those without sin cast the first stone.

A little drinking should not automatically disqualify someone from holding public office. If it did, most people in Washington would be out of a job.

Bork's "extremism" was only that of a man with deep reverence for the Constitution and a clear set of values. Meese was never tried, much less convicted, of anything. In fact, all charges against him were dropped. Tower's "drinking problem" only occurred on those social occasions when he had a

(Continued on next page)

Robert M. Pace
Public Relations Consultant
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little too much. This situation is replicated every weekend on Frat Court. Many Senators said they trusted Tower and only voted against him because Sam Nunn told them to. Just look at the vote: right down the aisle.

Enough is enough. It is time for the Congress to do what they are elected to do — govern. It is little wonder that the public raised such a fuss about a pay raise. Here's a revolutionary idea: why don't they earn one? Ω

If Dale McKinley is a Trendinista, then Lee is a Contra-Revolutionary.

Israel and South Africa: The Pariah Connection

By Bryan Wells

EVERYBODY NEEDS A FRIEND. LOTS OF THINGS in life are pretty scary to face alone but, when others confront problems with you, most things can be dealt with. This psychology seems fairly apt in the case of the ties binding Israel and the Republic of South Africa. Both are nations in a world increasingly hostile to their societal structures which have, in both the economic and military arenas, formed alliances with little public scrutiny. These alliances have implications not only for the economic stability of the two nations but for their perceived security needs as well.

Economic ties between Tel Aviv and Pretoria originated in the 1960's when South Africa, spurned from membership in the NATO alliance, began to search for new friends. Israel, never a nation with the healthiest of economies, seized the chance for a lucrative new trading relationship. At the same time, its diplomatic bonds with black Africa were being broken as the result of pressure from Islamic movements. A series of covert links in the areas of intelligence, arms production, and nuclear technology began to develop, culminating in a visit to Israel by South African Prime Minister Vorster in 1976 (after vocal South African support of Israel in the 1967 Middle East War).

These relations, initially confined to the economic level, soon included military cooperation. Both the CIA and British Intelligence agencies, normally sympathetic to both nations, strongly suspected joint Israeli-South African collaboration on a nuclear weapons test in 1979. Israel is virtually dependent on South African uranium for its own nuclear infrastructure. South Africa is Israel's largest arms customer with purchases estimated at $400-800 million in 1986 alone. Most experts concede that such sales are vital to an industrial workforce that employs 60,000 of 300,000 workers in defense industries.

Israel is not the sole beneficiary of the relationship, however. South Africa has a significant interest in the Israeli economy, providing 35 percent of all non-U.S. investment in the years prior to 1984. South Africa sells Israel coal to meet 65 percent of its fuel needs. Israel makes up for a deficiency in skilled white manpower by providing technicians in South African high-tech and military projects. For example, 10 percent of the South African Atlas Aircraft Company staff is recruited from abroad, mostly to work on sophisticated technology. Since 1981, South Africa has maintained its Mirage fighter force only with the expertise of the Israelis.

Israel also allows Pretoria to circumvent international sanctions. South African diamonds are Israel's largest export item. Israel imports diamonds from the whites, polishes them, and then legally sells them under an Israeli label. This transfer of products occurs for a large number of sanctioned items providing Pretoria an indirect export outlet.

Nevertheless the economic and military relationships between Israel and South Africa are in the best interests of the U.S. and the world community. These ties help keep both countries away from the brink of security paranoia where irrational actions become the policies of choice. South Africa should be pressured to end apartheid, but not by being backed into a corner. What do you do when you're about to lose your home, your property, your way of life, and have no place to go? The risk of firing a few nukes in a last gasp of revenge, or some other irrational act, is fairly high. It might not happen, but then again it *might*.

To a lesser extent the same is true of Israel. It does have a big buddy — the U.S. — who gives it aid and support, but U.S. internal opposition to Israeli policy is soaring. In the past, when backed into a corner, Israel has reacted with force. There's an even chance that Israel will back down to pressure or tell the Arabs and the rest of the world to screw off.

The connection between these two countries is a stabilizing influence which could allow international criticism to be more effective since each state uses the other as a buffer. For instance, current sanctions don't make Pretoria happy, but Israel's trade and support mitigates the effect of the world's punitive action.

The dangers of this alliance are minimal. Neither state is likely to give direct military aid to the other: the political costs are too high and the strategic benefit quite low. This collaboration may increase the resistance of both countries to reform, but that is outweighed by the prospect of an Arab-Israeli clash or the slaughter of millions of blacks by a mobilized South African military machine. Perhaps that's why the world press has ignored the relationship — it provides a vital check and buffer for two insecure nations who are almost friendless in a hostile world. Ω

Bryan Wells is a member of the UNC Debate Team.

BOOK REVIEW

In Pursuit of a New Cage Rattler

By Rick Henderson

AS SCTV'S COUNT FLOYD WOULD SAY, CHARLES Murray is a "really scary" person. Scary to the mainstream social science community, that is. Murray is, after all, one of them: a Harvard graduate, a Peace Corps veteran, and a sociologist who is deeply committed to the development and implementation of effective anti-poverty programs. His findings threaten everything the federal War on Poverty has done in the past twenty-five years. And his passionate concern for the disadvantaged means that he can't be dismissed as a coldhearted right winger.

In 1984, Murray published *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980.* This book used exhaustive statistical analysis to argue that the entire Great Society policy apparatus was a failure. The federal government has not only failed to reduce poverty; it has set up new structures that make poverty a permanent way of life for millions of people. According to Murray, many of them could have become self-sufficient if the federal safety net weren't there.

In *Losing Ground,* Murray contended that access to Food Stamps, AFDC, public housing, and the like has encouraged the disadvantaged to become enrapped in a web of dependency. The working poor, who have always been pillars of impoverished communities, are discouraged from rising out of poverty by their own efforts.

Murray concluded this work by calling for an end to the entire ederal safety net. Not for libertaran (income transfers violate proprty rights) or conservative (fedral bureaucracies are less effiient than local ones) reasons, but rom honest compassion for the eeds of the poor. "I am ypothesizing...that the lives of large numbers of poor people ould be radically changed for the better."

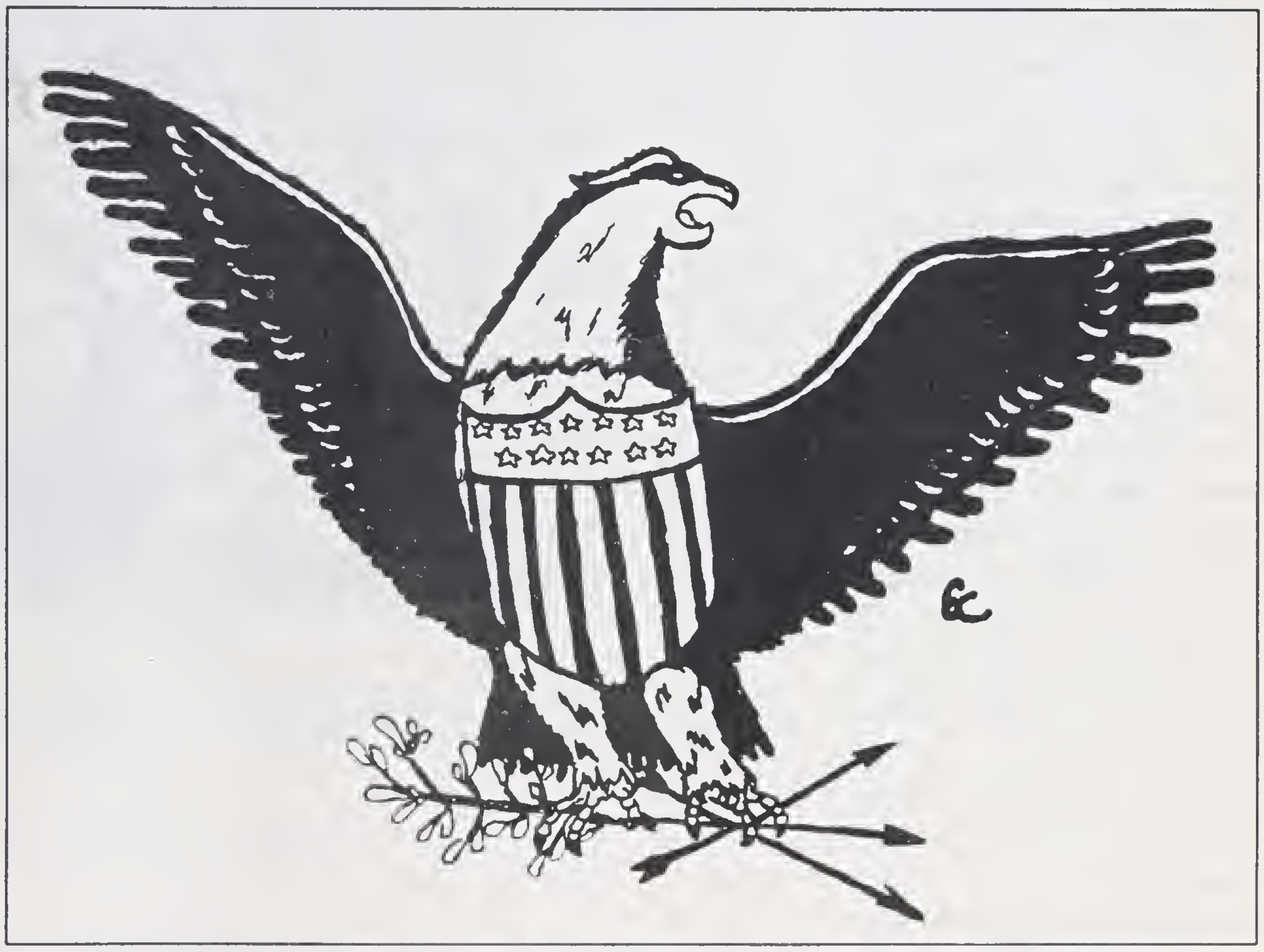
He also chided those who favor upholding the status quo ecause it makes them feel less guilty. "The tax checks we write or poverty programs] buy us, for relatively little money and no ffort at all, a quieted conscience...When reforms finally do ccur, they will happen not because stingy people have won, but ecause generous people have stopped kidding themselves."

Losing Ground was a best-seller that has shaken the social ience community. Murray's new book, *In Pursuit of Happiss and Good Government,* promises to jolt that community to foundations.

To some extent, *In Pursuit* builds upon *Losing Ground.* hile *Losing Ground* focused on the specific federal response poverty, *In Pursuit* attempts to redefine the purpose of any cial legislation. Since Murray writes in the language of the cial scientist, and is such a committed advocate of his cause, public policy establishment has to pay attention to his guments.

Murray states that in developing social policy, "we need better questions about what we are doing and why." To develop those questions, he debunks the assertion that we can properly judge the success of programs with aggregate statistics. Instead, we need a more substantial yardstick. Murray, offers his: "the pursuit of happiness is at the center of man's existence, and that to permit man to pursue happiness is the central justification of government."

"Happiness" is a subjective, perhaps nebulous term. Murray begins the book by discussing the nature of happiness — from the Aristotelean and Lockean concepts of the "good life" and psychological well-being, to the modern social science definition which "dispensed with the intellectual content of both traditions and began to define happiness by the response to questionnaire items."



Still, he does not belittle the sociologists' obsession with statistical data. From it, he contends, we can determine objective criteria for the pursuit of happiness. These criteria will give us the "enabling conditions" government can provide for individuals so that they can pursue happiness on their own. Murray emphasizes that "government can 'do as much as it can' to enable, but it can do no more than enable."

Drawing heavily on psychologist Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, Murray defines enabling conditions as: material resources, safety, self-respect, and enjoyment. He also argues convincingly that, with these enabling conditions in place, any individual can enjoy a fulfilling life. The lack of these conditions dooms us to fear, misery, and self-degradation.

The sections of *In Pursuit* that define enabling conditions are quite challenging. For example, Murray points out that those at the current poverty line have about twice the constant-dollar income of a median family at the beginning of this

FORGET THE BALL, GO FOR THE QUARTERBACK!!
68
31
4
70
QUARTERBACK'S NIGHTMARE

century. Regarding safety, he claims that the "crime problem" we hear so much about is really a feeling that the criminal justice system itself is lawless and incomprehensible.

In the chapter on self-respect, Murray contends that individuals must feel they are responsible for their own actions, or they cannot succeed. Recent government policies, especially welfare programs, diminish personal responsibility and are, by Murray's definition, immoral. When he discusses enjoyment, Murray contends that "competence, challenge and autonomy" are possible for anyone — but only when individuals are in charge of their own destinies.

Two sections of the book were particularly interesting: the chapter in which Murray hypothesized how a hundred parents would hire a teacher if there were no public schools, and the chapter on "little platoons" — the voluntary, informal arrangements in which we must all participate to function successfully as human beings. Murray makes compelling arguments by demonstrating both a creative and a compassionate mind. Both chapters powerfully articulate what constitutes "the good life" and how government has unwittingly undermined it.

Finally, Murray's criteria for "success" in life are reasonable, comprehensible, and attainable for anyone who possesses the proper enabling conditions. In Murray's view, a successful person is one who has developed his skills to their fullest, raised a family, contributed to the community, and been a good neighbor. These may seem like modest goals. Yet they are both elusive to most of the disadvantaged, and perhaps easy to attain if we develop social mechanisms to encourage them.

Murray is an effective advocate of his position precisely because he is unburdened by ideological baggage. He can say something to infuriate anyone — or to make a thoughtful person check his own premises. Libertarians will disagree with his assertion that some type of universal public education is necessary. Socialists will argue with his claims that punishing the wealthy with income redistribution is not an effective way to help the disadvantaged. And pragmatic middle-of-the-roaders might quarrel with his contention that unassuaged guilt does not justify continuing or expanding failed social programs.

His books are also fascinating. He loves to use "thought experiments" which ask the reader to consider what might happen if his social policies were enacted. He also loves to rattle cages — to challenge anyone comfortably ensconced in a rigid ideology and say: "Oh yeah? What if you're wrong?"

Charles Murray's controversial work has probably earned his photograph permanent dart board status on the walls of social service agencies across America. If you're prepared to have everything you believe about the proper role of government challenged, take off your ideological blinders and read *In Pursuit*. You won't leave the experience unchanged. Ω

Rick Henderson is Executive Editor of the Critic.

Which Jackson Will the Democrats Follow?

THE NORTH CAROLINA Democratic Party recently selected attorney Lawrence Davis as its chairman. Because they have lost ground to the Republicans in recent elections, Davis wants to move his party back to the center. For example, since he personally opposes abortion, Davis has called for the Democrats to avoid taking a stand on the issue as a party. This has led to demonstrations by pro-abortion activists who have called for Davis to recant or resign.

Facing opposition within his own party, can Lawrence Davis bring the Democrats away from the left? Any attempt to define the dominant philosophy of the Democratic Party would include Will Rogers' famous statement: "I don't belong to an organized political party: I'm a Democrat."

Throughout our history, American politics has been dominated by a struggle between two parties. The players have changed, but we really haven't seen a consistent three- or four-party battle, as in the parliamentary systems of Europe. The two major American parties have usually tried to appeal to broad interests, making them ideologically fuzzy as a result.

Still, the parties have often promoted well-defined positions on certain issues which they have used to mobilize support. Let's look at Democratic Party history to see what set it apart.

The founding father of the Democrats was Thomas Jefferson. Even though his party was named Democratic-Republican, it evolved into the modern-day Democrats. His was the party of limited government, equal rights, and noninterventionist foreign policy. Jefferson himself called for "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none." "We must make our choice between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy."

Under Jefferson's leadership, early America flourished. By the 1830s, the Democrats had come under the influence of Andrew Jackson. The Jacksonians stressed, above all else, equal rights for all citizens. This logically led some Jacksonians to be the first in the mainstream to call for the abolition of slavery.

In his second inaugural address, Jackson said, "There are no necessary evils in Government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to *equal protection*, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing."

Is this a call for a nineteenth century welfare state? Hardly. Despite modern attempts to call Jacksonians "populists," in fact they were staunch advocates of laissez-faire capitalism.

Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate in 2020

THE NATIONAL REpublican party wanted the federal government to assist New England manufacturers with heavy tariffs and other subsidies so that they would be protected from foreign competition (sound familiar?).

The Jacksonians opposed those special favors for two reasons. First, tariffs would encourage other nations to close their markets to cotton, tobacco, and other agricultural exports. Free trade was the hallmark of the Jacksonians.

Next, having the federal government support certain classes of business would use governmental power in an arbitrary, unjustified manner that violated equal protection under the law.

William Leggett, a New York newspaper publisher, was perhaps the most popular spokesman for Jacksonian Democracy. He wrote: "All governments are originally instituted for the protection of person and property... Protect their persons and property, and all the rest they can do for themselves. [The people] want no government to regulate their private concerns; to prescribe the course and mete out the profits of their industry... They require a general system of laws, which, while it equally restrains them from violating the persons and property of others, leaves their own unimpaired."

Basic Jacksonian principles dominated Democratic politics until the turn of the 20th century. Since their Republican opponents also favored limited government, unfettered Americans produced the fastest period of economic growth in human history.

With the turn of the 20th century came the Populists and departures from the tradition of Jefferson and Jackson. Woodrow Wilson tried to send America on a "mission from God," as it were. By involving the U.S. in World War I to "make the world safe for democracy," he ignored the principles of neutrality that allowed the country to flourish in the last century. Our post-war meddling in European affairs certainly fanned the flames of nationalism that encouraged the rise of the Fascists and the Nazis.

Then there was the New Deal. It was preceded by the economic planning of Herbert Hoover (who was a top official under Wilson), then consummated by FDR's "alphabet soup" of federal programs. The permanent "wartime economy" has led to the perpetual boom-and-bust cycle we all have endured since the 1930s.

Getting into the whys and wherefores of the demise of Jeffersonian/Jacksonian principles would require a volume of political and economic history; we certainly don't have time for that. What is interesting is that North Carolina Democrats still call themselves the "party of Jefferson and Jackson." The annual Democratic Party celebration is capped by the Jefferson and Jackson Day Dinner.

Democrats, especially those who call for the largest, most intrusive government programs, call themselves "the party of the people." Yet the Democrats' founders believed that all persons, especially those on the bottom of the economic ladder, were best served by a limited government that did not play favorites, redistribute wealth, or regulate private concerns.

Aren't these early Democratic ideas outdated and impractical in the modern age? In truth, the intrusive "governs most, governs best" philosophy of contemporary liberal Democrats is as old as the hills. Ideas of statism and collectivism date back to the pharaohs of Egypt.

Economist Thomas Sowell wrote that although "the specific visions of 'affirmative action' and 'comparable worth' are quite recent in history, the thinking and the vision behind them go back at least as far as the eighteenth century."

The freedom philosophy of limited government and equal protection under the law is the new kid on the ideological block. As voters continue to reject government intrusions and choose to increase freedom of choice, the Democratic Party may find that the best way to look forward is to listen to the persons who founded their party years ago.

Henderson will begin graduate studies in journalism at UNC this fall.

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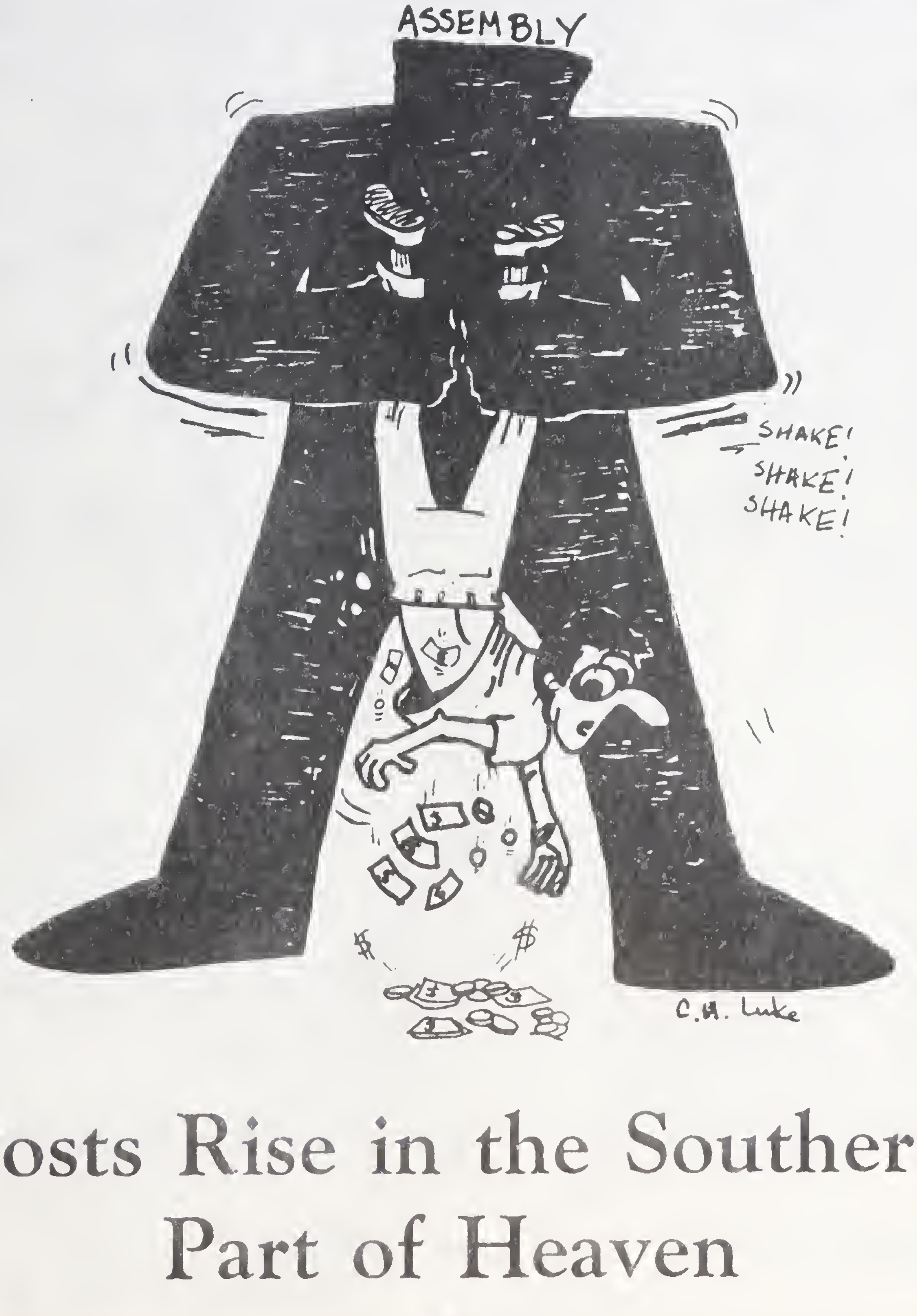
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The CAROLINA
CRITIC

A Student Journal of News & Opinion

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THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., Box 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, **letters to the editor**, and art are welcome. Opinions expressed are those of the author (unless Woodlief and Henderson edit them) and do not necesssarily reflect those of the editorial staff. We proudly discriminate on the basis of ability. This journal is dedicated to the proposition that it's good to be open minded, but better to be right.

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IN THIS ISSUE

4 **Critic Debate:**
How many out-of-state students should be allowed at UNC?

6 **Correspondence**
Rick Henderson says, "Bye-bye!"

8 **The Critical Eye**
S&L Slime, HUD Mud, and a Savage attack...
The Pork Barrel
Clipboard
Critic Almanac

16 **Tuition Increase**
Jason James says that this is just what the doctor ordered.

18 **The Alar Scare**
Forget the chemicals, it's the environmentalists that worry Woodlief.

20 **The World Stage:** *Midgetman v. MX*
Channing Rouse explores the options.

22 **In the Zoo:** *Store Wars*
Local business fights back against the Student Stores and wins.

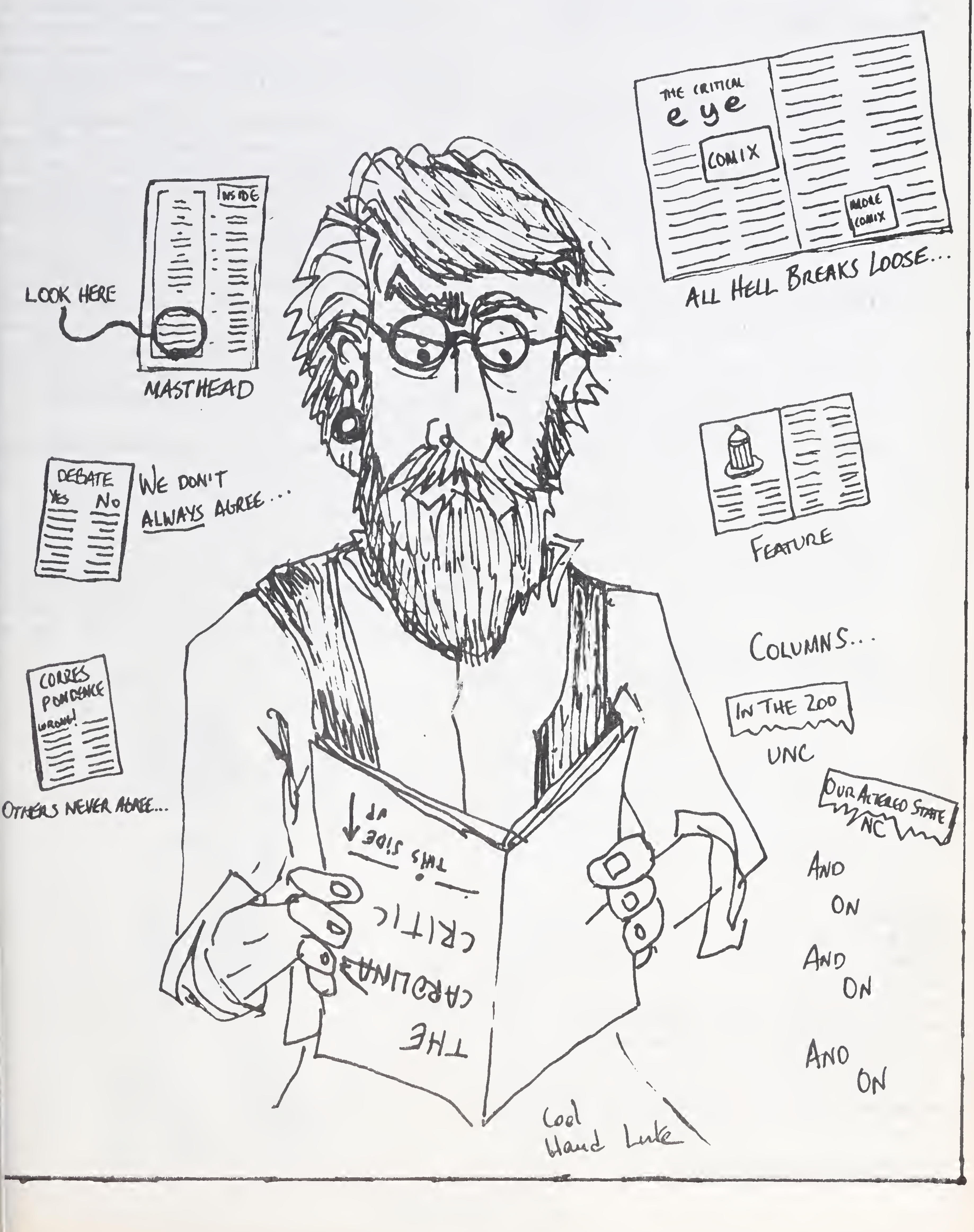
23 **The National Truss:** *NEA Funding*
Government shouldn't fund art.

24 **Book Reviews:** *Holidays in Hell, Profscam*

27 **Our Altered State:** *N.C. Lottery*

28 **Essays**
Comparable worth is worthless

WHAT'S IN A CAROLINA CRITIC?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Cool Hand Luke

Should UNC Admit More

YES / BOB LUKEFAHR

It has been said that the most important aspect of a college education is the interaction between students. Even the most dedicated professor would concede that what is learned outside the classroom is an indispensable part of the college experience. Unfortunately, here at UNC the quality and diversity of the student body is limited by an artificial 18 percent cap on the number of out-of-state students attending the school. If the North Carolina General Assembly is serious about improving, or even maintaining, the quality of the education at its "flagship institution" it should seriously consider increasing the number of out-of-state students that matriculate here.

Before considering the arguments for lifting the 18 percent cap, we should dispense with the most powerful argument against it — the cost. Most North Carolina taxpayers understandably resent the idea of being asked to subsidize the education of people from other states. As it is the taxpayers contribute more than $5,500 per year to the education of the average UNC student. While out-of-state tuition is substantially higher than in-state tuition, it certainly does not cover the full cost of a college education. This need not be the case.

If the 18 percent cap is lifted, it ought to be accompanied by a substantial increase in out-of-state tuition. We should allow the most qualified 18 percent to pay at the current subsidized rate, and require any additional students to pay the full cost of their education. Thus the North Carolina taxpayers will not have to pay any more for higher education than they do right now.

Once one gets beyond the cost issue, the benefits of lifting the cap, to say 35 percent, become clear. The quality of the average student at Carolina will increase substantially (as it will throughout the UNC system), the University's reputation will improve, and North Carolina will become a more attractive place to locate business and industry. Not to mention the fact that the quality of education at UNC will improve.

It is important to point out that people from out-of-state would not be given priority over students from North Carolina. Instead, each student who applies would be evaluated strictly on the basis of past performance and ability. The best students would be accepted until the University had taken 35 percent from out-of-state, or run out of slots, whichever came first. Thus the incoming class would consist of the best students from North Carolina and around the country.

At this point it is reasonable to ask whether the quality of the average student would really improve with such a program in place. The short answer to that question is yes. As long as the admissions system is not biased in favor of either in-state or out-of-state students, the quality would improve or the number of out-of-state students would remain the same. Remember, an out-of-state applicant would need to compete with his North Carolina counterpart for admission slots on the basis of ability. Since only the most able would be accepted, the quality would improve.

What we can likely expect is to have a student body that is more like one finds at, for example, the University of Michigan. U of M draws only sixty percent of its students from its home state. Not surprisingly, its freshmen boast an average SAT score over 100 points higher than those at UNC. Apparently Michigan recognizes that there is strength in diversity.

So how would all this diversity help North Carolina? Well, as was mentioned earlier, having a diverse student body improves the educational environment of a university. The reason a student gets such an outstanding education at an Ivy League school is not because the professors there know more than ours do, nor because their buildings are newer, their libraries bigger or their alumni coffers full. No, it is because the students are, on average, better.

It is as simple as this: bring the best students to Carolina and North Carolina's best students will get a better education. The professors will become more demanding and the students will become more serious. Each action will build upon the other. As the course requirements become more rigorous, better students will begin to apply. The better students will attract better professors, which in turn will attract even more good students.

As the quality of education available in North Carolina improves, the entire state will reap the benefits. There are

(continued on page 31)

Out-of-State Students?

NO / DAVID HOOD

Whenever people start to talk about making Carolina more "presitgious" or "elite" I start to get a little nervous. As a university heavily supported by tax revenues, UNC should remember that its role is not to gain status in academia but to educate young people. So much of the "reform" proposals out there cite comparisons too Ivy League schools (or to Duke) as their justification for changing the status quo in Chapel Hill. But North Carolina taxpayers care little about how their flagship university rates in *U.S. News and World Report*; they want to know if their kids can qualify for admission.

The real issue in the debate over the 18% cap on out-of-state enrollment at UNC—money. Advocates of a more relaxed admissions policy argue their proposal would improve Carolina's reputation on the national scene, improve the quality of education by increasing diversity, and lead to a stronger academic atmosphere. What they fail to realize is that such lofty goals can be at odds with the mission of a state university.

National Reputation. By increasing the availability of freshman class spaces nationwide, the argument goes, UNC would boost its prestige vis-a-vis other institutions. Even if this were the case, what difference would it make to the average North Carolinian—the guy who pays the bills at Carolina? What does he get out of this arrangement ot justify having him subsidize the education of out-of-state kids? Proponents say this national prominence lures business and jobs to the state, so that the taxpayers benefit indirectly from their "investment" in education. However, unless this taxpayer lives in the Triangle, it is unclear how the economic windfall trickles down to him.

Diversity. A second argument is that having more students from other states and nations leads to a more diversified student body. True, but how much diversity is necessary for a full educational experience? No one is suggesting that out-of-state students be barred from admission altogether, so why do we need more than the number allowed under the status quo? Diversity is not a linear quality; its value does not increase by one when you increase out-of-state students by one. The current level of diversity at UNC almost certainly guarantees contact with students from different backgrounds. Therefore, what is the reason to ask taxpayers to further subsidize students from hundreds or thousands of miles away?

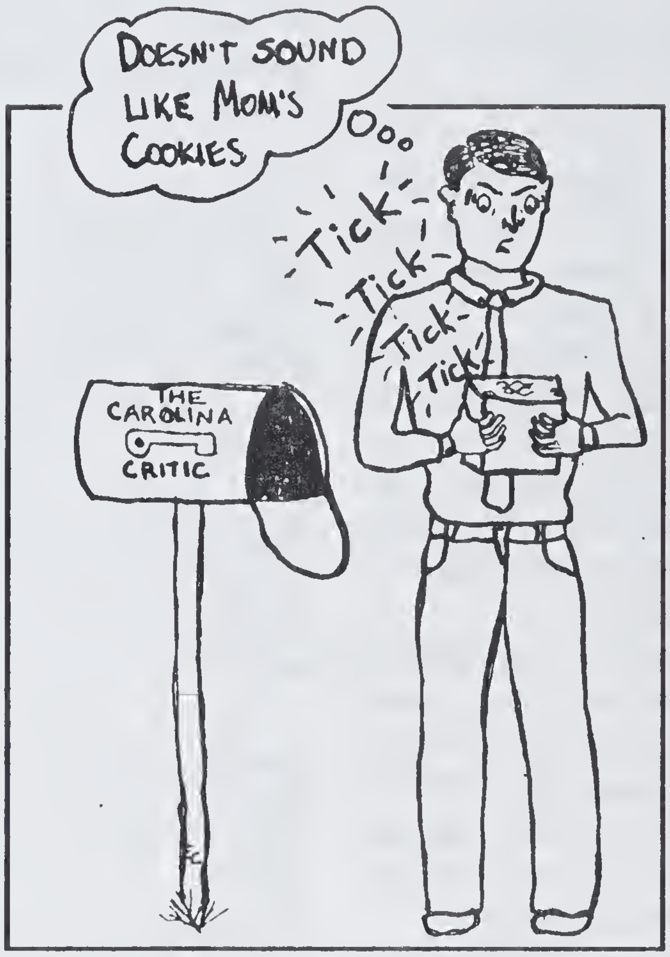
Stronger Academics. Third, proponents of a relaxed out-of-state quota point to the academic credentials of prospective students and note that out-of-staters have better high school GPAs and SAT scores than those of NC students. By increasing the presence of the former, the arguemtn goes, we could iprove the academic environment at UNC by letting in more gifted students. However, this would necessarily come at the expense of North Carolina-born kids whose parents have been paying state taxes for twenty or thirty years before their kids are even ready for college. Is it fair to improve the academic environment by telling these parents their children cannot go to UNC due to lack of space?

Some clever reformers have noted that the tuition of out-of-state students could be raised to more accurately reflect the cost of their education. While this is undoubtably true for marginal costs, like paying professors and hiring more administrators, it would be more difficult to do for fixed costs. For example, Chapel Hill already has too few parking spaces for its current residents and students. If the enrollment at UNC were raised to meet the out-of-state demand without displacing in-state students, more parking would be necessary, as would increases in other infrastructure. Yet it would be difficult to compute the amount of extra costs that each new student would be responsible for.

The purpose of the University of North Carolina, according to its charter and the North Carolina Constitution, is to educate the youth of the state. While NC taxpayers may well see little return for their tax money, at least the benfits will be bestowed upon students close to home. Subsidizing a larger number of students outside of North Carolina may seem like a great idea here on campus, but we have to remember who is bankrolling the university. That average Joe down the street can't be expected to pay for the university if his kid can't go because of increased out-of-state admissions. Ω

CRITIC publisher David Hood is not allowed out after dark.

CORRESPONDENCE



Friends, Romans, Countrymen;

Two years ago, when John Hood approached me to contribute a few articles and some publishing advice for this new journal called The Carolina Critic, neither of us could have guessed that we would be where we are now. John has just completed an eight-month stint as a reporter for *The New Republic*, and will serve as Executive Director for the John Locke Foundation, a new thinktank based here in North Carolina. I have decided to forego graduate studies at UNC to become a reporter and researcher for REASON magazine in Santa Monica, California.

For John, David, Bob, Jason, Tony, Channing and the rest of the Critic crew, present and past, I leave with best wishes for all. I hope that the many new endeavors Bob and company are attempting will be huge successes. And if you would like to get a piece of the Critic action, stay tuned.

While I contemplate moving 2,500 miles away from my native Tar Heel state to pursue life, liberty and happiness in Southern California (it's a tough job, but somebody has to do it), I do have advice for those who remain at Chapel Hill: If you love current events and the realm of ideas, and think you might want to pursue a career as a journalist, academic or policy maker, **join the staff of The Carolina Critic**. Nowhere else on campus can you become involved with an organization that will help you advance your career as effectively. The DTH can't do it; the other independent publications can't do it; Can Student Congress? Don't make me laugh.

The Critic can give you hands-on experience in reporting, opinion writing, editing and publishing, radio and television writing and production, advertising, sales, and more. It can make you slightly wealthier. John Hood won first prize ($2,500) in the Felix Morley Journalism competition sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies; as we go to press, other Critic staffers wait to see if they have won.

The Critic will also land you in Washington for one or more summers as an intern (who actually gets paid) working for the most prestigious publications and policy organizations in the nation. I know; I was there.

This summer, Critic staffers worked as interns for the CATO Institute, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, and the National Journalism Center. We could have placed others if they would have only stepped forward and asked.

What happens in Washington? More than you could believe. While there, I attended events featuring Judge Robert Bork, HUD Secretary Jack Kemp, Rep. Phillip Crane, journalists Fred Barnes, and M. Stanton Evans (I missed Bob Novak by three days), sociologist Charles Murray, and others. Most of these events were specifically designed for interns. It was at a reception for REASON editor Virginia Postrel that I met her, she learned that I might be in the job market and groundwork was laid for my career to begin a couple of years earlier than expected.

So, you mean you haven't signed up yet? Why are you still waiting? The Critic needs staff members now! (For one thing, they have the unenviable task of replacing me.) But seriously folks, the Critic is on the verge of becoming one of the most influential collegiate journals in the country; whatever your skills or talents, it can use your help. JOIN NOW!

As you read this, most likely I'll be on the road west. One encouraging prospect for the fall is that I'll be better able to see a Charlotte Hornets game live than most Carolinians; I can watch them play the Clippers. To all my friends and acquaintances, best wishes always. When you're west of the Mississippi, give me a call!

California, here I come!
Rick Henderson
Executive Editor (Emeritus)

The CAROLINA CRITIC
Organizational Meeting
Everyone with a brain is welcome
Wednesday, Sept. 7, 7:30 pm
Student Union

John Hood is $2500 richer.
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Student Union

John, former editor of the Critic, won his money in the Felix Morley journalism competition sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies. His is just one of FOUR awards won by Critic Staffers in the past two years. Next year it could be you.

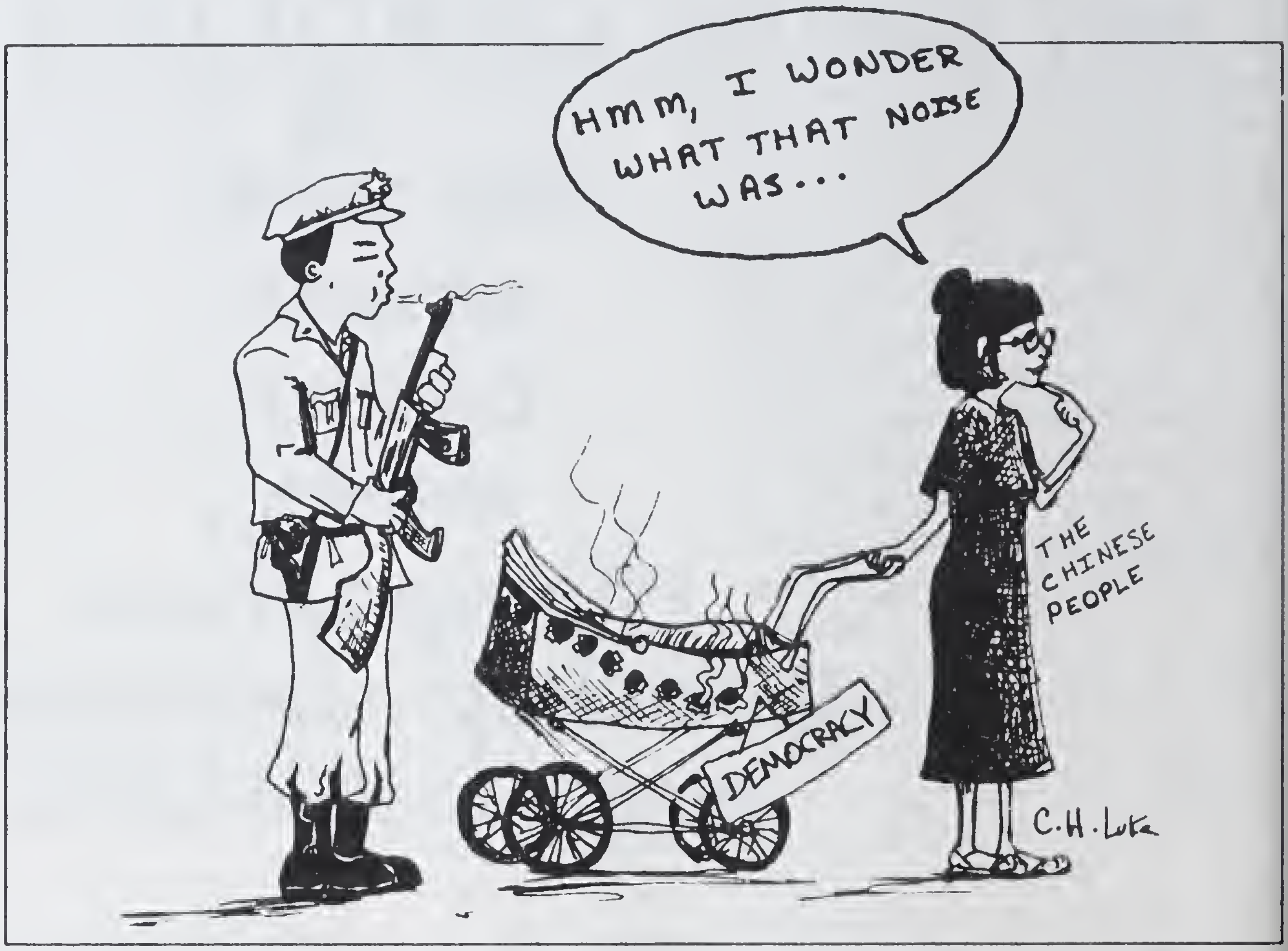
THE CRITICAL e·y·e

Spirits soared, women swooned, and gods were created.

➢"I'm not a liberal, so I have a poor grasp of stuff I don't know anything about."—P.J. O'Rourke

➢George Bush has a 67% apporoval rating according to a New York Times/CBS poll, which simply proves what we've been saying all along: people want government to do less, not more.

➢*Glasnost* keeps taking unusual turns. CNN reported that the Soviets will begin participating in yacht racing competitions soon. We don't remember Lenin and Marx mentioning the quest for the Americas Cup as part of the Workers' Struggle. And isn't yachting, well, so *bourgeois?*



➢ Stinky Swedes Randi Freeman and Amir Omrani were booted off a USAir jet after an attendant complained that they smelled bad. The couple is now suing the airline for $3,500 and an apology, saying that USAir wanted to regain the two seats on an overbooked flight and that they "didn't smell any different than anyone else on the plane." A solution might be to divide the plane into Reeking and Non-Reeking seats.

➢As if flying doesn't scare us enough already, the National Federation for the Blind has urged sightless airline passengers to refuse to obey the Federal Aviation Administration's proposed rules that ban the blind, those confined to wheelchairs, and parents with small children from sitting next to emergency exits during flights. The FAA is concerned that these persons will not be able to open the exits during an emergency, thus threatening the lives of all passengers. Several blind demonstrators, taking anti-discrimination to a ridiculous extreme, have squatted in exit-window seats and refused to move, causing flights to be cancelled—establishing the inalienable right to endanger everyone equally.

➢If all this doesn't seem bad enough, in Council Bluffs, Iowa, a man sued the Bluffs Run dog racing track for discrimination because it offered a "Ladies Day" promotion. The Iowa Supreme Court held that the promotion violated state civil rights laws—establishing the inalienable right of women to pay full price. You've come a long way, baby.

➢He's back, ladies and gentlemen. He's the Master of Hype, the Prince of P.R., yes, he's Dale McKinley. Expect more fawning over him in the *Daily Tar Heel*, silly protests in the pit, and general affronts on the rights of all students actually trying to get an education at UNC. But don't worry, it's all for a good cause... Dale's modeling portfolio!

➢Okay you freshmen, by now you're probably feeling pretty good about getting accepted to Carolina, right? Well pity poor Nicole Hall, who in spite of her impressive academic record, a 2.8 GPA and an SAT score of "around 900," didn't make the cut. Her disappointed father had a novel approach to this problem: sue the university for discriminating against her and instead admitting "male, black athletes." His lawsuit also claimed that UNC admission policies favor out of state students, children of University employees and children of alumni. We suggest he take his case to the Iowa Supreme Court.

Scandal at HUD? So What Else Is New?

New HUD Secretary Jack Kemp didn't exactly get what he bargained for when the summer opened. After promising to be an activist for his department, with plans for a number of ambitious new programs, Kemp inherited a bureaucracy rife with fraud, influence-peddling and corruption — abuses that may cost taxpayers over $2 billion. Most of the blame for the HUD mess has been visited on President Reagan and his HUD Secretary, "Silent Sam" Pierce. But a closer look of the facts shows that HUD was a hotbed of scandals long before Reagan took office, and that actions by Reagan and Pierce kept the abuses from getting completely out of control.

When Ronald Reagan became president, HUD was little more than a gold mine for political payoffs in Washington. The Washington *Post*, on July 23 of this year, reported that a 1981 HUD internal audit cited over 10,000 instances in which HUD contractors were paid for work that was not done. Stuart Butler, Director of Domestic Policy Studies for the Heritage Foundation, told *Human Events* newspaper that when Jimmy Carter was president, there was "a direct correlation between campaign contributions [to influential congressmen] and housing grants to certain developers."

With Reagan's election and his appointment of Sam Pierce, the focus at HUD switched from construction of new housing units, which forced the poor to live only where the government built, to housing vouchers, which allowed disadvantaged families some choice in where they would live. Another advantage of vouchers is that, while new housing construction costs taxpayers $700 a month per family, the same quality of housing could be obtained from vouchers for $300 a month.

Reagan and Pierce were able to reduce the long-term budget commitments at HUD from $34 billion in 1981 to $16 billion in 1988, while simultaneously increasing the number of families served by HUD by 40 percent. One wonders how large the HUD scandal would be if Carter or other big-spending liberals had occupied the White House in the 1980s.

Does this mean that Reagan and Pierce were blameless? Far from it. Former HUD Inspector General Charles Dempsey, who was in charge of monitoring the internal financial operations of the department, said that Pierce was not the type of hands-on manager a department like HUD needed to keep abuses under control.

But Congress, which has the authority to police wrongdoing in departments such as HUD, received detailed reports from the Inspector General every six months. Examination of these documents shows that, on page one of each report, Congress was notified of local HUD offices that were engaged in fraud, demanding congressional action. Until this year, Congress did nothing.

Inaction by members of Congress was caused both by their desire to maintain programs that lined the members' own pockets, and also from their hesitance to denigrate federal housing programs, beloved by liberal constituencies since the 1960s.

Still, the smoking guns in HUD weren't hard to find. The Washington *Post* likened the information available to congressional oversight committees to the "paper trail of safety-related warnings that preceded the space shuttle *Challenger* disaster." Dempsey told *Human Events*: "You should be critical of Sam Pierce, you can be critical of the [Reagan] Administration's caliber of appointees, but if you want to find out who's responsible for the lack of oversight, lay this right in the lap of Congress."

—Rick Henderson

■

➢China had a brief encounter with democratic idealism this summer when students gathered in Tienanmen Square, erected a Statue of Liberty and demanded reforms. Responsive as ever to the desires of the people, Deng Xiaoping became a reformed Maoist, the People's Army reformed into Government death squads and the students became reformed corpses. Meanwhile Britain carefully avoided a brush with democratic idealism by reassuring Beijing that Hong Kong would indeed be turned over to China in 1997 as scheduled. More reforms are predicted.

➢Roger Daltrey of the Who had an appropriate comment for the green-gilled critics who bemoan the band grossing $60 million on their current tour, while giving a measly $6 million to charities. "I bet the writer asking that question doesn't give ten percent of **his** earnings to charity. Besides that, we live in a capitalist society. We work hard, and I'm not one bit ashamed of what we earn."

➢If you believe congressional ethics accusations have been overblown, consider the case of Gus Savage. The five-term Democratic congressman from Illinois has been accused of sexually assaulting a 28-year old Peace Corps volunteer while both were in Zaire last March. The woman was scheduled to brief Savage, who was on an official visit to Africa, on Peace Corps activities in Zaire. The *Washington Post* reported that the briefing never occurred.

After dinner, Savage insisted that the woman ride alone with him in the back of his limousine. During the next four hours, the woman reported that Savage aggressively and repeatedly fondled her, despite her strong objections and physical resistance, and urged her to have sex with him. She said that Savage told her she "was a traitor to the black movement if I didn't go along" with his intimate advances. An embassy officer was finally able to rescue her after Savage urged her to go to his hotel room and tried to pull her into an elevator.

The woman refused to report the assault at that time because she was afraid it would hurt the Peace Corps. However, when a

Peace Corps doctor became alarmed about the woman's physical and emotional condition, she was sent back to the United States for counseling and tests at George Washington University Hospital.

When the *Post* questioned Savage about the incident, he refused to comment, claiming that he was being singled out for harassment because he is black. "I don't want to talk about that," he said. "Ask me the same kind of questions you ask white congressmen. You don't ask white congressmen questions like that." Okay, Gus. Published any good books lately?

➢From the Truth is Stranger than Fiction Department, Savage's office had planned a fund-raising cruise for August, promoting it by asking supporters to "Take a Ride on the Love Boat."

➢The Massachusetts Miracle continues. The state's credit rating has plummeted to 49th, just above Louisiana. When Michael Dukakis ran for president because of his "competence," he once held a 17-point lead in the polls. Now the state faces huge budget deficits, the Duke has cut the marvelous mandatory health program, he pleads for a tax increase and says he won't seek reelection next year. A year after his nomination, Democratic leaders who were asked about Dukakis routinely responded, "Who?"

➢Amnesty International reports that Democratic Kampuchea, er, Cambodia, has ratified the UN's anti-genocide treaty. This from the country whose first communist government (the Khmer Rouge) killed over 1.2 million of its citizens only to be ousted by a Vietnamese government that has killed over 500,000 of its citizens. We just *know* that somehow American imperialism is to blame. Consult your Poli. Sci. TA for the official party line.

S & L Hell

The most "productive" thing congress did this summer was rescuing the Savings and Loan industry. Everyone's deposits are once again completely safe (so we're told), and it will only cost you, the taxpayer, $150 billion.

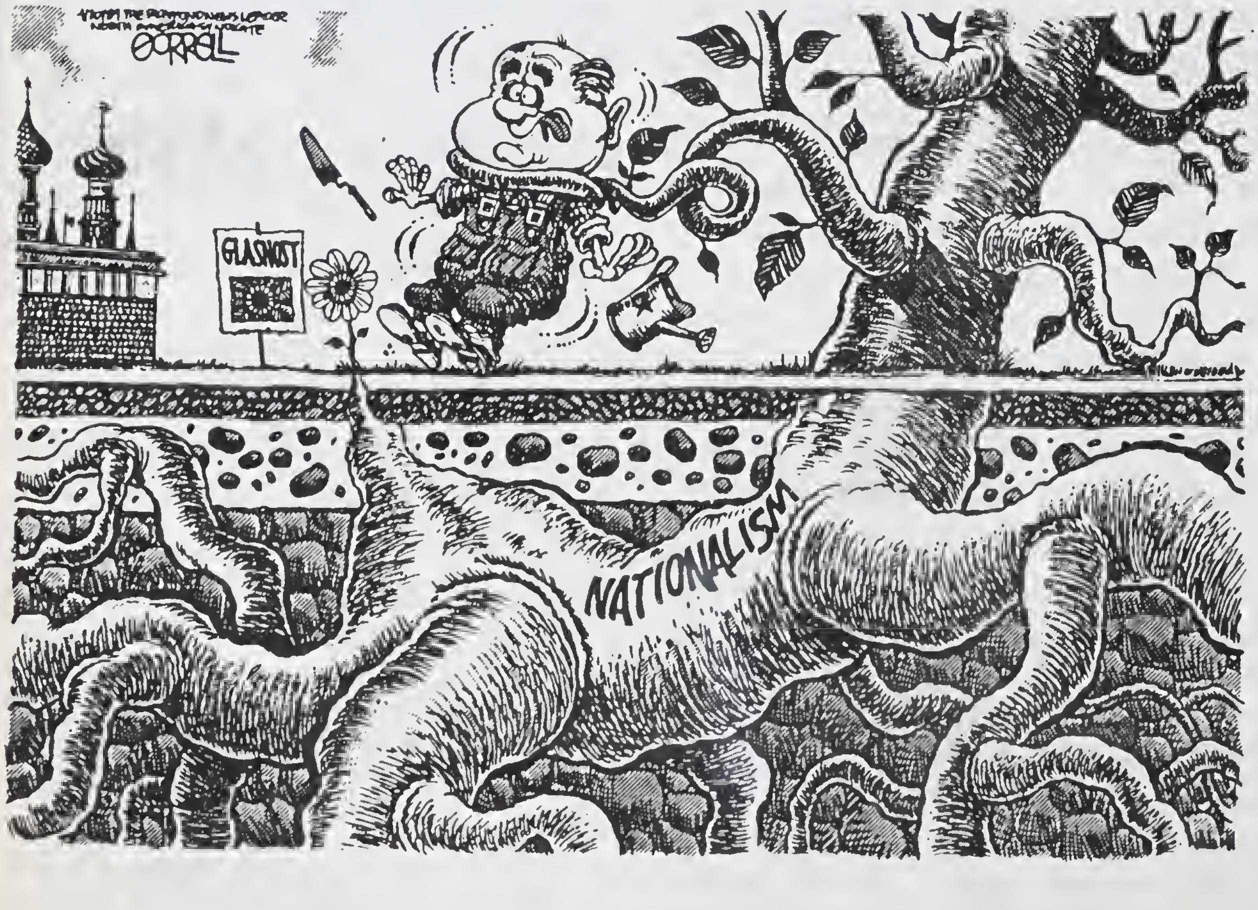
"It's going to cost me HOW MUCH?" you ask. Well let's try to put this in perspective ... the S&L bailout is going to cost more than the combined gross national products of Angola, Lebanon and Fiji; plus a fleet of 50 Stealth bombers, the gross receipts of *Batman* and the cost of completely redesigning the Ford Thunderbird. Add to that the cost of buying every homeless person in America a $40,000 house; providing every man, woman and child in the small African nation of Zimbabwe with a personal computer, and paying the in-state tuition of every Carolina freshman for the next 1,000 years. Times two.

By now it's probably perfectly clear why 98% of the incumbents in congress were reelected last year.

So who's to blame for the S&L mess? The answer to that question, not surprisingly, depends upon who you ask. One DTH writer blamed "Ronald Reagan and his free-market carpetbagging cronies." In truth, however, the Reagan administration proposed bailout legislation back when it would have cost a mere $17 billion. Unfortunately former House Speaker Jim Wright killed the package so his Texas scalawag buddies (a/k/a S&L executives) could avoid the tighter regulation that accompaned that bill.

In fact, *U.S. News & World Report* called the S&L fiasco, "...the lasting and most important endowment left by Wright's and [former Democratic Whip Tony] Coelho's bad judgment." It's hard to believe that these guys had ethics problems, isn't it?

■



➢A recent letter to the CRITIC from the the Pro-Americans Citizens Alliance states, "In fact, we have two governments in this country. We have the elected one... Than [sic] we have another one, perhaps much more powerful, which consists on International Bankers, World Zionists, and leaders of other secret organizations the 'hidden hand.' [sic, sic, sic (this is very sick)] The letter goes on to explain that the organization's objective is to "expose in full this 'hidden government' of Liberal Internationalists, and Zionists..." Well we here at the CRITIC are committed to exposing, in full, the secret organizations of racists, fascists, and idiots that clutter the postal system with this crap.

And people call us reactionary!

➢In the Workers' Paradise of Nicaragua, even the Sandinista government admits failure. The June 26 *New York Times* revealed that a study commissioned by the Ortega government showed that the once-prosperous Nicaraguan economy is now the poorest in the Western Hemisphere. Since the revolution of 1979, consumption has been cut by more than 70 percent, per capita output has fallen even below that of Haiti, workers' wages have plummeted by over 92 percent, and in a recent two-week period, inflation reached **160 percent**. The report's authors suggest that the only way to halt the crisis is to end land redistribution, cut government spending, and emphasize private sector production. The government's response has been to "use its broad police powers to preserve order and uninterrupted production... [and] revive its practice of confiscating the property of its political opponents and private sector critics," according to the *Times*.

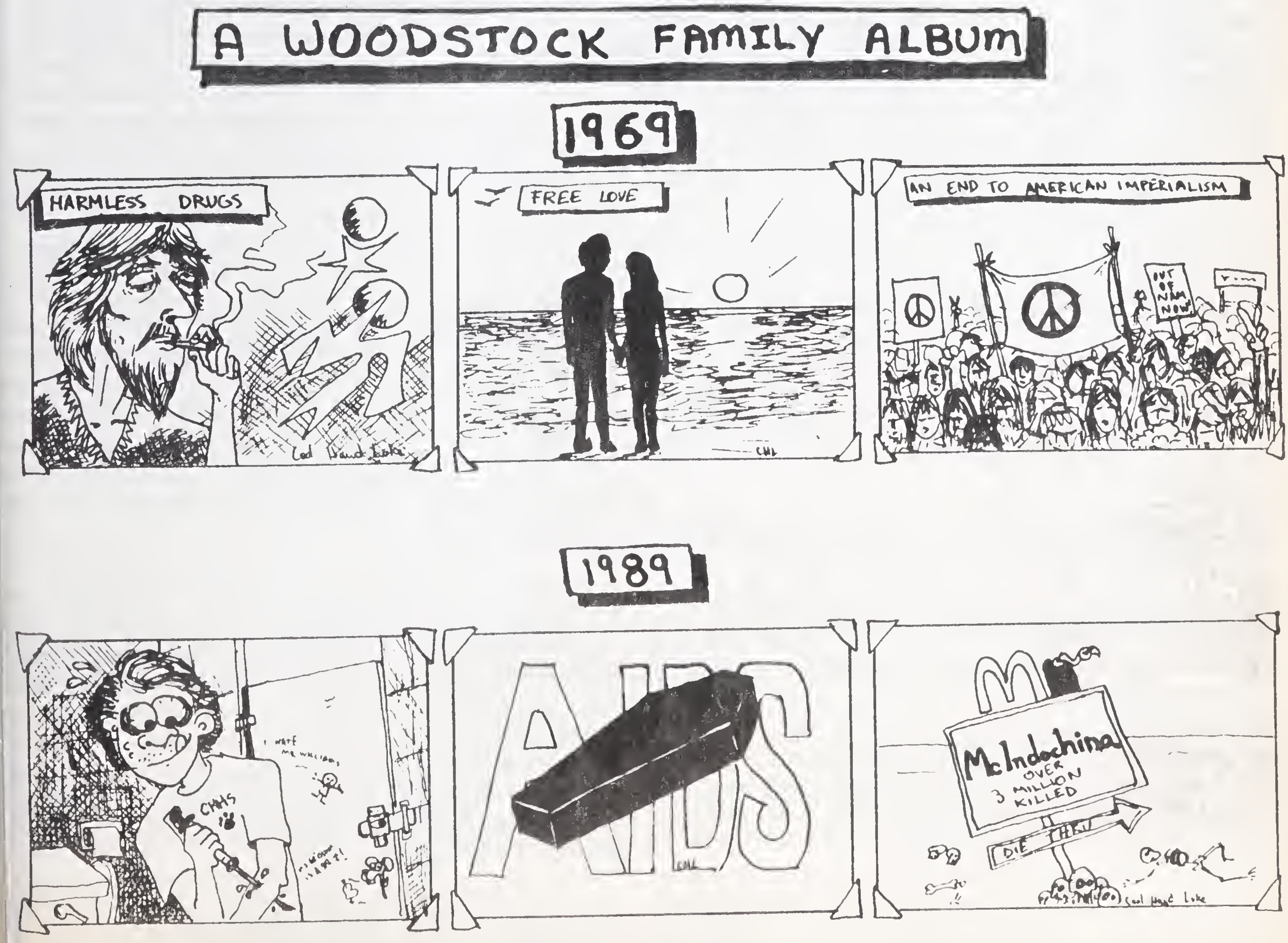
➢In fact, in the same issue of the *Times*, Ortega defended the government's forced seizure of three major sugar production facilities, claiming that they were planning to halt production because they were "agents" of "the terrorist policies of the United States government." The Covert Sugar Operations office of the the CIA had no comment.

➢From our International Dictionary:
wabenze, n: swahili for government agent; lit. "man in a Mercedes-Benz." Hey, we didn't make this up! Now we hear that the competition is inspired to rename their cars. Look out for the 1990 Chrysler Carpet Bagger and the Toyota Technocrat.

➢"To what extent resources are centrally controlled has wide-ranging implications. Control generally implies structure. Too much structure leads to rigidity and high system overhead. Not enough structure results in low system overhead with less overall reliability." No, this doesn't come from a political scientist comparing socialism and the free market. It's about computer operating systems from a book on programming.

➢Long before the Nielson Co. started rating television shows popularity, a water commissioner was able to gauge the popularity of "I Love Lucy." It seems that he noticed a massive drop in water pressure during commercial breaks as people all flushed their toilets at once. He mused on patenting a "flushometer." It might have been more accurate than Nielson.

➢Does anyone remember the Spencer Gifts catalog? It is the home of naked lady toothbrushes and that other essential element of human hygiene, the 99¢ nose hair clipper. Now, in the continuing struggle to improve the already-invented wheel, The Sharper Image has a 1980s solution to unsightly nose hair. Only $20 will buy you this electric yuppie shnozz groomer from Panasonic. It sounds exciting, but we're holding out for a navel lint vacuum.



➢Joseph Berryhill, staff reporter for the Raleigh *News and Observer*, pointed out that some UNC staff members still face financial struggles despite the recent pay raise. Using the example of a custodian who only grosses $11,424 a year (which is $700 less than the federal poverty line for a family of four), Berryhill contended that the pay increase was insufficient, and employees such as the custodian should get more money. While we don't normally begrudge anyone his salary, a point needs to be made. Full-time state employees (which include UNC staff members) receive much more than cash in their payroll checks. They also get a plethora of non-cash benefits, such as health insurance and paid time off, just because they work for the taxpayers of North Carolina. When recent financial difficulties at the Carolina Inn came to light, Edward Rehkopf, Director of University Conference Facilities, conducted a study which quantified the dollar value of non-cash benefits Inn employees (who also work for the state) receive. His findings revealed that state employees receive benefits that total **38 percent above** their cash value. So the custodian in question earns the equivalent of $15,763 in cash and benefits (nearly 20 percent **above** the poverty line). Perhaps Berryhill should do a bit more research if he wishes to earn **his** next pay raise.

CLIPBOARD

Like deja vu all over again: "Aargh! The '70s are back! There are giant smiley faces in the store windows. Ralph Nader is on the rebound. So is Jerry Brown. So, most amazingly, is Jimmy Carter. Washington is ethics-obsessed (not to be confused with ethical). Ecology is in; entrepreneurship is out. Can stagflation and disco be far behind?"—Virginia Postrel in REASON magazine

Green Acres is the place to be: "A certain professor at Stanford University owned a horse that his teenage daughter rode. When she went off to college, he sold the horse. That year, he was one of the "farmers" in the Department of Agriculture statistics ... The average full professor at Stanford gets more than 70 grand a year, but none of that counts in the [department's] statistics. On paper, Professor Farmer is in deep poverty — and it's all part of 'the farm crisis.'"

—Economist Thomas Sowell, in his syndicated column

Today's winning numbers are: "You would have done better flipping a coin than listening to most of the 'experts' predicting the economy of the 1980s."—*Wall Street Week* host Louis Rukeyser

Operators are standing by: Comedian Jay Leno: "The Home Shopping Network announced it is merging with C-Span for those who want the convenience of buying a politician in the privacy of your home."

They should tear down this place and put up a slum: Urban renewal is "socialism for the rich, laissez-faire for the poor." — Gideon Kanner, real estate law professor at Loyola Marymount University

The Destructive Generation: "[The Sixties] has become the decade that would not die, the decade whose long half-life continues to contaminate our own." — Peter Collier and David Horowitz

Leadership that's working: "Common sense is fine when you're dealing in a non-political atmosphere."—Rep. Dan Smith (D-Florida)

■

➢"You can't eat for eight hours a day nor drink for eight hours a day nor make love for eight hours a day—all you can do for eight hours a day is work."—William Faulkner. We think Faulkner should have tried harder.

➢Does "The Big Chill" leave you cold? Want to get the Monkees off your back? Then you may want to check out Eugene Dillenburg and his National Association for the Advancement of Time—a group determined to "end the 1960s in your lifetime." Nausea over1960s nostalgia has led Dillenburg and other members of the under-thirtysomething crowd to protest against babyboomers and their infatuation with a time gone by. Calling the babyboom generation "50 million teenagers who never grew up," NAFTAT hopes to get their elders to stop living in the past. Too bad all the people with Mondale/Ferraro bumper stickers couldn't do the same.

➢All faithful *Independent Weekly* readers and other socially correct people know that the tax reform of the Reagan years cut taxes only for the rich, right? Think again. The Tax Foundation, a nonprofit research organization in Washington, DC, conducted a study which showed that the top 50 percent of American wage earners paid 94.1 percent of personal income taxes in 1987. The lower half of the wage scale, those people who earned less than $17,598 in adjusted gross income a year, paid only 5.9 percent. Also of interest: the top 5 percent (earning $71,125 or more) paid 43 percent of income taxes; the top 10 percent ($54,700 or more) paid 55.4 percent.

➢Poland has been in the news all summer, and for good reason. First, the parliamentary elections led to an overwhelming defeat for Communist Party candidates. Next, hot on the heels of the Polish election, President Bush visited the country and preached the free enterprise, pro-capitalist message openly to enthusiastic crowds of thousands. And as we prepared to go to press, Polish President Jaruzelski selected Solidarity leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki as the country's next Prime Minister. Mazowiecki plans to form a coalition government which may **exclude** Communists from key administrative posts.

➢Why, you ask, have the Soviets been silent up to now? A CNN news report gave two possible reasons: either they are afraid

Cut the Rates on *Das Kapital*

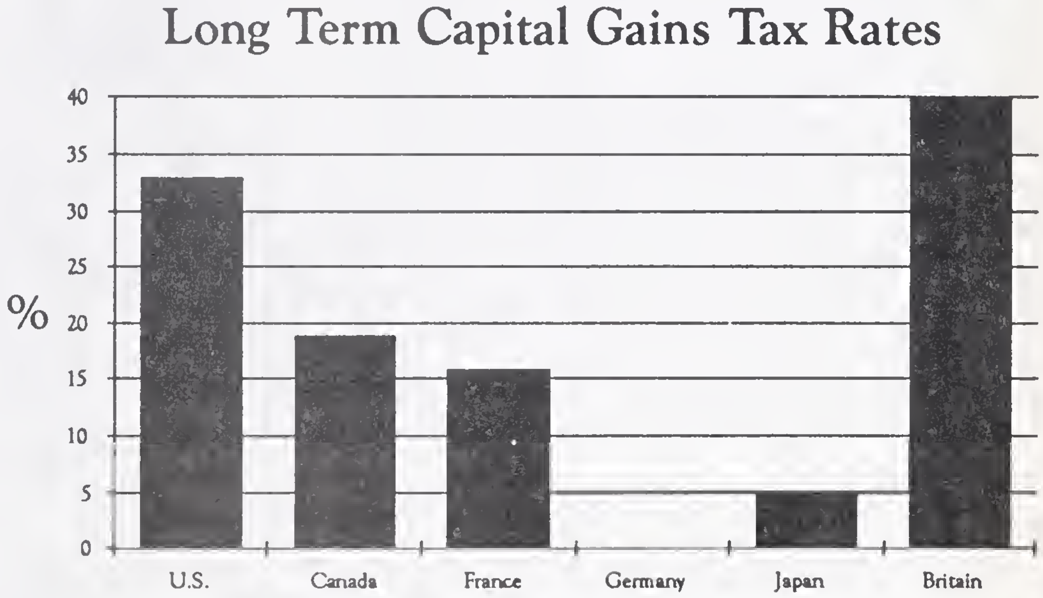
During last year's presidential campaign Michael Dukakis tried to portray himself as a champion of the little guy by opposing George Bush's plan to cut the capital gains tax. He did so on the grounds that it was a giveaway to rich Republicans who, as everybody knows, are the only ones that have capital gains anyway. Ever since, prominant congressional Democrats like majority whip Richard Gephardt, have been blocking passage of a bill which would reduce the capital gains rate from the current 33 percent to 15 percent. Instead of helping the little guy however, Gephardt and his fellow Democrats have been discouraging the kind of investment that creates jobs, makes the country more competitive and increases wages. Result: the little guy gets shafted.

A capital gain is the money a person makes from selling an asset like a house, business or stock. If, for example, you had bought some stock in 1970 for $10,000 and you sell it this year for $50,000 you have realized a $40,000 gain, which is counted as part of your income for 1989. So even if you have only earned $30,000 at your job this year, you would pay taxes on $70,000. Not only that, according to Dick Gephardt you *deserve* to pay 33 percent of your income to Washington because you're rich.

In fact, most people with long-term capital gains are not rich. David Makarechian, director of tax and budget policy for the Washington think-tank Citizens for a Sound Economy, points out that in 1985 less than 2 percent of people claiming long term capital gains earned over $200,000. Not only that, a full one-third of this same group had annual incomes of less than $20,000. Lowering the rate to 15 percent will hardly be a gift for the rich. Instead it will benefit literally millions of average people who are selling assets in order to pay for such unglamorous projects as sending their children to college, or buying a retirement home.

In any case, all this quibbling over who has the most to gain from reducing the tax rate really misses the point. The single most compelling reason to lower the tax rate is that it will spur investment and improve economic conditions for everyone.

Under the current system there is a substantial tax penalty for selling investments. The predictable result is that people are more reluctant to invest in long term projects. They also tend to avoid selling their current investments. Unfortunately, this leaves less money available for established companies to upgrade their facilities and new businesses to be created. And when that happens it's bad news for the average working person who is counting on the market to give him a job.


Long Term Capital Gains Tax Rates

Source: *U.S. News & World Report* (8-7-89)

By lowering the tax rate to 15 percent for *long-term* capital gains, the congress will be spurring investment and risk taking. Companies will have more money to upgrade their facilities which will lead to higher productivity from the average worker. This higher productivity means higher salaries and a better standard of living for the employees. It also means that these companies will become more competitive in the world market.

Perhaps the most important benefit of a lower tax rate is that entrepreneurs will find it easier to raise the capital needed to get a new business off the ground. As these new companies begin to develope products and services, the jobs so desparately needed by the poor and unemployed will be created.

We should take our cue from our enormously successful competitors, West Germany and Japan. In both of those countries long term capital gains taxes are a much lower, 0 percent and 5 percent respectively, than they are here. In Britain, the rates are 40 percent. There is a lesson to be learned here.

In spite of what Dick Gephardt and the rest of the congressional demagogues say, lowering the capital gains tax to 15 percent is not a tax break for rich Republicans. On the contrary, it is an integral part of the most effective anti-poverty program ever created — the free-market.

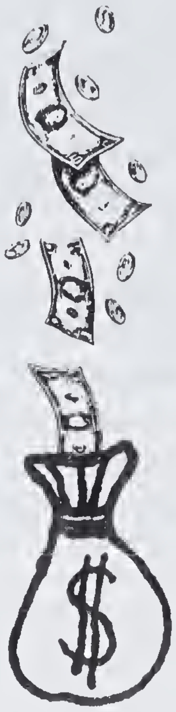
—Bob Lukefahr

■

at an open crackdown on Polish dissent will tarnish Gor-
chev's positive PR with the West; or the Soviets believe that,
they're patient, the Polish economy will collapse further,
aving Solidarity to shoulder the blame. In either case, the
amor for economic aid to Poland has begun. Solidarity wants

$10 billion from the West. Let's hope President Bush lives by his Polish speeches, and limits American assistance to (1) voluntary donations (2) sent to Polish citizens, not the government. How private enterprise can flourish in a country that doesn't allow private ownership is another matter...

THE NATIONAL PORK BARREL



Normally, this space is reserved to keep you up to date on how Student Congress members spend our money, say stupid things, and generally embarrass us publicly by claiming that their pinhead opinions are our own. Thankfully, the junior bureaucrats have been relatively dormant this summer, which gives me time to update you on how the big kids in the U.S. Congress are spending our dough. This information on the 100th Congress comes to us courtesy of the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., a free market public policy group that keeps tabs on our noble public servants.

Based on 71 votes dealing with competition and free market principles during the 2nd session, members of the House of Representatives supported free enterprise 34% of the time. House Republicans actually practiced their free market rhetoric only 58% of the time, while House Democrats predictably upheld the principles of a competitive economy a whopping 18% of the time. Representatives from The People's Republic of Massachusetts scored lowest on the CEI index, voting for free markets and limited spending 12% of the time. Wyoming representatives topped the list, voting in favor of the market 85% of the time.

Ten Democrats and 1 Republican were rated "Perfect Porkers" by CEI, voting to spend money on special interest subsidies 100% of the time. These big spenders include Carl Perkins (D.-KY), Pat Williams (D.-MT), and Richard "The Human Waffle" Gephardt (D.-MO). House Democrats voted to control federal spending 15% of the time, and 56 failed to vote for a single budget tightening measure. One Republican failed to do so.

Overall, CEI rated 11 House Democrats as the "Toughest Foes of Free Enterprise," including former Speaker and literary guru Jim Wright (D.-TX), who didn't support free enterprise once during the session. Tony Coelho (D.-CA), did so 6% of the time, and the late Mickey Leland (D.-TX) also broke down and voted for the market an astounding 6% of the time.

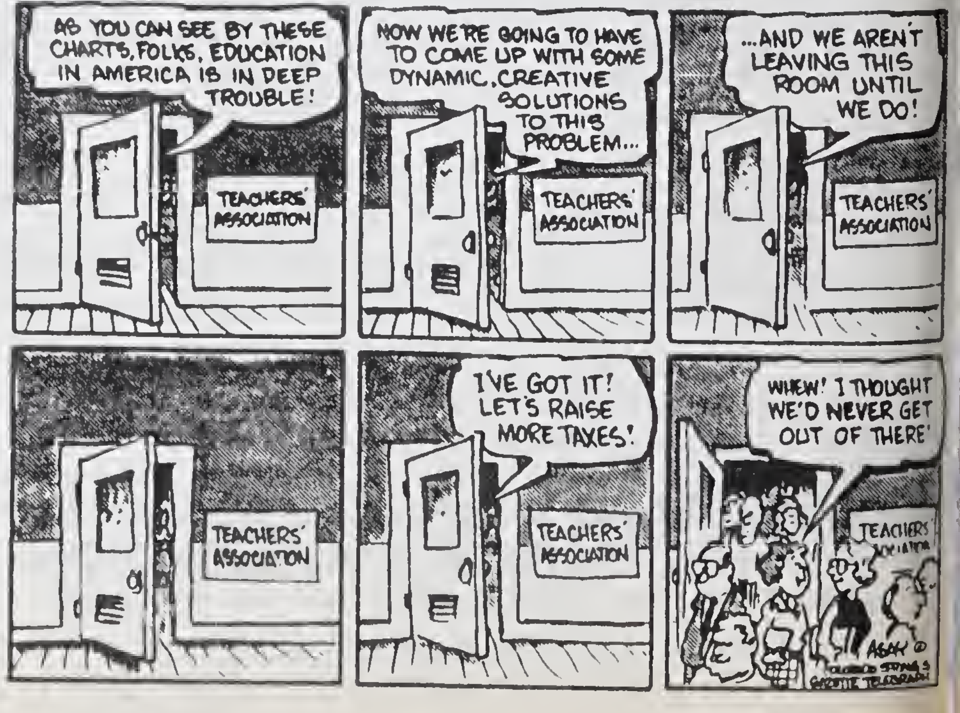
Senate Democrats voted for the market 17% of the time, compared to 52% for Republicans. Nine Senate Democrats were rated "Toughest Foes of Free Enterprise," including Paul "Babes Like My Bowtie" Simon (D.-IL) with a 2% rating, Joseph "I Was Only Paraphrasing" Biden (D.-DE), with 8%, and North Carolina's ever-lucid Terry Sanford, who upheld free market principles a decisive 9% of the time. Jesse "The Free Market Works For Everything But Tobacco" Helms (R.-NC) was rated as a "Best Friend of Free Enterprise" with a 75% rating.

Several Senators were named "Defenders of Pork Chop Hill," including Lloyd Bentsen (D.-TX), who didn't oppose any special interest spending (Senator, you're no Dan Quayle). Alphonse D'Amato (R.-NY), did so 10% of the time. Surprisingly, Ted "We'll Drive Off That Bridge When We Get To It" Kennedy (D.-MA) voted against pork barrel subsidies 60% of the time, only 3% behind his old pal Jesse Helms.

Though we are often reminded that Student Congress has more than its share of bozos, we should appreciate the fact that they are only amateurs. On Capitol Hill there are **professional** bozos working their bureaucratic buns off spending all that money we don't have. No wonder they wanted a raise. Spending other people's money is a full-time occupation — just ask my girlfriend.

—*Anthony Woodlief*

➢The late Al Capp, creator of the *Lil' Abner* comic strip, knew how to win friends and influence socially conscious students during the 1960s. Because of the popularity of his satirical comic, Capp was much in demand to speak on college campuses. But, as he told William F. Buckley on *Firing Line*, protesting students didn't appreciate it when he hurled stinging barbs at them. "Oh, every now and then some student arises, quivering with rage, and says: 'Mr. Capp, you detest us, so why are you speaking here at Chapel Hill?' And I say, 'For three thousand bucks and I wouldn't spend an hour with a bunch like you for a nickel less... At Southern Illinois University, just the other day, one of them got up and said, 'We detest Mayor Daley, how can we poison Lake Michigan?' And I said, 'Why don't you *bathe* in it?'"


AS YOU CAN SEE BY THESE CHARTS, FOLKS, EDUCATION IN AMERICA IS IN DEEP TROUBLE!
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
NOW WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO COME UP WITH SOME DYNAMIC, CREATIVE SOLUTIONS TO THIS PROBLEM...
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
...AND WE AREN'T LEAVING THIS ROOM UNTIL WE DO!
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
I'VE GOT IT! LET'S RAISE MORE TAXES!
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
WHEW! I THOUGHT WE'D NEVER GET OUT OF THERE'
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
ASAY

CRITIC ALMANAC

Average speed of rush hour traffic into inner London in 1968: 14 mph

In 1988: 12 mph

Pounds of garbage per person per day in 1965: 3

In 1985: 4

Percentage of workers who had a hard time putting their work aside in 1955: 52

In 1980: 34

Percentage of Englishmen who believe in a personal God: 31

Of Americans: 65

Hundreds of thousands of inmates in federal prisons in 1978: 3

In 1988: 6

Projected demand for diet pills in the next 15 years: -47%

Average after tax income of people over 65 in 1984: $8,900

Of people under 65: $7,900

Number of New York City citizens on welfare: 1 in 4

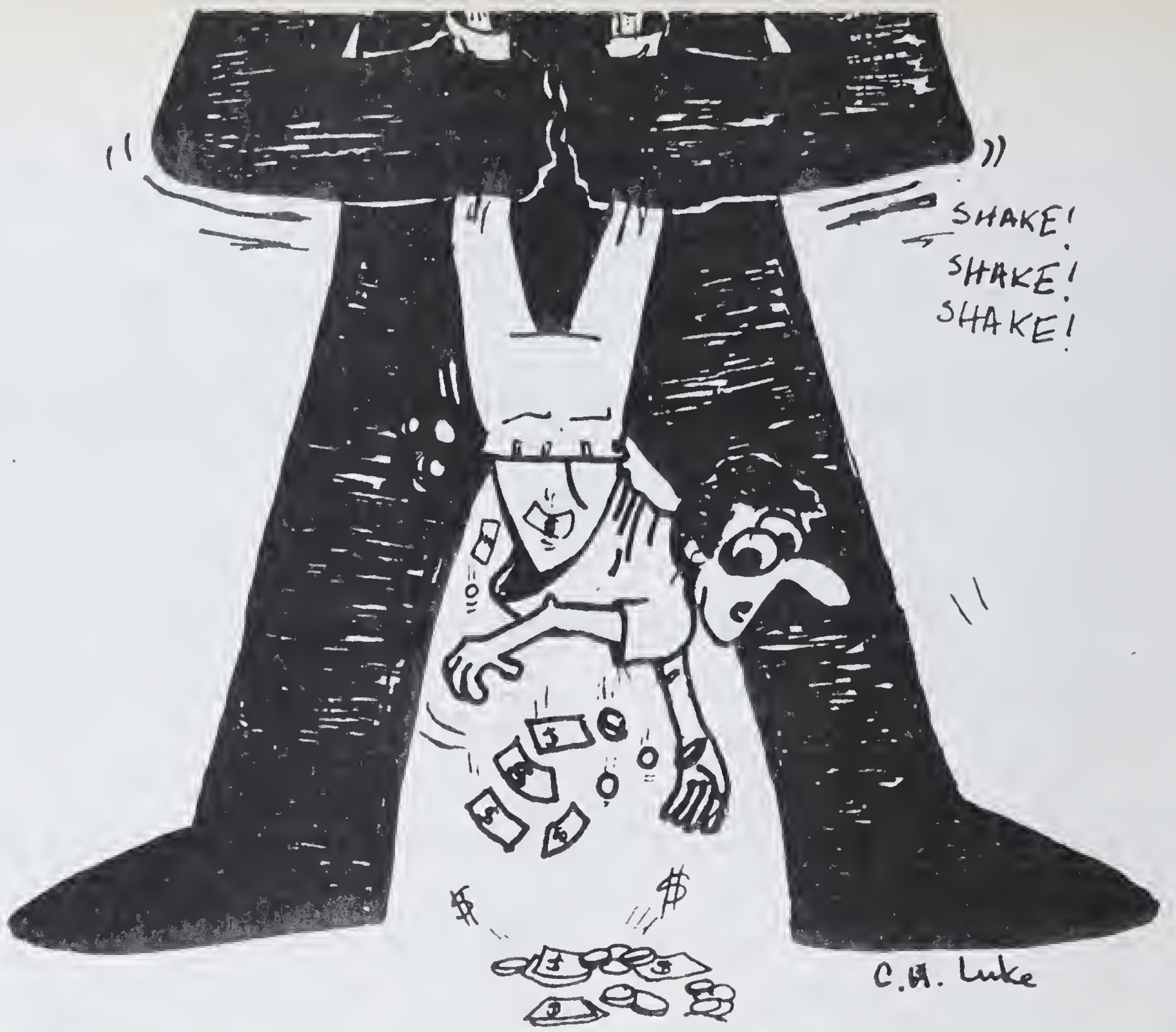
Number of unlicensed taxicabs in New York: 3 in 4

Number of licensed and regulated professional activities: 600

Life expectancy of women who live to be 65: 91

Number of letters a congressman can send at taxpayer expense: 65 million

Sources: *Economist* (6-17-89 p.65); Murray Weidenbaum; Charles Murray, *In Pursuit of Happiness* (135); *U.S. News and World Report* (8-7-89 p.25); *U.S. News and World Report* (7-24-89 p.66); *Executive Alert* 7/8-89 p. 3);


SHAKE!
SHAKE!
SHAKE!
C.H. Luke

UNC's Tuition Increase Is Bitter Medicine

by Jason James

Carolina students coming back to Chapel Hill this fall will have a surprise waiting for them. No, it isn't the 3500 hedonistic freshmen excited about being away from home. It may not be the football team either. The surprise will be a $100 increase in in-state tuition (more than $600 for out-of-state students). Student leaders and other opportunistic politicians have whined loud and long about the hardship being visited upon the students of UNC, but this tuition increase is neither unreasonable nor unprecedented.

Quite simply, the UNC system needs more money. Plagued by insufficient facilities and the flight of instructors to more lucrative jobs, the system will use the money to keep from falling further behind.

This year the university system requested $411 million for physical improvements, of which the General Assembly was only able to allocate $72 million. Though this is still a large number, it is clear that the system will not be able to grow as fast as is needed. Each year more people flock from the Rust Belt to the Sun Belt, and nowhere is this felt more than in North Carolina. In order to meet the needs of a growing population, North Carolina's system of higher education must grow as well. For example, UNC-Chapel Hill is getting $15.6 million for buildings that will house the schools of business and social work, while N.C. State is getting $6 million for a new engineering center.

The university system also needs money to create a merit pay system for faculty to keep them from leaving for other schools. Professors who are experts in their field are often incompetent in the classroom. They are discouraged from teaching by a system that rewards publication and discourages student instruction. The two problems can be resolved by creating a merit pay plan for college professors that rewards good instruction. As a result, the best teachers would be encouraged to remain in the system. If some illustrious, but research oriented, professors decide to leave, then UNC could still fulfill its stated goal of "educating North Carolina's youth."

Unfortunately, the General Assembly made no distinction among professors, but instead has authorized a six percent across-the-board pay raise for professors and administrators. This will help somewhat to stop the flood of talented professors to other schools but will do nothing to improve the teaching.

Obviously, a university must be open so that students can be taught. Yet many students were shocked to hear that school might have opened two weeks late this semester because state funds were being delayed. The money was finally delivered, but meanwhile computer and other services had been cut back dramatically. By increasing university reliance on tuition monies, which are much more reliable than tax revenues, these kinds of emergencies could be avoided.

Even though students are expected to pay for more of their education, the UNC system is not being abandoned by the legislature. In fact, the state has allocated an additional $30 million to the universities over the increase in tuition revenue. They also gave additional money to community colleges and for teaching scholarships. At a time when state lawmakers are trying to exercise fiscal restraint, any extra spending for the universities is a victory for higher education.

In addition, to expect a tuition hike at this point is not unreasonable. Tuition has been raised once since 1982, and then by only five percent. Most other states in the same period had been raising their tuition by up to twelve percent annually in the same period. Though a sudden twenty percent increase is substantial, North Carolina universities are still a bargain when compared to other state schools.

Tuition & Fees

School	In State	Out Of State
UC Berkeley	$1476	$5766
UCLA	1431	5721
UVa	2366	5796
Maryland	1906	5292
Kentucky	1412	4052
SUNY-Binghampton	1503	3353
UNC	**848**	**4306**

Even with the increase, the tuition at UNC is still only $604 for in-state residents ($948 including mandatory fees). In comparsion, tuition and fees come to $1431 at UCLA and $2366 at the University of Virginia. After looking at the costs of other schools, complaining over tuition increases at UNC seems petty.

It is important to realize that Carolina did not suddenly become 20% more expensive. Room and board is the largest expense for most students. The $948 for tuition and fees is small compared to the $3055 needed for room and board. When the total cost is taken into account, then the change is only 3%.

It is important to remember that students are only expected to cough up an extra $100 a year. This won't put any students in financial straights. It is the equivalent of twenty-five hours of work, or about one weekend at K-Mart over the winter holidays. It is a given that no one will want to work for something that used to be free, but college is not much help for lazy people anyway.

For those students who really cannot afford the extra money, the government has generously provided a financial aid system. There will certainly be a few new qualifiers for aid, and it should be provided. No poor students should be denied an education any more than they were last year. So if some budding journalist writes a tear-jerker about poor students who cannot afford the higher tuition, keep in mind the many options available through financial aid and that other zany source of money, a job.

This is not a wholehearted endorsement of a tuition increase. There are some problems. It is very annoying that the General Assembly waited until two weeks before school started to raise tuition. This is clearly a burden on students who save during the summer for the school year and have now run out of summer in which to save. But consideration has never been a strong point of North Carolina lawmakers. Also, it would have been better to have increased tuition slowly over a number of years, as other states have done, rather than in one lump sum.

All in all it seems that the tuition increase is a necessary though painful bit of legislation. The extra money will go to expand the UNC system and allow more students to earn their degrees. And that, of course, is the whole purpose. Ω

Jason spent all summer hard at work for IBM so he could save enough money to buy an Apple Macintosh.

MAY OUR CONSTITUTION BE LAWFULLY ~~AMENDED~~ IMPROVED TO REVALUE THE AMERICAN DOLLAR TO OTHER THAN 100¢ EQUALS 371.25 GRAINS PURE SILVER? **ANSWER:** NO! SOME BELIEVE THE FRAMERS OF OUR CONSTITUTION WERE A CONFUSED AND STUPID LOT. NOT TRUE! THE VERY-SLOW-OF-APPREHENSION LIES WITH THE MODERN HALLUCINATING JOURNALIST AND OTHER OF LIKE BENT. THE AMERICAN DOLLAR HAS ALWAYS BEEN WORTH 100¢ - AS STATED IN OUR CONSTITUTION AND CODIFIED AT SECTION 9 OF THE COINAGE ACT; ALL OTHER VALUES ARE BASED ON NONSENSE! DO THESE STATEMENTS MAKE SENSE? IF ABLE TO WRITE, CONCERNED ABOUT SAVING YOURSELF AND AMERICA FROM FINANCIAL RUIN, ACCOUNT SAFETY, JURY NULLIFICATION, PROBABLE CAUSE, YOUR OPTIONS IN DEALING WITH BUREAUCRATS, SEND FOR FREE INFO OR $100 FOR 8-PAGE TREATISE TO: FRANK PEARL, 61 S. JULIAN #CC, DENVER 80219 OR CALL 303 935 4815.
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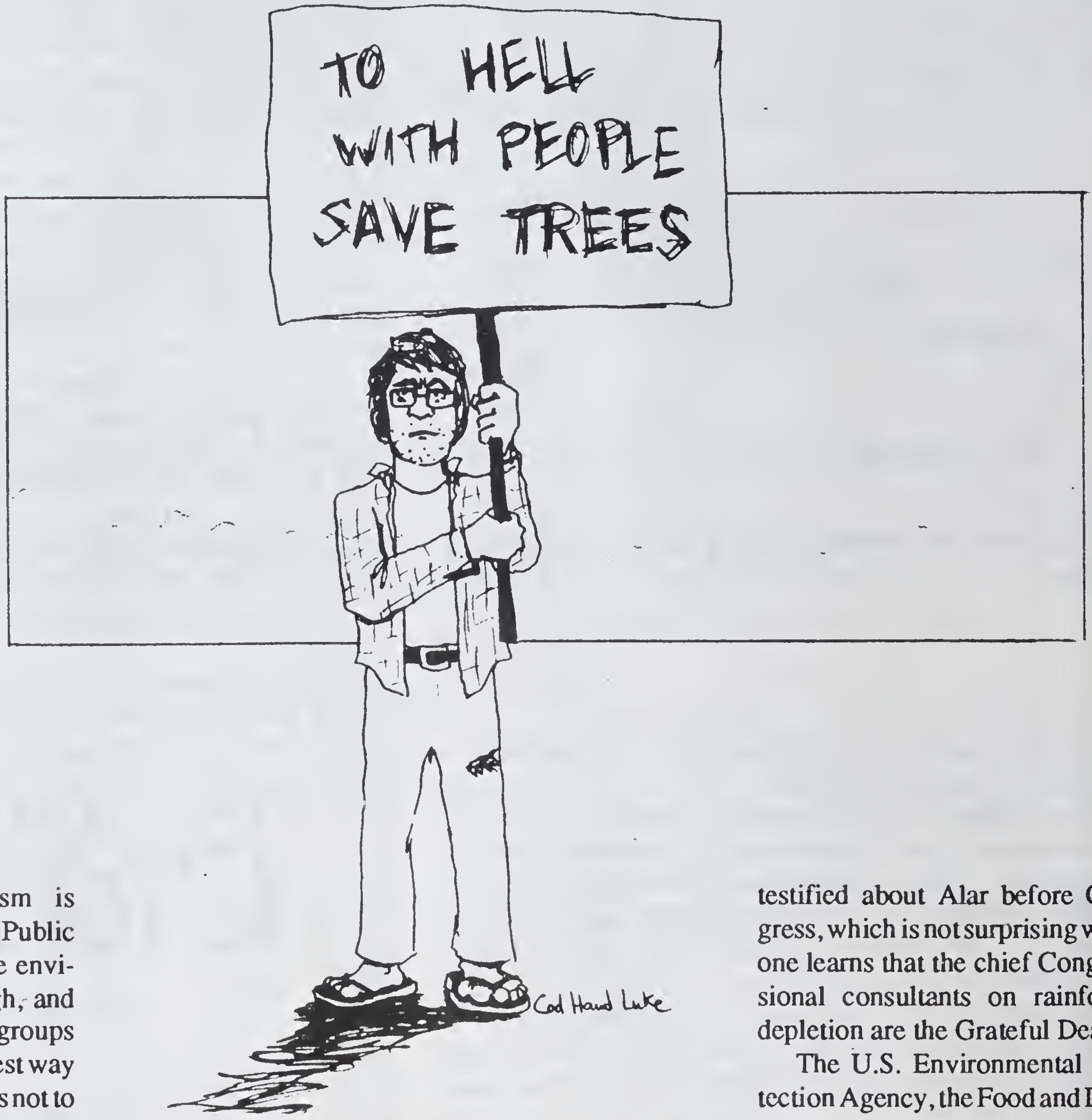
At UNC-Charlotte
Maureen Kelley
PO Box 560604
Charlotte, NC
28256-0604

At WakeForest
Jonathan Jordan
Reynolda Station
PO Box 6068
Winston-Salem, NC
27104

Environmentalists are Hazardous to Your Health

Anthony Woodlief



Environmentalism is big business. Public concern for the environment is high, and several environmental groups have discovered that the best way to get funds and publicity is not to concentrate on important environmental problems, but to create mass hysteria. Unfortunately, hysteria has been a tool of the trade for some of these groups since their conception. The Alar scare earlier this year is but the latest example of this "ecoterrorism."

In late February the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), a litigation group pretending to be a scientific organization, gave the television show *60 Minutes* data purportedly demonstrating that daminozide, a growth regulator sprayed on some apples to make them stay on the tree longer, was ’The most potent cancer-causing agent in our food supply. . .” Renowned biochemist Meryl Streep, after getting cues from another prominent scientist, Robert Redford, went on talk shows to tell people that apples would kill their children. This helped the NRDC terrify parents nationwide. Streep even testified about Alar before Congress, which is not surprising when one learns that the chief Congressional consultants on rainforest depletion are the Grateful Dead.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration, the National Academy of Science, and a string of noted experts all found that Alar was not a significant health threat. Public pressure, however, coupled with the threat of an NRDC lawsuit, resulted in a federal ban on Alar. In Virginia, where apple growers do not even use Alar, apple prices fell 35%. Costs to consumers have been estimated at over $200 million, and Congress has already appropriated $15 million to compensate apple growers for their losses.

The annoying fact about the Alar "crisis" is that it was almost entirely fabricated by the NRDC. Dr. Thomas Jukes, a biophysicist and cancer research expert at the University of California at Berkeley, called the Alar scare "one of the most outrageous abuses of the public trust I have ever seen." Dr. Elizabeth Whelan, head of the American Council on Science and Health, writes that the NRDC data and conclusions "are at total variance with what we know about the causes of human cancer." Dr. Bruce Ames, a biochemist at Berkeley, and Dr. Lois Gold, a molecular biologist at Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, developed the carcinogenity test that the NRDC used when studying Alar. The test involves extrapolating results from rodent experiments to humans. This method is not completely reliable, because between them rats and mice do not give equivalent results for 30 percent of the substances tested, yet these same results are considered valid for humans.

According to Ames and Gold, humans ingest roughly **10,000 times** more natural than man-made pesticides, making the relative risk from ingesting the small amounts of Alar on apples extremely low. Using their data, if we filled the Rose Bowl with infants and fed them 28,000 Alar-covered apples every day for 70 years, one more would develop cancer by the end of this time than would happen otherwise. Furthermore, using the test on beer reveals that a 12 oz. brew is 2800 times more carcinogenic than Alar. It stands to reason that if the carcinogenity of Alar were a threat, people would be dropping like flies at every keg party on campus.

Relative Carcinogenic Risks

Alar (average daily intake)	Less than 1.0
1 liter tap water (chlorine)	1.0
3.5 oz. cooked bacon	30.0
1 oz. peanut butter	30.0
12 oz. diet cola	60.0
3.5 oz. shrimp	100.0
1 raw mushroom	100.0
12 oz. natural root beer	200.0
2 slices of bread	400.0
12 oz. of beer	2,800.0

(100 = 0.1% HERP — human exposure/rodent potency)
source: Warren Brookes, Washington Times, 3-30-89

If it is bad enough that the apple growers suffered for the NRDC's publicity stunt, then hold on to your applesauce, it gets worse. Without a growth regulator such as Alar, apples tend to have more surface flaws, and they fall to the ground sooner. This means that molds can grow on them more easily. Drs. Ames, Gold, and Jukes all point out that at least one mold toxin, patulin, is not only more prevalent in the absence of pesticides and growth regulators, but is much more dangerous than Alar. Apparently the NRDC lawyers and Meryl Streep are willing to subject children to higher cancer risks so long as Nature, and not man, is the perpetrator.

This campaign to eliminate man-made pesticides began ong before Alar, and has proven deadly. Sparked by Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, in which she asserted that chemicals were destroying the earth, environmentalists went on a rampage in the 1960s to ban the pesticide DDT. Before the advent of DDT, Sri Lanka suffered about 2.5 million malaria cases from mosquitos a year, of which about 25,000 were fatal. Using DDT, Sri Lanka lowered the malaria rate to 110 in 1961.

Then came the environmentalists. Armed with questionable research showing that DDT was harmful to humans and the environment, several groups, including the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Audubon Society, and the Sierra Club persuaded the Sri Lankan government to abandon the use of DDT. Within a few years, the incidences of malaria rose to pre-spraying levels, and thousands of people died. But, as far as Laurie Mott of the Environmental Defense Fund is concerned, there is "no room for consideration of the benefits of pesticides."

The World Health Organization, however, assessed these benefits at over 5 million lives saved by DDT within the first 8 years of its use. Furthermore, a study by Dr. Edward Laws, of Johns Hopkins University, revealed that workers exposed to high levels of DDT for ten to twenty years developed no cancer. Dr. Walter Ebeling, an entomologist at UCLA, noted that single doses of 5 grams of DDT had been given to people to treat barbituate poisoning without adverse effects. Five grams of DDT was about 4 times as much DDT as the average American would take into his system in a 70 year lifetime. When speaking of DDT, Dr. Ebeling asserted that "probably no other compound, not even penicillin, has saved as many lives."

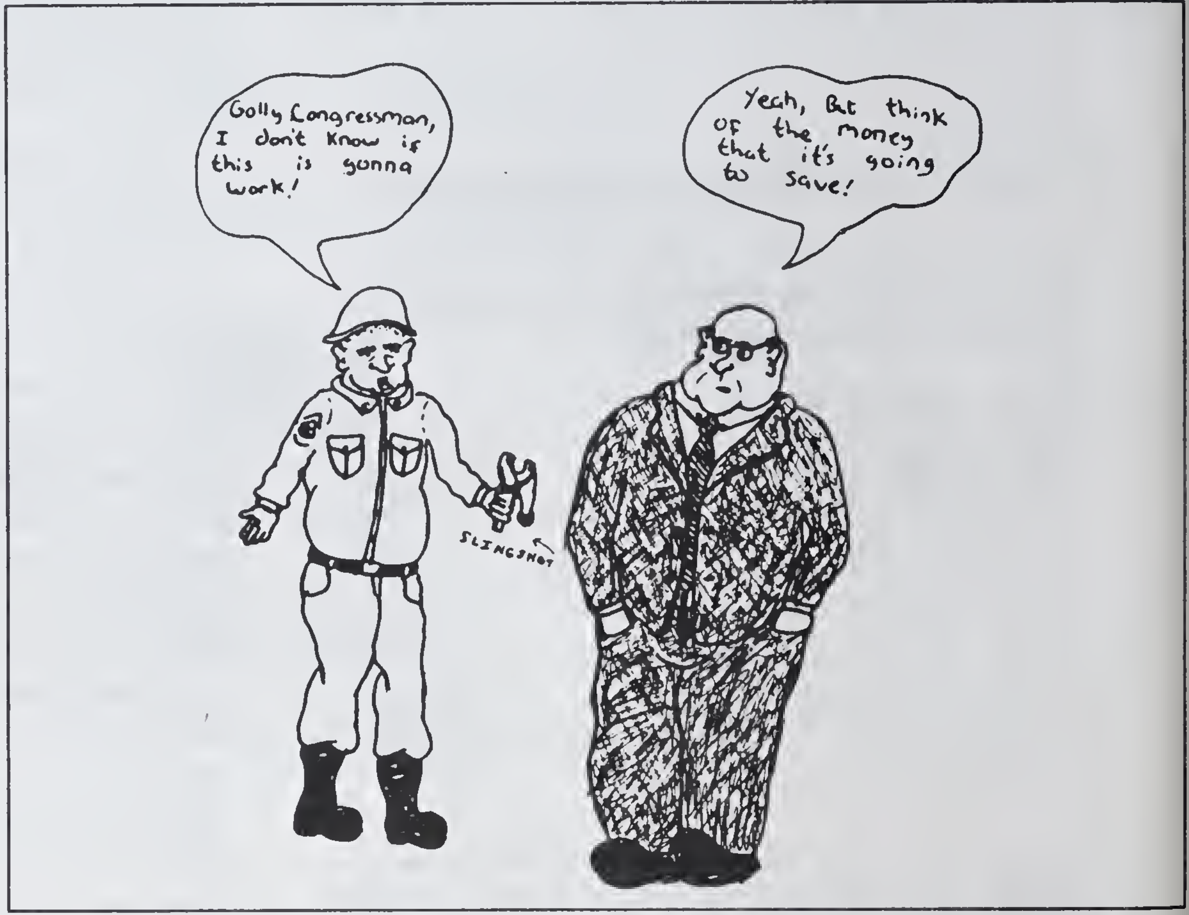
Unfortunately, we cannot expect ecoterrorists to lose credibility with the American public. Scare tactics have been a tool for many environmental activists since the 1960s, and the same groups responsible for the deaths in Sri Lanka are now raking in donations at record levels as they whip up new fears of elusive crises such as the "greenhouse effect." Opinion Research Corporation reports that 12 percent of the American public believes family members have been ill due to the greenhouse effect, while 22 percent believe family members have been sick because of ozone depletion. Over 60 percent are concerned about pesticides on their fruits and vegetables. We certainly can' t expect ecoterrorists, many with acknowledged socialist agendas, to relent. As William Hutton, former secretary-treasurer of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition said, "New crises spawn new opportunities."

The greatest harm from ecoterrorism is yet to come. Environmental concerns deserve a prominent place in the public eye. If groups claiming to represent the public interest do not begin to exercise responsibility when "informing" the public, they are going to lose their audience. We face numerous health threats every day, and by exploiting fears with dubious "factoids," ecoterrorists channel resources and attention away from real health concerns. As Dr. Elizabeth Whelan wrote, "Putting consumption of fruits and vegetables on the same list as smoking is a scientific travesty." Of course, what can we expect when emotional posturing by ignorant celebrities determines the course of public policy. Ω

We look forward to Woodlief getting in trouble for making snide comments about his girlfriend in the Critical Eye.

WORLD STAGE / CHANNING ROUSE

Congress Plays Russian Roulette with National Security


Golly Congressman, I don't know if this is gonna work!
Yeah, But think of the money that it's going to save!
SLINGSHOT

Once again, bureaucratic shortsightedness is jeopardizing the deployment of a necessary weapons system. Beset by budgetary pressures and competition from supporters of the 10 warhead MX missile, the mobile, single-warhead Midgetman faces either elimination, or at best, financing at levels that will barely keep the program alive. Presently, members of the Senate Armed Services Committee are seeking a "politically feasible" proposal. In essence, this means justifying defense procurements based on which programs are most likely to gain Congressional approval. This indecision reflects a pervasive disregard within Congress and the Bush Administration for a coherent defense strategy.

There is little doubt that the U.S. land-based nuclear arsenal lacks credibility. The current Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) force is housed in fixed silos, and thus highly vulnerable to a first-strike by the Soviet Union. In contrast, the U.S.S.R. has deployed two mobile missile systems — the multiple-warhead SS-24 and the single-warhead SS-25; both ensure the Soviets ability to retaliate if their silo-based weapons are destroyed by a U.S. attack. This imbalance and instability can only be corrected by the deployment of a mobile U.S. missile system, a conclusion expressed in a joint study by the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Both the MX, which can be placed on mobile railroad launchers, and the Midgetman appear to offer an appropriate alternative to vulnerable silo-based Minutemen. Superficially, the MX may appear to be a less expensive solution, but careful analysis belies that conclusion.

The basing mechanism proposed to make the MX mobile is a rail-garrison system which would utilize the nation's railroads during a crisis. As Col. Christopher Branch, the Strategic Air Command's director of ICBM requirements indicates, the slow response time of this cumbersome system makes the MX survivable only when there is "adequate warning time." This means that the U.S. might have to launch its ICBMs after only receiving a satellite warning of a Soviet attack (launch-on-warning), instead of being able to wait for further verification.

In contrast, the Midgetman would be deployed on mobile truck launchers stationed at military bases, away from civilian populations. The Midgetman, with a weight of 30,000 lbs., compared to the MX's 195,000 lbs., would be more mobile and add vital time to the decision-making process. This means U.S. leaders would not be tempted to launch-on-warning from satellites, which could prove false.

The Midgetman's faster response time would add valuable minutes to the launch verification process, providing a decisive edge in the event of a Soviet first strike. As Senator Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) has noted, the Midgetman could be effectively dispersed to "force the Soviets to use all their ICBMs and most of their sea-launched missile force. An advantageous Soviet first strike against our ICBMs would be out of the question."

The final and most important advantage of the Midgetman over the MX is that it enhances the likelihood of strategic arms reductions. With a secure land-based retaliation capacity, the U.S. would be in a better position to negotiate an effective Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START) agreement. Moreover, unlike the multiple-warhead MX, the Midgetman would not be perceived as a first-strike weapon, but only as an unthreatening, second-strike force. The U.S.S.R. would then have every incentive to negotiate away its highly accurate, but vulnerable, silo-based ICBMs.

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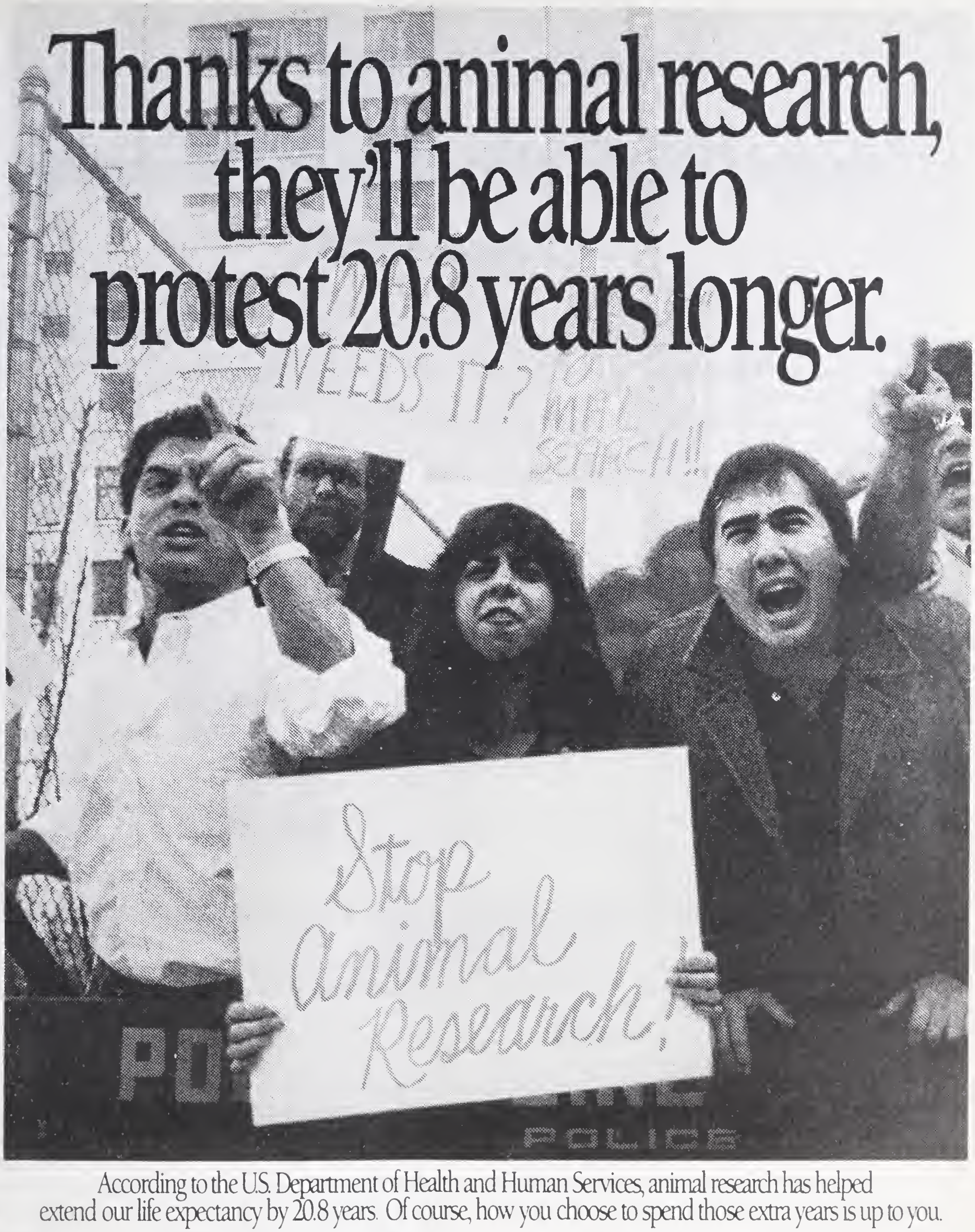
Thanks to animal research, they'll be able to protest 20.8 years longer.
NEEDS IT?
SEARCH!!
Stop animal Research!
PO
POLICE

According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, animal research has helped extend our life expectancy by 20.8 years. Of course, how you choose to spend those extra years is up to you.

Foundation for Biomedical Research

Foundation for Biomedical Research
818 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 303
Washington, DC 20006
202/457-0654

☐ Please send me information on how animal research has improved the quality of my life

Name________________________________

Address______________________________

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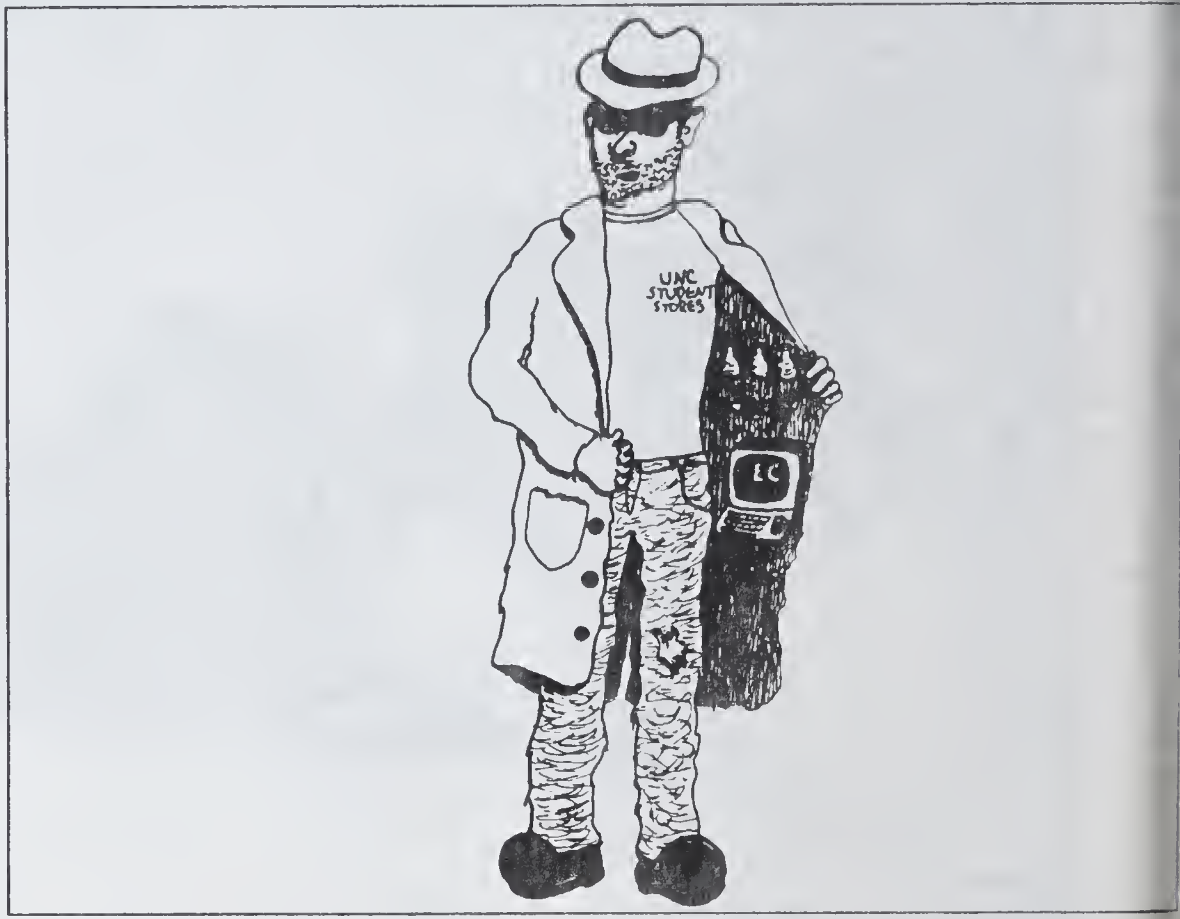
IN THE ZOO / RICK HENDERSON

"Store Wars" II: The University Strikes Out

For the second time in five years, the University of North Carolina's Student Stores are in a battle with Chapel Hill merchants. With the help of Orange County District Attorney Carl Fox, the local shopowners may have won this round.

Most alumni and other infrequent visitors to the UNC Campus probably think of the Daniels Student Stores as the place where Carolina students pick up textbooks, school supplies and the obligatory UNC t-shirts and window decals. But the Stores have increased the types of merchandise they offer over the years; this is the source of the continuing controversy.



When chartered in 1939, the Student Stores were controlled by the Umstead Act. This law allows campus stores to sell educational supplies, giftware and personal items such as toiletries. But it also prohibits these stores from openly competing with businesses in the communities surrounding the UNC campuses. In recent years, the Daniels Store has added clothing, magazines, computers and other appliances to its inventory. After receiving a petition from 30 Chapel Hill merchants complaining about the diverse offerings on the UNC campus, Mr. Fox compared the Daniels Store to a Wal-Mart department store. He also began to negotiate with UNC officials in an attempt to reduce the types of items for sale on campus.

Five years ago, the Student Stores were involved in a similar controversy. James Tarvid, owner of the Pascal and Associates computer store, complained that the University was using unfair and perhaps illegal pricing policies in its retailing of personal computers. Universities and other educational institutions had begun receiving "educational discounts" from IBM, Apple and other computer manufacturers as a means of boosting sales from institutional users. These special discounts made it possible to market home computers at below-retail prices and still sell them at a profit. The Daniels Store then began selling personal computers to UNC students, faculty and staff members at the lower prices. Mr. Tarvid accused the Daniels Store of violating the Umstead Act.

The way UNC actually disposed of these computers gave Mr. Tarvid a pretty solid case. The Daniels Store was selling home computers *at a loss*. The Store lost $9,000 on computer sales alone in 1984. Since profits from the Student Stores help finance scholarships for disadvantaged students, one could say that the management of the Stores had chosen a curious manner of increasing educational opportunities for the poor.

At the same time, there is little way to guarantee that only students, faculty and staff were buying these computers. The Umstead Act prohibits persons without University affiliation, especially those who come to campus primarily to make a purchase, from buying items at campus stores. The rock-bottom computer prices were openly advertised in *The Daily Tar Hee* and other campus outlets. But there are few attempts to enforce the Umstead Act's restrictions. Relatives or friends can easily use a student as a "fence," and save hundreds of dollars on a computer purchase.

Volume discounts aren't unusual in any retail market. But when the organization receiving the discount is a government agency which then uses that loophole to undercut private merchants, is this fair? How is the public served when those merchants go out of business, and their employees lose their jobs? If that government agency consciously decides to lose money on its sales and reduces its ability to perform its legally stated functions, how does the community at large benefit?

Unfortunately, there is no happy ending to this episode. Pascal and Associates went out of business before any legal

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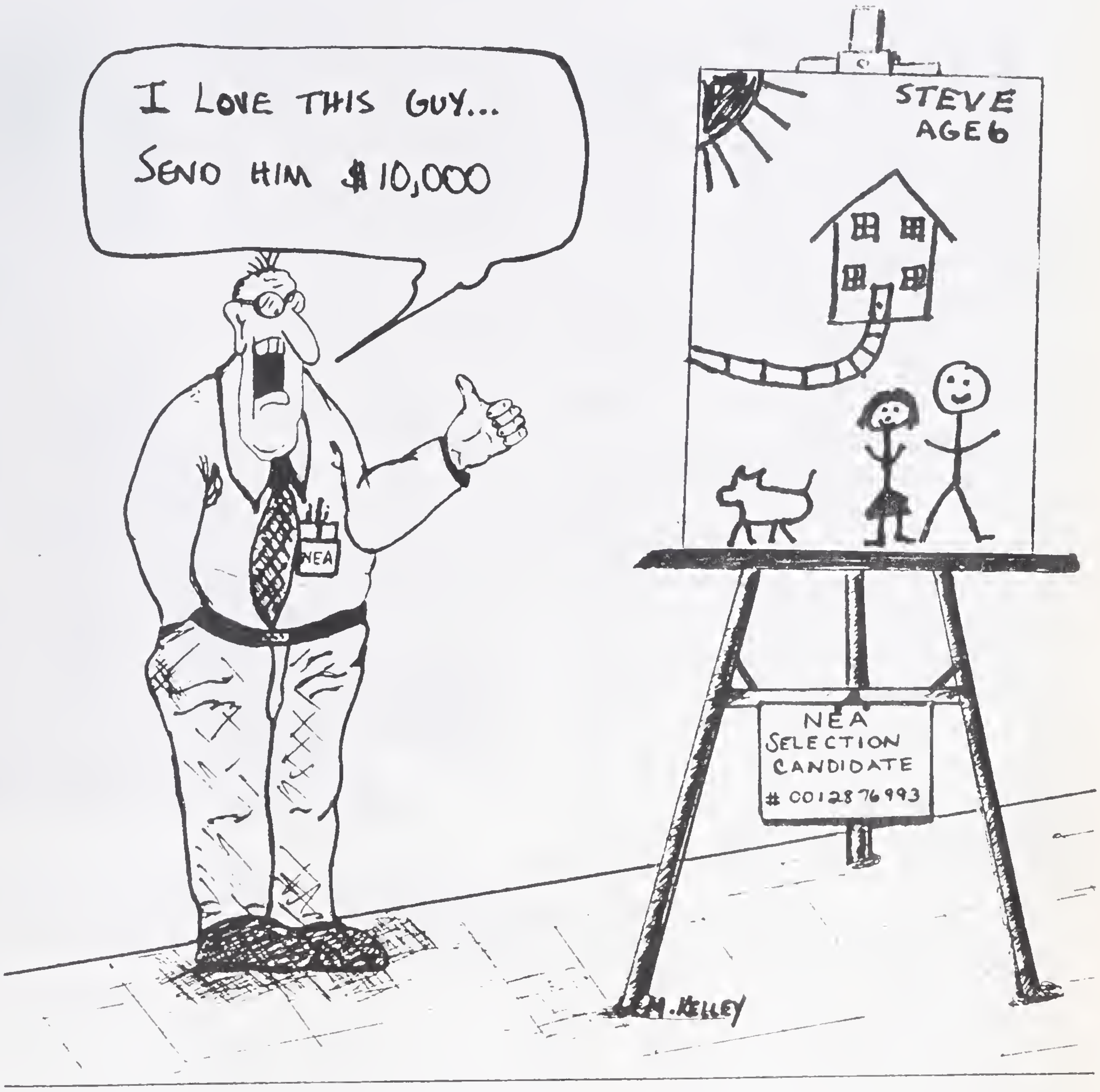
NATIONAL TRUSS / MAUREEN KELLEY

State in the Arts


I LOVE THIS GUY... SEND HIM $10,000
STEVE AGE 6
NEA
NEA SELECTION CANDIDATE # 0012876993
M. KELLEY

Political controversy has reared its head once again, this time, in a place where it does not
elong. The sacred realm of artistic
ndeavor has been sullied by bu-
aucratic filth.

This tragedy has been illumi-
ated by the recent argument sur-
unding the National Endowment
r the Arts and its colorful funding
licies. The federal funding of
orks considered by some to be
bscene," "blasphemous" and
ornographic" has resulted in
ritable public outrage.

Sadly, it must be noted that this
by no means a new development.
overnment and the arts have been
-fated bedfellows for centuries.
tler designed a national plan for
ltural progress, as did Stalin.
nfortunately, U.S. Presidents
ennedy and Johnson must be
aced alongside these two disrepu-
ble figures in the Artistic Med-
ng Hall of Fame.

Interestingly, the United States
l manage to maintain a fairly
nsistent non-interventionist pol-
toward the artistic community
til President Kennedy took office. This is not to say that
leral contributions to the arts did not exist prior to this time.
tually, government support to the arts can be traced to the
onial era. But these contributions were sparse and lacked
tralization. The artistic community, for the most part, de-
nded on funding from individuals and private enterprise.

The presidential administrations following World War II,
wever, demonstrated an increased interest in federal involve-
nt with the arts. The "cultural explosion" of the early 1960's
rked the federal government's official invasion of the artistic
ntier. On September 29, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson
istened the flag-ship of this invasion when he signed the bill
ating the National Endowment for the Arts. During the past
nty-three years, the NEA has evolved into a sizable federal
t. In fact, the requested budget for fiscal year 1990 amounted
ore than $170 million (tax dollars of course). The Endowment has become so commonplace that it has simply blended into the bureaucratic woodwork, becoming an uncontested governmental fixture.

The permanence of a federal institution such as the National Endowment for the Arts ought to frighten people. We are granting committees and politicians the power to determine what art should and should not be funded. We are allowing bureaucrats to assume our aesthetic tastes. We are being treated as cultural imbeciles. The recent controversy sheds a welcome light upon the patronizing actions of the endowment.

In June, photographer Robert Mapplethorpe posthumously solicited a cry of protest from the conservative camp when his federally subsidized sadomasochistic and homoerotic photographs were placed on display in Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art. This fueled the already existing argument over

(continued on page 29)

BOOK REVIEW / JASON JAMES

What P.J. Did on His Summer Vacation

Photo credit: Medora Hebert

P.J. O'Rourke is a funny man. He is so funny, in fact, that he is the international desk correspondent for *Rolling Stone*, the liberal rag of youth pop culture, despite being somewhat conservative. He's not your typical foreign correspondent, either. He spends most of his time on assignment drinking, chasing women, or most importantly, finding out how the average stiff lives in places like South Africa, Nicaragua, and the Phillipines.

He finds out what they do on the weekends, what they think about the revolution (there is almost always a revolution in Third World countries), and comes to the conclusion that "people are all exactly alike... I wish I could say I found this out by spending arctic nights on ice floes with Inuit elders and by sitting with tribal medicine men over fires made of human bones in Madagascar. But, actually, I found it out by sleeping around." In his latest book, *Holidays in Hell*, O'Rourke brings his keen powers of observation to popular and not-so-popular vacation spots around the world, and proves that common sense and a sense of humor are all that is necessary to have fun in any nook or cranny of the world.

O'Rourke doesn't wait long before showing that he has an abundance of political insight. On page two, he writes, "Half the world's suffering is caused by earnest messages contained in grand theories bearing no relation to reality — Marxism and No-Fault Auto Insurance, to name two. Earnestness is just stupidity sent to college." To those pacifists who are dismayed about war and destruction, O'Rourke writes, "War will exist as long as there is a food chain. No amount of mushy essaying on the *Boston Globe* editorial page and no number of noisy, ill-kempt women sitting in at Greenham Common will change this." But he does know his own limits. When trying to understand Nicaraguan communism, he says, "I don't know. I'm not a liberal so I have a poor grasp of stuff I don't know anything about." He gets to the heart of the matter in Poland, "Communism doesn't really starve or execute that many people. Mostly it just bores them to death. Life behind the Iron Curtain is like living with your parents forever..."

To O'Rourke, nothing is worse than an oppressive government, particularly communist governments. "I've been to your communist countries. They are crap-your-pants-ugly, dull-as-church, dead-from-the-dick-up places where government is to life what panty hose are to sex." A similar situation confronts him in Nicaragua. "And one thing I saw was truly shocking. Nicaraguans were in line at bus stops—long, orderly, silent lines. Latins don't queue up for anything, let alone quietly... Something, I realized, was deeply, deeply wrong in Nicaragua."

Knowing that there must be people having fun somewhere, even if it is not government sanctioned, O'Rourke sets out to find the common man. He watches a cockfight in the Philip-

Koreans On Democracy

"What's this election all about?" I asked.

"Democracy," they answered.

"But what is democracy?" I said.

"Good."

"Yes, of course, but why exactly?"

"Is more democratic that way!"

■

s, pretends to be a slem worshipper in a stinian mosque, and gets py-faced in Nicaragua. ually, he gets.drunk at t of the places he visits.

)'Rourke looks for the s that the Average Joe s under the Average ressive Totalitarian ime, and he finds the ver in the bars of the ld. In Panama, the hot c is that "Noriega has ed every Miss Panama e he took over and de- ered each of them." aps this is not as evil as ing drugs, but then n, to a Panamanian, be it's worse.

nly about half the book erns the Third World. urke also goes those ly tourist traps that pete for First World . He seems thoroughly pressed, however, by locale that panders to whims of the visiter; cularly if they are bad anyway. The self pro- ied "Trouble Tourist" any place where there venture. So when he to popular vacation spots, he doesn't have any fun. But the is often at its funniest here. It's where O'Rourke gets into ove that he is his cynical best.

estern Europe, the final resting home of American tourist s, is rated with the succinct, "This place sucks." He lains that "Everything's too small. The cars are too small. eds are too small... Even the languages are itty-bitty. times you need two or three just to get you through till ." On fine French restaurants, he has this to say, "Actually, the Brasserie Lipp I'd been to before. I remembered the e they stuffed me behind a hankie-size table between the r and a trolley full of sheep cheese. I ordered steak, and they brought me sauerkraut."

O'Rourke didn't have much fun at Epcot Center, either. After touring the real world, Epcot's "World Showcase" of national exhibits was unrealistic. He begs for a "United Kingdom" exhibit with "green-haired teenagers wearing diaper pins through their lips and spray-painting swastikas on the fake bull's-eye pub windows. 'France' could be manned by snarling Parisian *garçons* bullying the naive tourists into ordering peeled mice in heavy cream."

Then he is off to Heritage, U.S.A.—the home of Jim and Tammy Bakker and the PTL ministries. He makes bad Biblical allusions about golf such as "The rough ways shall be made smooth/Luke 3:5." While there he commits all of the seven deadly sins, including wrath, "We wanted to murder the architects." But for O'Rourke, it suffered from the same problem as Epcot—it was too fabricated to be exciting.

Be warned, however, that he is very cynical; hates stupidity, particularly when dictated centrally; and writes in that wonderfully colorful yet none-too-highbrow dialect of the barfly. P.J. O'Rourke is not for the faint of heart. He combines a dollop of human reality with a scoop of humor and a sprinkling of philosophy then mixes it up with a lot of common sense and great storytelling. It is enough to make *Holidays in Hell* the funniest book in a long time.

Jason is a junior political science major who is to be commended for reading a book this summer.

P.J. Meets the Limey-Poofter

Are you sick and tired of snobby, smelly Euro-weanies telling you that America sucks? Just respond as P.J. did when a pompous Brit started on with "You think war is a..."

"A John Wayne movie," I said. "That's what you were going to say, wasn't it? We think war is a John Wayne movie. We think *life* is a John Wayne movie—with good guys and bad guys, as simple as that. Well, you know something, Mister Limey Poofter? You're right. And let me tell you who those bad guys are. They're *us.* WE BE BAD.

"We're the baddest-assed sons of bitches that ever jogged in Reeboks. We're three-quarters grizzly bear and two-thirds car wreck and descended from a stock market crash on our mother's side. You take your Germany, France and Spain, roll them all together and it wouldn't give us room to park our cars. We're the big boys, Jack, the original, giant, economy-sized, new and improved butt kickers of all time. When we snort coke in Houston, people lose their hats in Cap d'Antibes. And we've got an American Express card credit limit higher than your piss-ant metric numbers go.

"You say that our country's never been invaded? You're right, little buddy. Because I'd like to see the needle-dicked foreigners who'd have the guts to try. We drink napalm to get our hearts started in the morning. A rape and a mugging is our way of saying 'Cheerio.' Hell can't hold our sock-hops. We walk taller, talk louder, spit further, f— longer and buy more things than you know the names of. I'd rather be a junkie in a New York City jail than king, queen, and jack of all you Europeans. We eat little countries like this for breakfast and s— them out before lunch."

■

What's REALLY Wrong with South Africa?
Ask Professor Walter E. Williams
November 7, 1989

BOOK REVIEW / DAVID HOOD

Profscam at UNC

Why Professors Don't Teach

A new book has come out that could change the way we think about college professors.

By almost anyone's standards, higher education in the United States today is in a sorry state. Analysts and commentators both within and outside the academic community have documented a decline in educational standards during the 1980s, even as the cost of going to college rose twice as fast as the cost of living during the same period. Study after study shows college graduates know less than they used to, especially when it comes to the basic facts about history and geography that make up the Western tradition.

Author Charles Sykes puts the blame for this breakdown squarely on professors in his book *Profscam.* He argues that many of the causes of the present educational morass stem from the professoriate's lack of accountability and lack of commitment to teaching. Several of his observations are directly relevant to the situation at UNC, where in the spring student leaders squared off with academics over the refusal to grant tenure to a renowned history teacher.

Sykes' main point is that tenured professors are avoiding the undergraduate classroom to do basically meaningless research, leaving freshmen and sophomores in particular to be taught by inexperienced graduate students or overworked "instructors" (non-tenure track teachers). The result is undergraduate classes that are too few in number, too large in class size, and too low in quality.

Despite UNC officials' claim otherwise, professors there are also participating in what Sykes calls "THEFT" (The Historic Escape From Teaching). A recent article in the Raleigh *News and Observer* documented that Carolina freshmen were being taught by full-time professors only 32 percent of the time, while graduate teaching assistants taught 51 percent of the freshman course load. The editorial that accompanied the May 17 article deplored this situation, calling for top faculty members to return to the "head of the classroom" instead of concentrating on esoteric research that only serves to lengthen their resumes.

Since the University was chartered for the purpose of "educating" the citizens of the state, a lot of taxpayers are wondering just why they have to foot the bill when they can expect their children to be taught by professors less than one third of the time.

And this doesn't happen just at UNC. In a recent lecture at Carolina, N.C. State English professor R. V. Young criticized his own department for the same "THEFT," saying that freshman English classes were being taught largely by lowly instructors with severely bloated class loads.

The absence of professors from the classroom leads to larger class sizes and less available undergraduate courses to choose from. It is not uncommon at UNC for students to have to go more than four years to complete their degrees not because there simply weren't enough classes available to complete their graduation requirements. This is especially true for the lower-level "perspective" courses; classes outside one's major but still necessary for graduation (and also the ones that full-time professors avoid like the plague).

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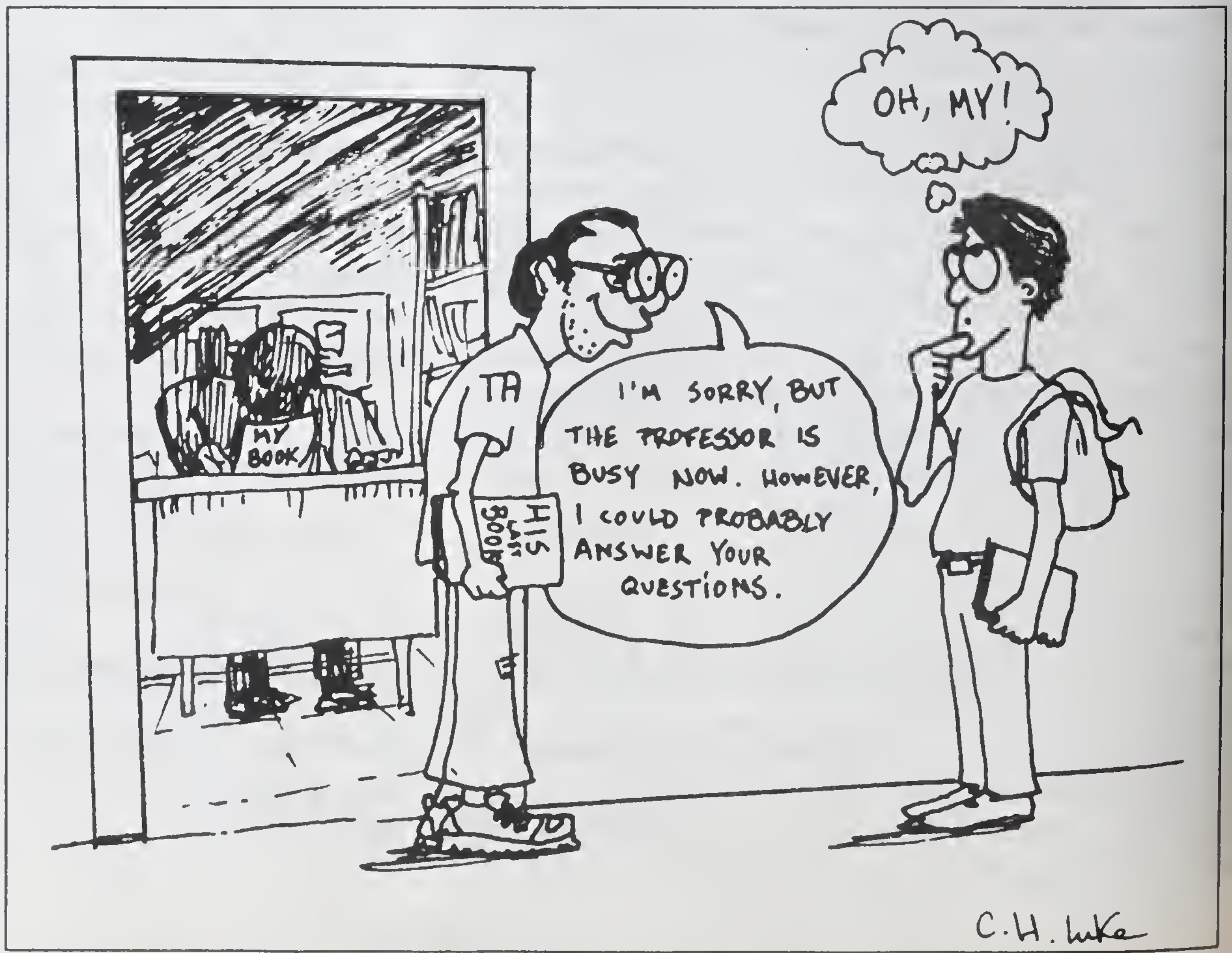
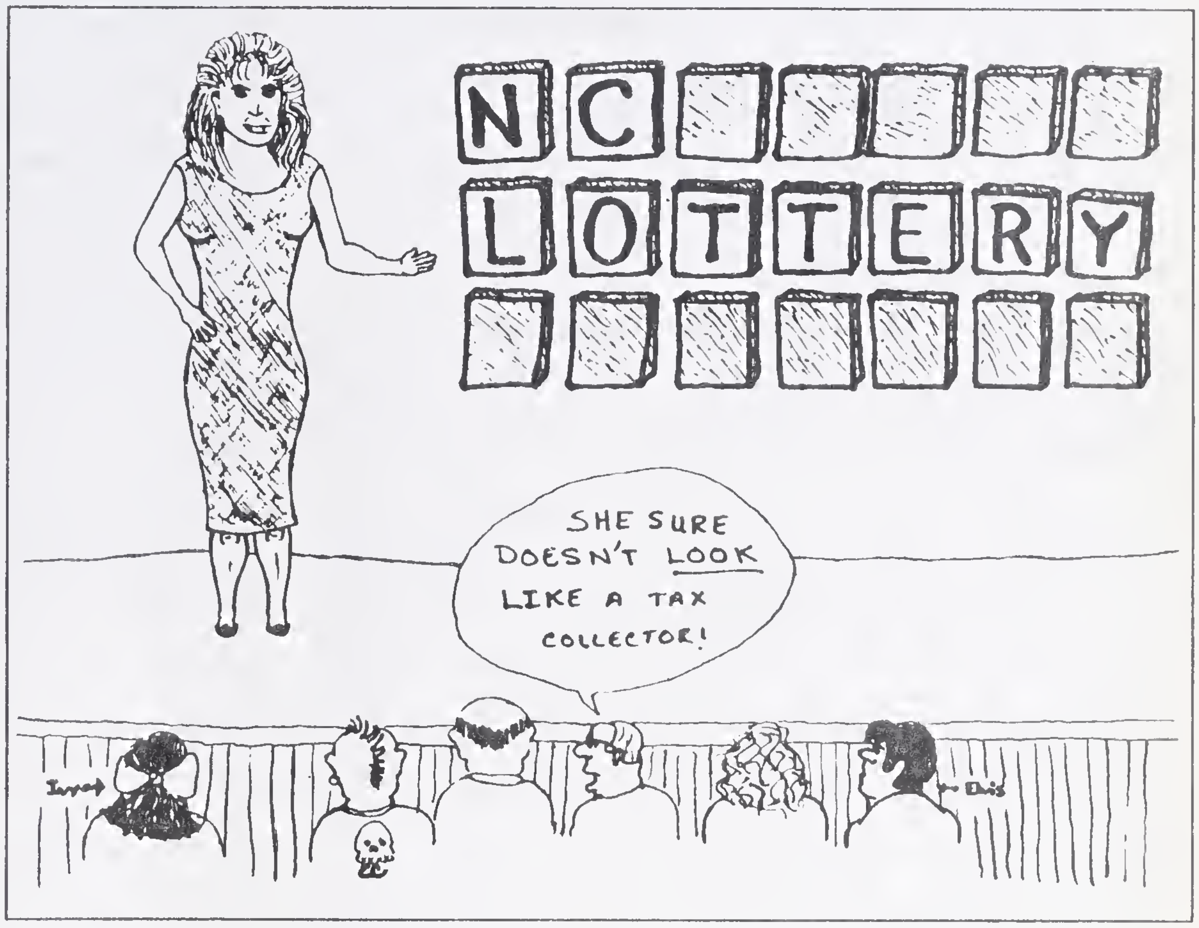

OH, MY!
MY BOOK
TA
HIS BOOK
I'M SORRY, BUT THE PROFESSOR IS BUSY NOW. HOWEVER, I COULD PROBABLY ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS.
C.H. Luke

Spinning the Wheel of (Mis)Fortune

Does North Carolina Need a State Lottery?


NC
LOTTERY
SHE SURE DOESN'T LOOK LIKE A TAX COLLECTOR!
Elvis

Since the 1980s began eighteen states have instituted state-operated lotteries in a futile attempt to balance new state needs w shrinking state revenues. The lottery ad ocates say that if a state is in need of m ey for one reason or another (usually a no le project or cause such as education is so as justification for the lottery) then the es blishment of a lottery is an easy, painles voluntary tax which can meet the state's fis l shortcomings. True, a lottery is techni lly voluntary but by no means it is "p nless" to a state's citizenry, and it is ce ainly not a source of "easy money." The ins tution of a state-operated lottery has ma y hidden negative social consequences an North Carolina's legislators and citize should take steps to avoid this pitfall.

here are myriad reasons to oppose a sta -operated lottery, but perhaps the most co pelling argument stems from a governme t's responsibility to protect its citizens an understanding how a lottery interferes with this duty.

he gambling industry (with the tacit consent of the state) tar ts its appeal primarily to susceptible low income families an thnic minorities (i.e. those groups in our society which can lea afford to spend money on lottery tickets but do anyhow). Th strategy is successfully executed by presenting slick "get ric quick" advertising and concentrating lottery outlets in nei borhoods and shopping areas where the less educated co people and minorities work and live. Lotteries are desig d to attract the low income segments of our population and the constitute a regressive method of taxation because the poor spe l a higher proportion of their incomes on the lottery than do e middle and upper classes. We must ask ourselves if it is pro r for the state government to take advantage of its most hel ess citizens. Who will be responsible when an underprivieg child goes without a decent meal or adequate clothes bec use his family spend their money on lottery tickets?

ate-operated lotteries also appeal to compulsive gamblers n d proportionate numbers and can involve a whole new set of peo e in the tangled web of gambling (often the younger gen ation). Compulsive gambling is an illness just like drug add ion and alcoholism which destroys thousands of lives and fam homes every year. Pandering to these people's addicon o expand the state's treasury is a shameful practice. Do we really want our state's government to cruelly profit off the misfortune of compulsive gamblers?

The New York State Lottery has a catchy slogan which reads: "All you need is a dollar and a dream." However, phrases like this only perpetuate the myth of huge winnable jackpots without telling players of their miniscule chances of a favorable outcome or that winners will receive substantially less than the lump sum after taxes and the staggered payments over many years. The states and the gambling industry willingly engage in deceptive advertising to lure people into playing the lottery without saying that the odds of actually having "the dream" come true are astronomically small.

States must devise a clever marketing scheme to stimulate interest in the lottery once the initial attraction has passed because lottery profits decline quickly after an early highwater mark of participation. The rising administrative costs associated with keeping the lottery a fresh proposition takes money away from the worthy cause which created the lottery in the first place.

Once a lottery is firmly entrenched in the state and legalized gambling has become a fixture the gambling industry can more easily push to legalize betting at horse and dog tracks and even to establish casinos. What is even more troubling is the fact that legalization of state lotteries has often led to a dramatic increase

(continued on page 30)

Essays

A Worthless Concept: When Grasscutters Equal Receptionists

MAUREEN KELLEY

Canadian bureaucrats have apparently been very busy lately. In Toronto, both private and public employers are scrambling to meet the dictates of a new law known as the Ontario Equity Pay Act. This law requires employers to establish equal pay between jobs historically held by women and those jobs traditionally held by men. This tidy arrangement may sound appealingly fair on the surface, but it reeks of injustice upon closer examination.

The Act does not address the situations where a female is paid less than a male holding the same position. Instead it attempts to compare dissimilar jobs like female switchboard receptionists and male grasscutters. These particular jobs were deemed comparable under the guidelines of the Equity Act. As of January 1, 1990, the receptionist's wage must be raised from $9.26 an hour to the present wage of the grasscutter, $10.84 an hour.

The logistics behind the Equity Act are more creative than one can imagine. A point system has been developed that is based on such factors as the job's skill and educational requirements, complexity, number of people supervised, stress, and physical effort. Points are totaled for each category and jobs within three points of each other are considered to be of equal value. This system requires a receptionist (492 points) to have her wage raised from $6.81 an hour to the "comparable" warehouseman's wage of $9.36 an hour (a 495 point job).

It may seem strange, but this act never mentions the quality of the worker's job performance. It only assumes that "merit" is based on the employee's gender. This is a significant oversight. The task at hand then is simply to compare the numerous "apple and orange" positions, apply the correct allotment of points and shell out the higher wage. I suppose the possibility that the switchboard operator may work at a sloth's pace becomes an irrelevant factor in this great system of equality.

It is inconceivable that a system of fair comparison can be created when the objects being compared are essentially different. The true fairness of the existing system lies in the switchboard operator's perogative to quit her job and work instead as a grasscutter. The only existing injustice in the system presents itself when male and female employees, holding *identical* occupations and exhibiting identical performances, are being paid different wages. Such a situation is clearly unfair. The worker being paid the lower wage ought to seek a compensating wage increase. If the employer does not grant an increase, then he or she should find another employer.

If the labor market is left unhampered by coercive legislation such as the Ontario Equity Act, then there are ample opportunities for the unjustly treated and qualified worker to find an employer willing to have higher quality performance by paying the deserved wage.

Fortunately, the tentacles of the Ontario law have not yet reached across the Canadian border. However, it is frightening to note that such comparable worth policy already exists in certain areas of the U.S. It is currently restricted to government agencies, but the policy's possible expansion poses a dangerous threat to the stability of the American labor market and the national economy. Ω

Miss Kelley is the UNC-Charlotte editor of the Critic.

Midgetman

(continued from page 20)

Thus, the presence of a defensive ICBM force would encourage the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to begin mutually phasing out first strike land-based missiles, making it more difficult to achieve a first strike. Furthermore, the elimination of targeted silos would remove the incentive to strike during a crisis, and would reduce the number of high priority targets in the continental U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

The Bush Administration's endorsement of a joint MX-Midgetman package displays unresponsiveness to the development of a secure, defensive posture. Lacking a comprehensive nuclear policy, Congress and the Administration will continue to ignore strategic rationales, choosing instead to haggle over the price of the weapons systems, and losing the benefits of the Midgetman system in political bargaining. They seem oblivious to the fact that "cutting a deal" in this case means compromising national security. For the sake of stability, a thorough reevaluation of current nuclear strategy should be a mandate, especially given the thaw in East-West relations. Only with an end to the era of random arms procurement can the mobile Midgetman bring a workable solution to nuclear instability.Ω

Channing is a senior international studies major who is our resident expert on Georgetown bars.

Student Stores

(continued from page 22)

tion against the University commenced. Other area computer dealers decided not to publicly get involved.

The current bout between the Student Stores and the merchants of Chapel Hill has ended much differently, so far. District Attorney Fox was convinced that the Stores were violating the law, and vigorously sought to negotiate a settlement with the University. He told the Raleigh *News and Observer* that the purpose of the Student Stores "is to assure the availability of certain things to students and their families and their employees." Nothing else.

Under the threat of criminal prosecution, the Student Stores at UNC have agreed to reduce their offerings to more traditional items — textbooks and school supplies, toiletries, UNC clothing and other giftware. They will continue to sell computers and computer supplies for the time being. But the Stores will no longer offer greeting cards, posters, gift items that do not have the UNC logo, televisions, appliances, cookware, and they will stop developing film.

Despite making concessions to Mr. Fox and the area merchants, the University will admit no guilt. Deputy Attorney General Andrew Vanore, Jr. told the *N&O* the state believes that the Umstead act was not violated. He said that UNC made these moves "voluntarily" to prevent "the possibility of criminal prosecution."

The News and Observer also reports that Mr. Fox wants to end the use of the Student Stores by football fans and others not affiliated with the University. He may seek to halt computer and clothing sales at the Student Stores. If this requires a change in the Umstead Act to do so, he's ready to approach the General Assembly. A staff member in Mr. Fox's office told us that there have been no major developments since the story broke early this summer.

If Mr. Fox succeeds, some UNC students may suffer from the reduced offerings at the Student Stores: they earn a tidy profit on clothing sales. But despite the fact that the UNC Student Stores fund scholarships for needy students, the Stores have no business crowding private entrepreneurs out of the marketplace.

Recently there has been a large turnover of retail merchants in downtown Chapel Hill. When this is caused by honest competition in an open marketplace, consumers benefit. But if monopolistic activities by government agencies cause businesses to fail, it is in the public interest to end those practices.

Amending the Umstead Act is an option local authorities may pursue. A better solution would be to close the Student Stores and lease the space to private merchants who would then have to compete honestly against other businesses. University officials could no longer use pricing loopholes to damage local merchants, and the University's principal task of education can proceed. Ω

Henderson would have been a graduate student in journalism at UNC, but left to work in Southern California for some bizarre reason.

NEA Funding

(continued from page 23)

the Endowment's $15,000 grant, given to photographer Andres Serrano, among whose works includes a photograph depicting a crucifix submerged in the artist's urine. This piece was provocatively titled, *Piss Christ*.

In answer to Serrano's "artistic" statement, New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato shredded the Serrano catalog on the Senate floor, conceding "the artist's right to produce filth," but adding that "taxpayer's dollars should not be utilized to promote it." A letter drafted by the Senate was then sent to the NEA, requesting that grants not be given to, "shocking, abhorrent and completely undeserving art."

Senator Jesse Helms then followed suit by drafting an amendment to the Interior Department's appropriation bill which forbids NEA from subsidizing art deemed "obscene or indecent...including but not limited to depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the exploitation of children...or material which denigrates the objects or beliefs of the adherents of a particular religion or nonreligion; or material which denigrates, debases or reviles or reviles a person, group or class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age or national origin."

As a result, the Endowment's selection guidelines have been tempered, and artists seeking funds in the future must produce politically neutered work. The nature of the Endowment requires catering to all of its benefactors (taxpayers). The only way to keep everyone happy is to ride the fence.

Enter the left-wing. A few brave souls have had the audacity to utter the word censorship. An absurd argument has been spurred, questioning whether or not the right of free expression is necessarily accompanied by the privilege of a government subsidy. Surely people haven't become so dependent on handouts that they expect them as their just due. Do they not realize that through the most coercive arm of government (the IRS) they are mortgaging the life of every taxpayer in this country? It is unfathomable to think that an even semi-cognitive being could believe that publicly funded institutions have an obligation to pay for *any* art. It seems amazing that people clamoring for federal subsidy can at the same time claim a distaste for government intervention. The perversity of the people who stood outside the Corcoran Gallery claiming to be victims of censorship was by far greater than any subsidized obscenity hanging on the gallery's walls.

Granted, it is tragic that Mapplethorpe's depiction of one man urinating into the open mouth of another is considered art. The fact that the NEA has funded this urologic rendition with $30,000 of our tax money is even more nauseating. However, the crux of this issue has clearly been ignored. The conservative homophobes and the liberal censorphobes have truly missed the boat. Only a small group of individuals has acknowledged that the real tragedy occurred twenty-three years ago when President Johnson formally initiated governmental intervention in the arts.

Subsidizing the arts is no different than bailing out a large corporation or the farming industry. In any context, subsidy yields inefficiency, encourages sloth and leads to a vicious cycle of dependency. Individual self-respect is lost and the driving spirit is squelched.

Herbert Spencer once said, "the poetry which will live is poetry which has been written without official prompting." The eloquent artistic masterpieces of the future will not come from those artists indentured to a lifetime of governmental consignment. They will be born from the individual whose convictions remain unfettered and whose spirit remains unchained.

This year, when the budget for the National Endowment for the Arts is reviewed, its members should bow their heads and close their doors. We cannot continue to grant a group of spineless bureaucrats the permission to collectively represent our individual aesthetic ideals. We must urge them to place the arts back into the hands of the private sector. There will never be a proper place for government in the artistic sphere. Ω

Maureen is a junior economics and philosophy major at UNC-Charlotte. She's also from California.

Profscam

(continued from page 26)

Another problem with relying on graduate teaching assistants to teach undergraduates is that many of them are foreign, and cannot speak English clearly. Nothing is more frustrating for young freshmen, still adjusting to campus life, than the inability to understand their teachers. And in entry-level classes like beginning statistics, a foreign TA is more the rule than the exception. The UNC system should consider a basic English proficiency test for TAs similar to the one administered to University of South Carolina graduate students — although they would have to be ready to deal with the consequences. In 1986, USC officials were put in a bind when none of the students tested passed!

Assuming that students receive an inferior education in their freshman-level courses, this should show up by greater failure in their junior-senior years. However, as Sykes points out in book, some of the professors teaching these courses do not want to make their "scam" known and thus grade very leniently. At UNC it is not uncommon for teachers to give everyone in their upperclass or graduate classes an A! This masks the problem of educational decline, but who will tell the taxpayers? Both student and professor like the arrangement, and have little interest in upsetting the status quo.

One thing students do not like is when the priority given to research over teaching leads to the loss of talent and inspiration in the classroom. Gary Freeze received a standing ovation from students after he gave his last lecture in North Carolina History for the 1989 spring semester. But his teaching expertise meant little to the academic Establishment; he was passed over for tenure in favor of a researcher, so he accepted a position at Erskine instead. When good teaching is rewarded little in hiring and promotion decisions at UNC, the good ones will go elsewhere, as Freeze did.

Profscam is a book whose time has come. As UNC professors clamor for higher salaries and fringe benefits during a tight budget year in the state capitol, taxpayers should consider if they are getting their money's worth. A UNC Board of Visitors report presented to the Trustees June 23 urged faculty pay hikes not to reward the good teachers, but in order to keep research specialists from going to wealthier schools in the Ivy League and elsewhere. the report also calls for greater autonomy for department heads, so they can offer better deals to the big-name researchers. The rationale is always the same: that UNC will lose its national "reputation" unless we raise faculty pay.

Professors should worry less about reputation and more about teaching North Carolina's youth. Charles Sykes' book is certainly a step in the right direction. Ω

David is law student and gaming enthusiast whose favorite game requires incessant lying.

Lottery

(continued from page 27)

in illegal gambling within the states mainly because gamblers quickly tire of playing a lottery and turn to illegal gambling to satisfy their addiction. Should we provide an opening for organized crime to enter North Carolina or is that a risk which far outweighs the potential benefits of possible increased state revenues?

A lottery is inconsistent with the values and principles this country was founded upon and it is worthwhile to remember the American Dream is based on dedication and hard work and not upon luck, speculation, and gambling. The lottery remains an affront to the democratic process because states find it politically convenient to balance their budgets through the back door. Should North Carolina sink to this level or remain true to our tradition of hard work and civic responsibility?

Businesses quickly find themselves in competition with the state-operated lotteries for consumer dollars. Since a lottery creates no new wealth it has to draw money away from existing sources such as retailers, merchants, and banks. In the long run the lottery damages the tax base which reduces the state's revenues and once again the state needs a different method to balance the budget. Do we really want to punish our state's business community and possibly harm the state's long term onomy in order to provide short run profits for our state's vernment?

If it were possible to brush aside all these dire social, moral, onomic, and political consequences and judge the lottery ly on the merits of its revenue raising capability, then the rage surrounding the lottery would be exposed even further. e lottery is a highly inefficient form of taxation when mpared with any other source of revenue. For every dollar nt on the lottery only an average of 37 cents goes back to the te (some states receive as little as 20 cents). The rest is spent prizes and operating expenses. In contrast, the return for a es tax is 98 cents on the dollar. In addition, the revenues from lottery follow a rollercoaster pattern from year to year king it difficult for the legislature to know how much money y have to work with. It is clear that the lottery produces an ufficient revenue yield if all the headaches which come ng with legalized gambling are taken into account.

On the surface, the lottery sounds like a feasible idea for rth Carolina. There are people who see the lottery as a fun y for the state to finance much needed projects. Unfortu- ely, that picture reveals only a small portion of the story. The ery is not the answer to our problems, and the legislature uld reject all efforts to place a binding lottery question on the ot in order to protect the well being of the state of North olina. The complex arguments against the lottery cannot be densed into 30 second commercials, yet the gambling istry is all too skilled at painting glamorous visions of big pots on the television. Considering that the gambling indus- has millions of dollars to flood the media with r brand of deceptive advertising and the fact that onents of the lottery are neither well organized wealthy, the chances of a lottery referendum ing the electorate are fair to excellent.

North Carolina would suffer in so many ways and so little from a lottery. The damage inflicted the lower socioeconomic classes, our state's omy, and the dignity and reputation of good rnment would be tremendous. We must not turn speration to an immoral source of income which extract a terrible toll from this state for years to e. Ω

r is a junior political science major from Hen- onville.

Debate

(continued from page 4)

al reasons why the Research Triangle Park is ed here and not in Goldsboro. Three of the most rtant are UNC, Duke, and N.C. State. Even as iversities have been instrumental in bringing industry to the RTP, an improved school in Chapel Hill will attract even more businesses. The money brought into the state by an expanding tax base can be used to improve North Carolina's schools; this may eventually eliminate the need for more out-of-state students.

Many of Chapel Hill's more "marginal" students are probably alarmed at the prospect that they will no longer qualify for admission to UNC. The fact is, they probably won't. They will have to choose one of the other 15 UNC system campuses or go someplace else.

Now, before you whine and moan and send me stupid letters decrying the injustice inflicted upon these students, consider this: increasing the quality of available in-state students would improve the educational environment at those other schools. Also consider that not doing so will artificially depress the academic level of the UNC student body, and drive North Carolina's best students out of state or to private universities.

If the people of North Carolina are willing to settle for a university that is second-best they need not concern themselves with improving the strength and diversity of UNC's student body. If however, they wish to strive to provide the best education possible for North Carolina's best, then raising the cap on out-of-state students is a must. Ω

Since Bob only talks about his girlfriend, we wonder if she ever gets tired of hearing about herself.

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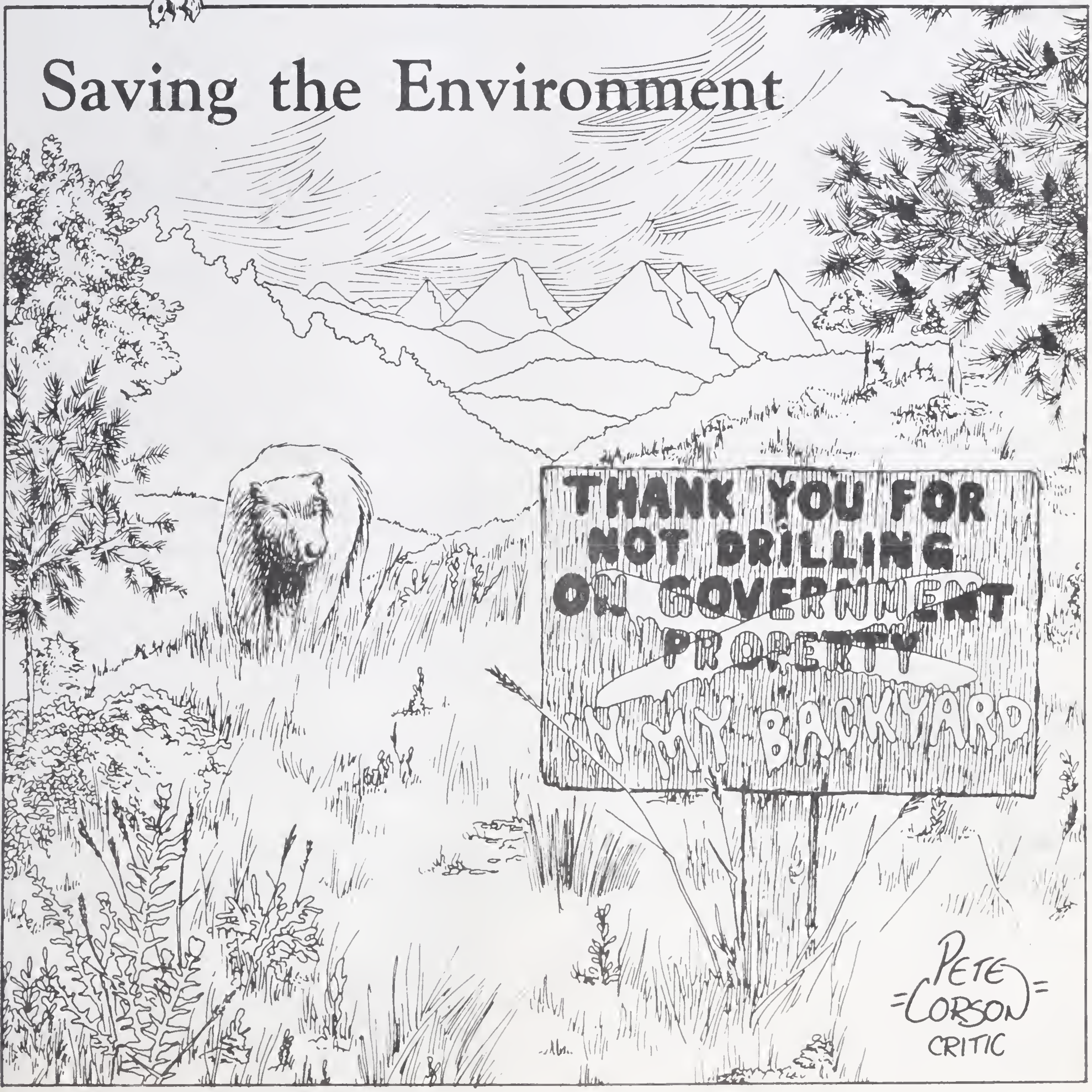
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The CAROLINA
CRITIC

A Student Journal of News & Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

THE CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, **letters to the editor**, and art are welcome. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. We proudly discriminate on the basis of ability.

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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Letter from the President:**
George Bush on drugs.

4 **The Critic Debate:** *Sex Education*
Undercovers work by Channing Rouse and Peter Hans.

6 **Correspondence**

7 **The Critical Eye**
Top Ten List, Quayle Hunting, & $75 baseballs...
Clipboard
The Pork Barrel
Critic Almanac

15 **The World Stage:** *Uniting Germany*
Michael Lowrey writes about home.

16 **National Truss:** *Burning the Flag*
Andrew Cohen lights a torch for property rights.

17 **In the Zoo:** *The $10,305 Stepladder*
A Publishing System for the *Phoenix*.

18 **Saving the Environment**
Anthony Woodlief advocates extending private property.

22 **Our Altered State:** *Lead Teachers*
Decentralize education, says Deborah Uebe.

23 **The Student Rec Center**
A freshman wishes he could vote.

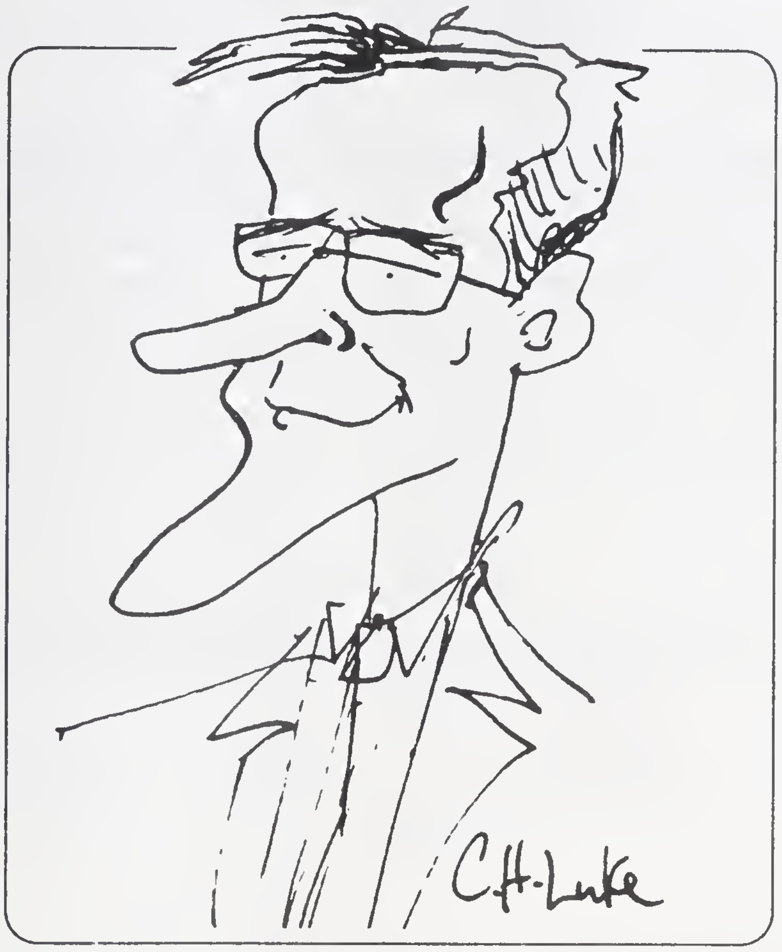
24 **Sex Crimes**
Harry Dolan looks at prostitution.

27 **Essays:**
Hassling the Democrats with Sharon Sentelle & Lee Newcomb... Bush's Andean Drug Strategy by Channing Rouse...

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

Drugs and the College Student

By George Bush



Summer is over and classes are back in session. As we begin the school year, our thoughts again turn to the future—a future gravely threatened by drugs.

Americans agree that the biggest hreat we are facing as a nation is drugs, in particular cocaine and crack.

Who is responsible? Everyone who uses drugs. Everyone who sells drugs. Everyone is looking the other way.

Some people used to call drugs ust a benign form of recreation. They're not. Drugs are a real and xtremely serious threat to our chools, our homes, our friends and our families. It doesn't matter where ou live or what school you attend. No one is free from the threat of drugs. Inner cities, small towns, and ollege campuses all are under siege — because America is nder siege.

On September 5, I announced the first comprehensive na- onal strategy to end the siege — to fight drugs with tougher aws and enforcement, and with improved treatment, education nd prevention. The programs we've proposed are an all-out ssault against the evil of drug use and drug trafficking. We are ggressively attacking the problem from every angle, and oposing a 1990 drug-budget totaling over eight billion dollars — the largest single increase in history.

America is fighting a war against drugs. Yet the most i portant weapons in the war on drugs are the least tangible: s f-discipline, courage, character, support from one's family, f th in God and in one's self.

Fundamentally, the drug problem in America is not one of s pply, but of demand. We are taking strong new action to stop t flow of drugs into this country and to stop the dealers t mselves; but as long as Americans are willing to buy illegal d gs, somebody, somewhere in the world will sell them.

Recently, I met with Mrs. Everett Hatcher, the widow of a ve eran DEA agent who was killed by drug-using cowards. A w man of considerable dignity, she put responsibility for her h band's death squarely on "casual" users of cocaine. She's ri ht — and there is now blood on their hands. Similarly, President Barco of Colombia recently made an appeal to Americans to stop buying the cocaine causing the slaughter of innocent civilians in the drug wars there.

Every student in America at some point — at a party, in a locker room, in a dorm room — every student must choose to accept or reject drugs. But there is another choice that college students, as responsible adults, must make — whether to get involved in a personal way to end drug use, or to look the other way.

College campuses have long been centers of conscience and idealism in this country, places where students have raised their voices to protest oppression, injustice and human suffering around the world. Yet, no one would deny that often drugs go hand in hand with injustice, suffering and even death. But where is the sound of protest? Innocent bystanders are killed at random on city streets. Babies are born addicted to crack and heroin. Young children are forced into the drug trade by addicts. What greater human rights violations exist? What greater injustices? Yet, recreational drug users still on some college campuses are ambivalent to the death and destruction they are financing.

We must appeal to the social conscience of every college student on every college campus in America. The way to protest the misery and oppression brought about by drugs is to commit yourself to staying away from drugs — and working to keep them away from your friends.

Drug use doesn't usually begin the way most people would think, with young people getting their first drugs from an addict or dealer. Instead, they get them free from "friends" who think casual use hurts no one. Peer pressure is what spreads drug use and peer pressure can help stop it.

You can help stop it — if you get involved. Ω

George Bush is President of the United States (which is the country in which you live). This column is written exclusively for Collegiate Times, and is distributed by the Collegiate Network.

Should Sex Education Be Taught in Public Schools?

YES / CHANNING ROUSE

Once again the fundamentalists are on a crusade to protect society's "morality." In the process, they have failed to acknowledge the practical consequences of their goal. Attempts to block comprehensive sexual education in the classroom eliminate the only avenue available for many teenagers to learn to prevent pregnancy and avoid sexually transmitted diseases. Instead of focussing on the true causes of increased teenage promiscuity, they are railing against the one program designed to limit the damage caused by this "moral failure."

Opponents of sex education argue that it is the exclusive right of the parent to teach "proper" sexual conduct to their children. These critics see the state as ignoring values, and perhaps even condoning promiscuity, through a specialized "sex" class. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

It must be noted that while parents *should* take responsibility for their child's sexual knowledge, most do not. The traditional discussion about the "birds and the bees" rarely amounts to more than the briefest and most simplistic exposés of human reproduction, followed by a harsh prohibition of sex outside of marriage. Professor Michael Carrera, who directs adolescent sexuality programs for the Children's Aid Society in New York City, aptly described the situation when he noted that, "I think the home is very important, but I also think the majority of parents have abrogated their responsibility in this regard. They're not vigilant or assertive enough in influencing the sexual development of their children."

It is particularly important to note that while the structure of middle and upper class America may discourage teenage sexual activity, ghetto life does not. In much of the inner city, where single parenthood is the norm and drugs and violence ravage the streets, the fundamentalist ideal of a traditional family unit has already been dismantled. It is in this area that teenage pregnancy rates are rapidly climbing and it is this group of young adults that bear the costs of the school systems' failure to provide comprehensive sex education.

The justification behind the "moral majority's" outrage over sex education seems fairly obvious. Much like a nation who becomes externally aggressive in order to redirect scrutiny from its internal problems, sex education has become the scapegoat for Protestant America. Sex education did not cause the sexual revolution. Furthermore, promiscuity itself is ageless. However, in light of the mortal dangers now associated

(continued on first column, next page)

NO / PETER HANS

Sex education in America's public school system has been a dismal failure. As with so many other programs designed by the state, it may look good on paper, and in theory, but its effects are self-defeating. Perhaps this result was inevitable; anytime bureaucrats perceive the family unit is not capable of fulfilling its duty, and seek to displace the traditional family role, the resulting program becomes a failed social experiment.

If schools could confine their lessons to basic instruction on human sexuality in biology class, there would be little controversy. Nearly everyone agrees such information is useful and warrants a place in the curriculum. Specific courses, however, are set up instead to explore sexual behavior, often complete with erotic (some would say obscene) descriptions of sexual acts, films, and vulgar, embarrassing discussions. In many big cities these courses quickly lead to the formation of school-based "health" clinics, where teenage pregnancies are terminated, and birth control is freely and widely distributed.

Sex education significantly contributes to the devastating problems which plague our schools today. Simply put, sex education's practical application is an authority figure giving the green light to promiscuity and "exploring your sexuality" with few restraints. Unfortunately, this permissive attitude gives way to teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS, and the common use of abortion as birth control.

Sex education proponents reply there is nothing wrong with learning and gaining knowledge. Fine, but there is a big leap between attaining information, and desirable behavior. California's sex education program (considered a model by many sex education supporters) has operated for 16 years. During that period of time the state teen pregnancy rate has tripled, and the teenage abortion rate is 64.8 percent higher than the national average. This statistic and many others like it lend credibility to the argument that sex education belongs in the home, taught by responsible, caring parents.

Imagine yourself as a parent who teaches your child that sex outside marriage is wrong, and that there are many potentially bad consequences of doing otherwise. Then your child goes to school and hears "you should abstain, but since you are going to do it anyhow, make sure you have safe sex." It is not difficult to see why parents are enraged by such a conflicting message being taught to their children. In addition to ever-present peer pressure, the weight of the school teaching "here's how to do it

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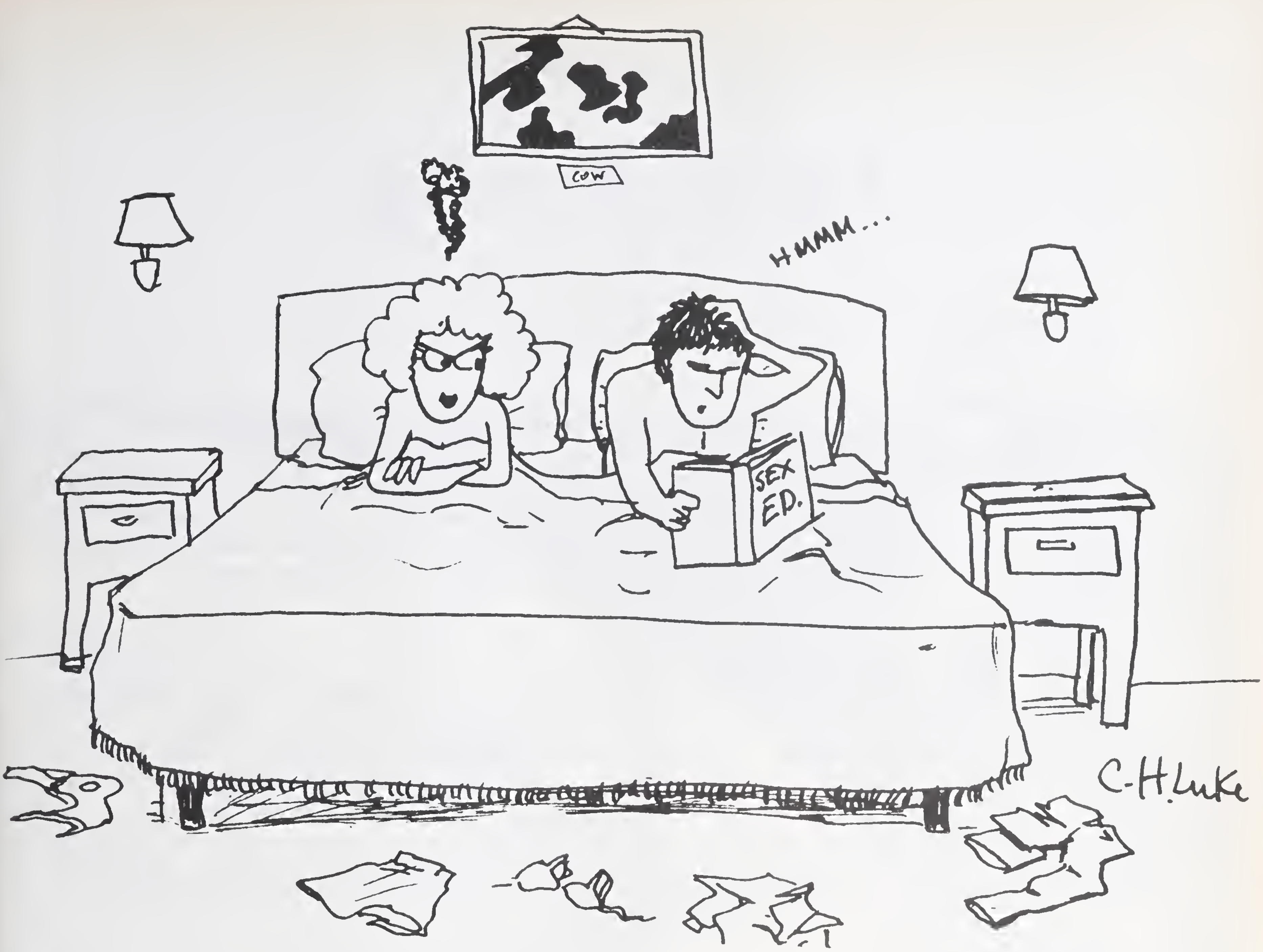

COW
HMMM...
SEX ED.
C-H. Luke

YES / CHANNING ROUSE

with intimacy, sex education is needed to minimized the consequences.

According to a national study conducted in 1988 by the Alan Guttmacher Institute, half of America's teenagers have intercourse before the age of 18 and approximately one-fourth have had intercourse before they reach the age of 16. These statistics graphically portray the inadequacy of parents, the church, and society as a whole to promote abstinence.

Compounding the problem is the fact that only 10 percent of the schools providing sex education offer it as a separate course, and only three states require sexual education teachers to take even one course in human sexuality. The overwhelming majority of sex education classes in the United States place much less emphasis on pregnancy prevention than on preventing the spread of AIDs and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Correspondingly, the Guttmacher study indicates that many sexual education programs focus on the importance of abstinence while including no instruction in proper birth control methods. It's not surprising that the current approach to sex education has been a statistical failure in preventing teenage pregnancy.

It is also interesting to note that more often than not, the same conservatives who oppose sex education also stand fervently

(continued on page 27)

NO / PETER HANS

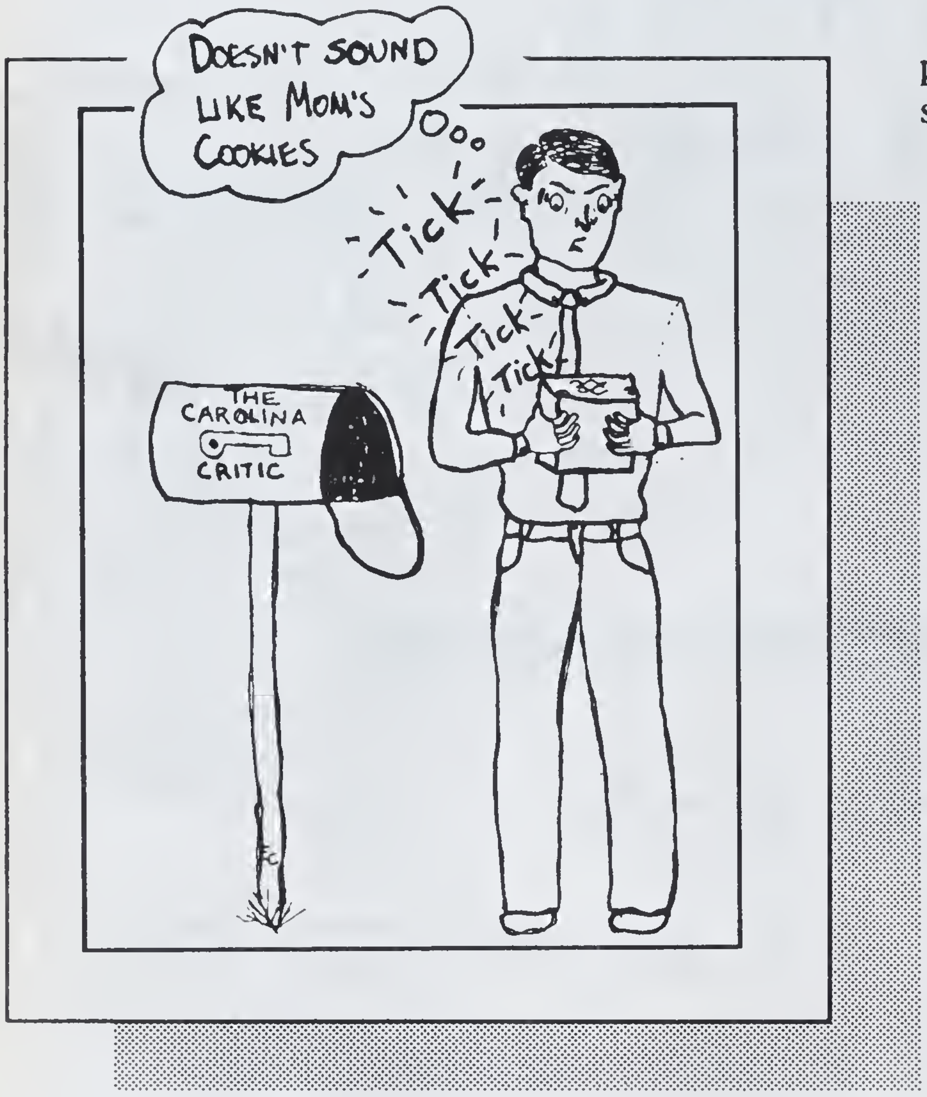
right," rather than, "don't do it," can wipe out a parent's strongest attempt to protect the child.

Sex education proponents point out there are children who do not receive the talk about the "birds and the bees" at home. This is a valid point, although not as many parents are remiss in this responsibility as proponents suggest. A coalition of church groups, parents, and concerned individuals in the community must become more involved and tackle this problem at its grassroots. These groups can identify high risk students and teach them about traditional family values. This type of community-based effort is far more effective and helpful than learning from the proliferation of trash to which children are currently exposed on television, on the streets, and now in the classroom.

At the very least, sex education programs should be reconstructed with heavy emphasis on the importance of teaching proper values. Sex education without the subsequent teaching of moral values is a prescription for disaster. Promiscuity and self-indulgence become the norm (replacing discipline and self-restraint) and for that all of society must suffer. Value-neutral sex education promotes the very problems it is intended to prevent. Yet the "if it feels good, do it" teaching mentality prevails over traditional moral values so that the sacred barrier

(continued on page 27)

CORRESPONDENCE



To the editor:

Last month's "Critical Eye" claimed that President Bush's approval rate of 67% "simply proves what we've been saying all along: people want government to do less, not more." Come on, Bob! Perhaps a bit of a history lesson is in order. Most Presidents enjoy very high public approval during their first months in office. According to information provided by the Gallup Opinion Index, our past nine Presidents have reached the following high levels of approval:

Franklin D. Roosevelt	88%
Harry S. Truman	90%
Dwight D. Eisenhower	80%
John F. Kennedy	90%
Lyndon B. Johnson	80%
Richard M. Nixon	70%
Gerald R. Ford	70%
Jimmy Carter	70%
Ronald Reagan	68%

Obviously, both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans have attained levels of popular support that might seem surprisingly high if viewed out of context. These high ratings usually came, like Mr. Bush's, early in their terms, before they had a chance to run afoul of a large number of voters. Using Bush's present high approval to illustrate anything except for the warm feelings Americans tend to have towards new Presidents is absurd.

Liberally,
J. Kyle Hudson

Woodlief defends Bob's honor:

Lighten up, Kyle. This was *humor*. Bob was merely trying to poke fun at how Bush has done very little of substance so far. The statistic was just a good lead in to make the point. I guess some people get 'em, and some people don't. Jeez.

Libertarianly,

Anthony Woodlief

Bob thanks Woodlief for defending his honor:

Thanks Woodlief.

Conservatively,

Bob Lukefahr

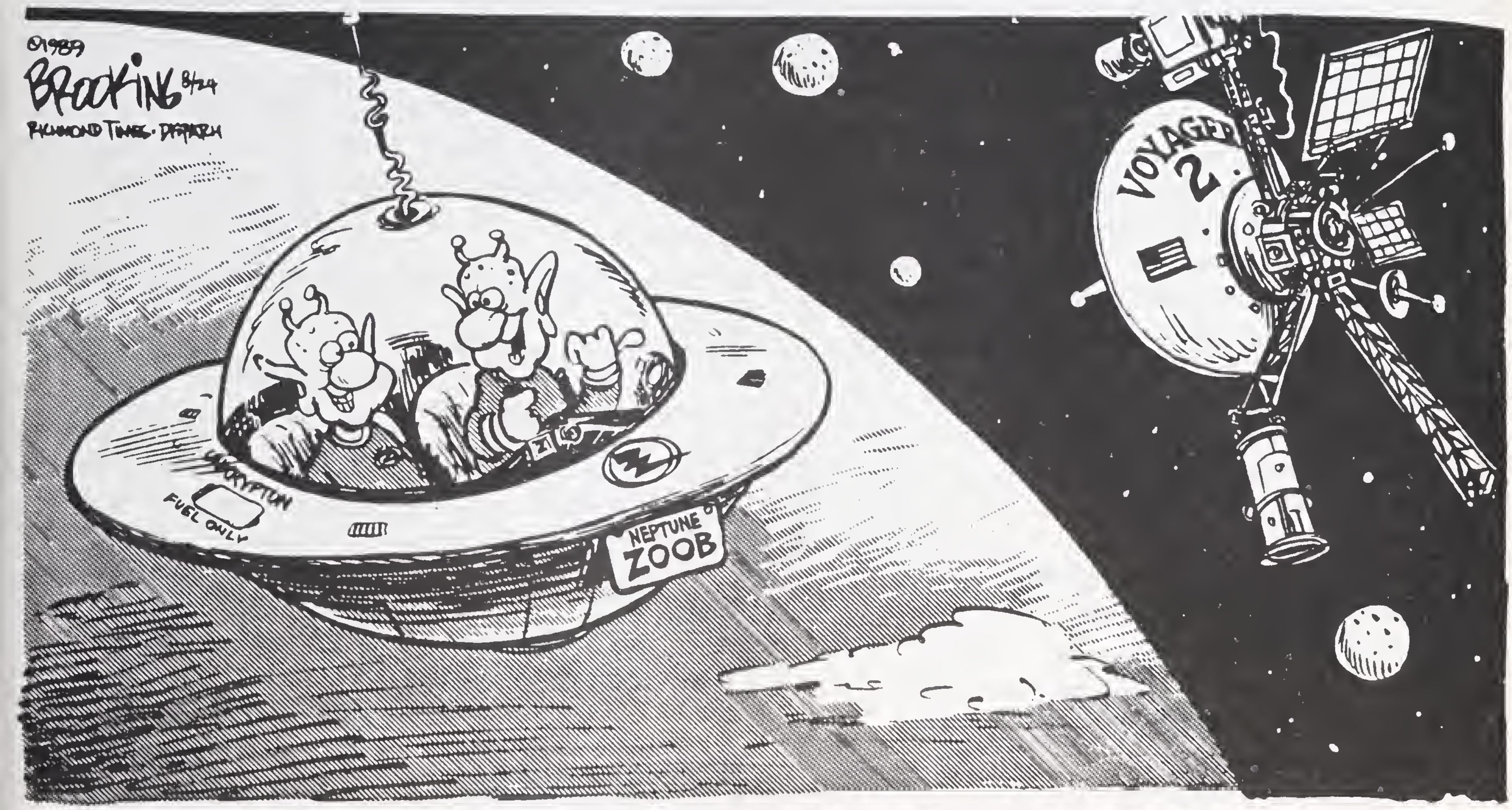
The Critic

is holding a meeting

7:30 pm
Tuesday, October 3
2nd Floor, Bingham Hall

THE CRITICAL e·y·e

And God Looked Down, and Saw that It Was Good



"HEY, Y'WANNA REALLY SHAKE 'EM UP?!... PUT ON YOUR ELVIS MASK AND I'LL FLY BY THE CAMERA!..."

➢From the stupid legislation department: Minnesota State Representative Phyllis Kahn recently proposed legislation to give anyone over 12 years old the right to vote. According to *The American Spectator* magazine, Ms. Kahn responded to criticism of her bill by accusing opponents of having an "adult supremacist attitude." We always thought that Minnesota was full of those evil adult supremacists.

➢Are we the only ones, or are you getting sick and tired of hearing television news reporters, who don't know a word of Spanish, dutifully trying to pronounce the name of Central American countries with a Spanish dialect. Apparently it is now politically correct to pronounce Nicaragua, Knicker-r-r-rag-wa; Honduras, On-dur-r-r-rahs; and Chile Chee-lay. So far as we know, however, France is still pronounced France, Japan is still pronounced Japan, and The Soviet Union is still pronounced The Reds.

➢Watch out Domino's, McDonalds has begun test marketing their new "McPizza" at a store in Indiana. Can McBudweiser be far behind?

➢Planning a trip to South Korea? You may want to take along a few cases of that world renowned American delicacy, SPAM. According to the *Wall Street Journal,* Spam has become a favorite gift item among Korean yuppies. So much so that Hormel can't keep the stuff on the shelves. Of course these *are* the same people who have been known to eat dogs...

➢Ahh, to be a young thug in Sweden... *Reason* magazine reports that eight convicted criminals (assault, robbery, and vandalism) have been sent by the Swedish government on an $80,000, all expense paid, rehabilitation cruise to the Caribbean. Of course such a program would never work in the U.S. because the cruise comes complete with three social workers — which would almost certainly be a violation of that cruel and unusual punishment thing.

➢The Soviets have released a new movie called "The KGB Today," which portrays KGB officers as just regular nice folks working for the government. You know, break a few limbs in the morning, throw a nun or two in jail in the afternoon, just like any other civil servant. Well, now we see why we don't have a KGB Action Committee at UNC.

➢The Congress continues to busy itself with the important affairs of state. This year's Defense appropiations bill contains a provision allowing the Air Forces "Singing Sargents" musical group to "participate in the production of recording for commercial sale." We should all feel more secure knowing that our armed forces will now be able to sing the Soviets into submission on records, CD's and cassettes.

➢The Bush administration has slapped more severe sanctions on Panama after arguing that the current measures weren't enough to oust dictator Manuel Noriega. This is the same administration that opposes sanctions directed at the Chinese government on the grounds that it will hurt the people more than the government. Ideological consistency abounds.

➢Residents of New Jersey can now file for unemployment compensation via fax machine. Or you can have your butler drop it by.

➢New York State Education commisioner Thomas Sobol will receive a "Special Assistant to the Commissioner for Cultural Equity" this year. A task force appointed by Sobol found the position was needed because "...Eurocentric perspective prevails and the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) value system and norms dominate..." What this newspeak is dancing around is the view held by the cultural relativists that there is no such thing as universal truths and that the intellect of human beings cannot transcend differences in custom, language, and dress. Therefore, by their own definition, education is impossible. Indoctrination, well, that's another matter entirely...

➢Fresh from the DTH's Ministry of Repetitive Redundancy Department — Columnist Chris Landgraff, in an insightful analysis of President Bush's drug war, claims that "unless more money is allocated and new avenues are approached, the rhetoric of the war on drugs will be nothing more than talk."

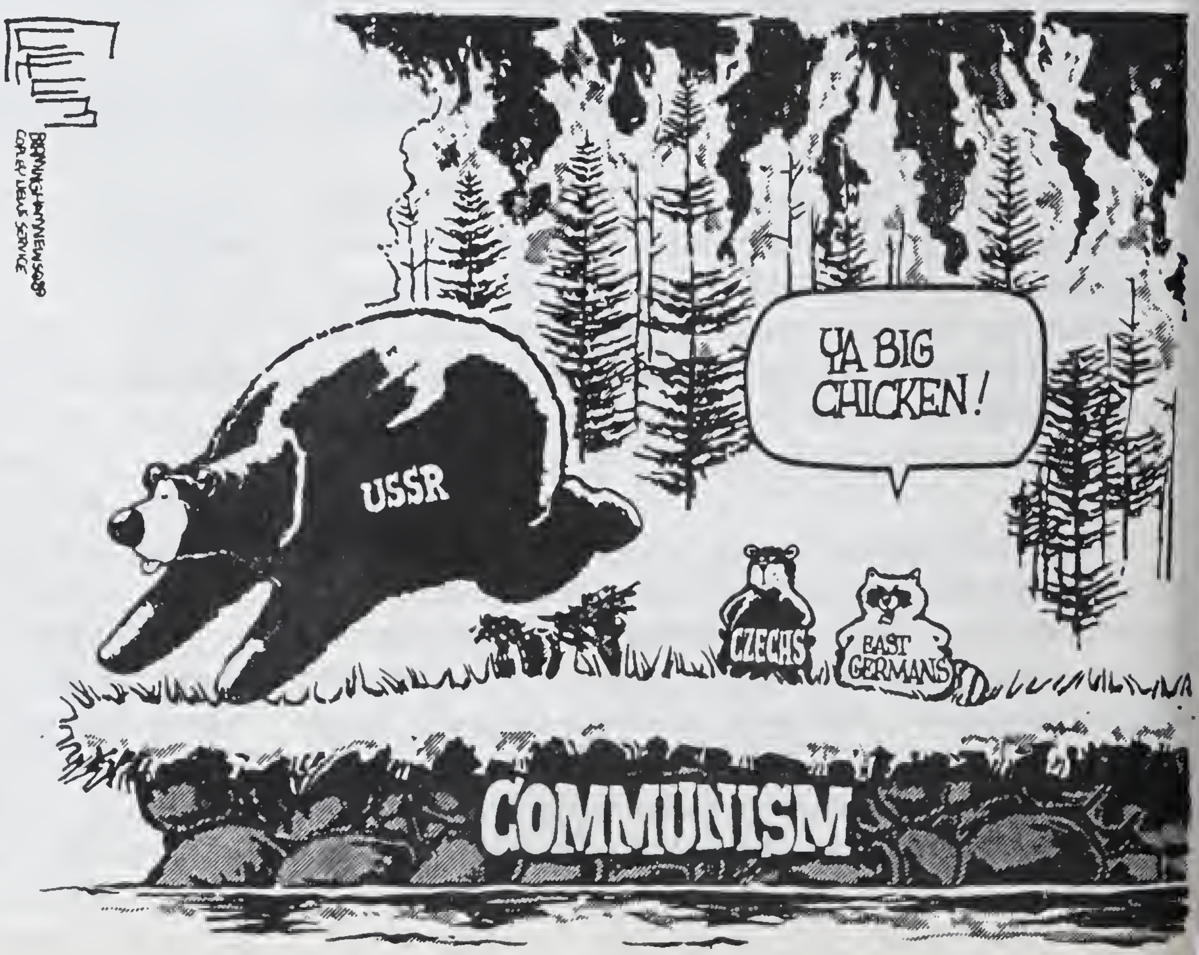
Heaven help us when rhetoric becomes nothing more than talk. The next thing you know, language will be nothing more than words.

➢Playboy-stricken former UNC student Laura Gowdy, recent graduate of the UNC School of Voyeurism and consumer

After reading the Critic for at least two enlightening months, you've no doubt abandoned any leftist tendencies you might have had. At this time we'd like to point some of the leftwing pitfalls you will probably encounter here at UNC, where trendy lefties thrive. So, without further delay, we present

THE TOP TEN LIES OF THE LEFT:

1. Marxism hasn't failed, it's just never been tried.
2. The Great Depression was the result of unfettered capitalism.
3. I did not learn my political ideology from a bumper sticker.
4. ______ is the fault of American imperialism.
5. I am not a conformist, I really like these clothes.
6. Radical feminists don't hate men.
7. It's not his fault — society is to blame.
8. I had a lot of friends in high school.
9. I would think this way even if my parents weren't rich.
10. I don't read the Critic.



advocate, was quoted in the DTH as saying that the "people who are selling Playboy are selling sex, but it's not sex. I've seen sex, and that's not it." Go get 'em Laura, the average sex consumer needs protection...

➢To those who believe that a woman's (and presumably a man's) body is not an object, we ask, just what is it? A mirage, a fantasy, or just a cruel hoax perpetuated by Coppertone commercials?

➢Dean of Students Frederic Schroeder, in a letter opposing the traditional Lewis streak, commented that streaking was no longer acceptable because, among other things, it has the potential for "the infliction of emotional distress." To all of you "underclassmen" who would be emotionally distressed streaking next to the "upperclassmen," we say, if you can't party with the big boys, don't even bother showing up.

➢The editors of the Critic, who are constantly reminding everyone of how they are always right, got a couple of things wrong in the September issue. For the record, the organizational meeting was on the 7th, not the 6th, and it was held in Bingham Hall, not the Union. Also the John Blundell lecture was on September 27, not the 26th. This leads us to the conclusion that while we still believe "it's good to be open minded, but it's better to be right," it's really good of you to be open minded when we are not right.

APHORISMS

I often quote myself. It adds spice to my conversation.

—George Bernard Shaw

Television is the reason that most people think Central America means Kansas.

—The Beatnigs

Television—a medium. So called because it is neither rare nor well done.

—Ernie Kovacs

BANG!

—Silent Sam

Bigamy is having one wife to many. Monogamy is the same.

—Oscar Wilde

Socialism is the grandiose rationalization of petty resentments.

—Ludwig von Mises

■

➢After outlawing television ads for cigarettes in our own country, the federal government is considering imposing sanctions against Thailand for doing the same thing. Okay, one more time, do as we say, not as we do. Jesse Helms, call your office.

➢The World Bank, in its never-ending crusade to save the vast majority of the world's population from the evils of affluence, recently demonstrated its economic plan for the 1990's. Vice president for Asia Attila Karaosmanoglu recently supported China's measures to "cool the economy and reduce inflation," since, "high rates of growth have clearly pushed the economy o the limits of its productive capacity." C'mon, Attila, the economy has been in a deep-freeze since Marco Polo left. What t needs is a jump-start.

Not only does the World Bank want to relieve the Third World of the burden of productivity, it wants to drag the Western world into the joyous pit of poverty as well. Evidencing a peculiar form of creative accounting, World Bank spokesmen said that because Third World nations were paying back more money to banks than was being loaned to them, the situation is "worse, not better." All those UNC students looking for a loan after the tuition increase, this is the place to go. No interest, no collateral, and they don't want you to pay them back.

➢The Department of Justice sent 92 federal observers to keep an eye on the New York City mayoral primaries. Koch lost anyway.

➢The federal government is suing Oakland, California over its decision to become a nuclear-free city. The government contends that this statute is unconstitutional. Apparently the feds believe the right to bear arms extends to nuclear weapons. The NRA contends that they have a legitimate sporting use, while gun-control proponents are calling for photo id's and a ten-day "cooling-off" period to prevent hasty preemptive strikes.

➢The following poem was written in 2000 B.C. by a love-struck Egyptian:

I behold how my sister cometh, and my heart is in gladness.
Mine arms open wide to embrace her; my heart exulteth within me: for my lady has come to me...
She kisseth me, she openeth her lips to me: then I am joyful even without beer.

Guess some things never change...

➢You just never know what kind of dirty rats you will find hanging around Washington. Last month, while swimming in the White House pool, Barbara Bush found herself sharing the facilities with a small brown rodent (who was also swimming). Fortunately the Secret Service was vigilant, *U.S. News & World Report* quotes a White House official as saying, "It was the animal's last swim." Now if the Secret Service could be as effective with those two legged rats...

➢A popular T-shirt in Valdez, Alaska sports the phrase "Cleanup '89. It's not just a job, It's a f—ing waste of time."

Using Tax Dollars to Pay for "Styro-Food"

A recent study released by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), called "Alternative Agriculture," asks farmers to change the way they have been farming for the last fifty years. "Well managed alternative farms use less synthetic chemical fertilizers, pesticides and anti-biotics without necessarily decreasing, and, in some cases, increasing per acre crop yields," says the study. This is good news for the health of the environment and the consumer, but bad news for government subsidy programs, which give farmers "income support payments" for using pesticides and fertilizers.

Unfortunately, the methods of the study are questionable. "Farmers aren't stupid," says E. C. Pasour, Professor of Economics at North Carolina State University. "If they could have found a way to do this (alternative agriculture) profitably, they would have."

Pasour and leading fertilizer producers believe the NAS study only takes examples from a few farms that are already successful with alternative agriculture methods, such as crop rotation and expansion of land. These new methods, applied to a majority of farms, would raise food prices, and force farmers to work harder to manage their farms.

Regardless of its accuracy, the study sheds light on a costly government program. In 1988, the government spent approximately $580 million on subsidies and programs that encourage the use, even overuse, of synthetic pesticides and fertilizers. Farmers receive subsidy checks depending on the amount of crop they grow on a piece of land, plus a bonus check, or "income support payment," if they do so by the standards the U.S. Department of Agriculture has given them. This means using certain pesticides and fertilizers favored by the U.S.D.A., but discouraged in the NAS study. If the farmers used the methods described in the report, their checks would be lower. In other words the government forces farmers to use methods the NAS claims they normally would not use. Pasour agrees. He says if government subsidies were eliminated, farmers, "in their own self-interest would cut back on fertilizer use."

Clearly the best policy is to eliminate these "income support payments". The government should stop managing the farming industry and let farmers run their businesses in the way most profitable to them and the environment. But instead of eliminating payments for fertilizer use, the U.S.D.A. has started yet another program to correct its own inefficiencies. It's called L.I.S.A., for Low Input Sustainable Agriculture. L.I.S.A. encourages alternative farming methods, while discouraging pesticides. As far as I know, L.I.S.A. officials do not coordinate their efforts with the Commodity Credit Corporation, the U.S.D.A. division that funds these "income support payments." Perhaps it is time to free U.S. farmers from governmental boundaries instead of drowning them in a constantly growing sea of contradictory bureaucracy.

—*Bryan Tucker*

➢Is this place crazy or what? Chapel Hill is performing vasectomies and tubal ligations on beavers in order to keep the population from skyrocketing and ravaging the tree population. We say make 'em use condoms like everyone else.

➢Speaking of rats, Lake Ozark, Mo. recently was forced to close down its City Hall due to rodent infestation. The only problem was that after the exterminator eliminated the "furry four-footed things" the politicians moved back in. This just goes to show that the more things change, the more they stay the same.

➢Indicating general confusion in Congress, Speaker of the House Tom Foley said that President Bush's proposed cut in the Capital Gains tax would be a "positive harm"to the economy. Now Mr. Foley, you can't have it both ways, is it positive, or a harm?

➢Zsa Zsa Gabor has been araigned on charges of assualting a Beverly Hills police officer, driving with an expired registration, and a host of other charges. As her defense, Ms. Gabor claims she was assualted both verbally and physically by the arresting officer. Small penalty for subjecting the country to all those "Green Acres" reruns.

➢The Spartacist League has arrived at UNC. "Who?", you say with good reason. Hark back in Russian history to the man who Joseph Stalin beat out for control after Lenin's death—a dude named Trotsky. Though he is dead, his followers still haunt the globe. These Marxists think that they have the solution to world poverty, oppression, and American imperialism. And unlike their Soviet counterparts, their system has never been tried, so it is not a proven failure.

Anyway, they have been distributing literature in the pit, including their newspaper *Workers Vanguard*, for the decidedly un-Marxist price of $.25. The paper is boringly consistent. Nearly all the articles end with a call for a worker's socialist revolution. A piece on the Black Panthers ends with the gripping statement, "...we need a multi-racial workers party, fighting to break the power of the racist system forever and achieve the integration of all races in an egalitarian, socialist society." There's also an article (yawn!) on Panama that concludes, "It's up to the working class to put an end to [America's] murderous rampage, through world proletarian revolution." On Chinese unrest (Boy, I'm sleepy), the unnamed authors still seem resentful that their man Trotsky got beat out by Stalin. "For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers! For the unity of China under the workers' leadership! For Lenin's communism—Forge a Trotskyist party!" There's really nothing like a little mindless propaganda to cure insomnia. (Zzzz)

➢A Jacksonville, North Carolina, man was awarded workman's compensation after a group of Navy commandos "attacked" the drawbridge where he worked. Apparently he was so terrified after being met in the night by the gun toting sailors that he suffered permanent emotional distress. As far as we know this is the first time the U.S. military has scared anyone since Grenada.

➢A terrible plague has been visited upon the unsuspecting barbums and boozehags of Chapel Hill. Rumor has it that the IRS has closed down Trolls bar! But fear not. Your Critic editorial staff will not let you languish in sobriety for long. The November edition of the Critic will contain the most comprehensive and entertaining bar guide ever to grace the Southern Part of Heaven. Donations to fund this important research are now being accepted.

CLIPBOARD

With liberty and MIRVs for all: "Libertarian: similar to a conservative except he believes we should have private polaris missiles in our backyard pools." — P.J. O'Rourke in *The American Spectator*

Congressional Newspeak: "This is not a bailout. It is a restructuring." — Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D-TX) on the $160 billion S&L bailout.

Time Limits are like deadlines—Ignore 'em: "I'm not going to play games. My credibility is being questioned. If I don't have time to speak on these issues, I'm not going to argue over 7 seconds." — Ed Davis, after being informed he only had 7 seconds left to speak before Student Congress. It took him 10 seconds to deliver this tirade.

"Government is not reason; it is not eloquence; it is force! Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." — George Washington

Hurricane HUD: "[Government] spending is not uncontrollable. Hurricanes, tornadoes, or volcanic eruptions are uncontrollable. Spending programs come through acts of Congress, and if anything is uncontrollable, it's congressional lack of guts." — economist Walter E. Williams.

"...a large government is not necessarily a strong state, as the majority of Latin American nations shows. Those immense organisms that in our countries drain the productive energies of society to maintain their own sterile existence are in fact giants with feet of clay. Their gigantism makes them torpid, and their inefficiency deprives them of the respect and authority without which no institution can function well." — Mario Vargas Llosa, Peruvian Presidential candidate.

■

Quayle Hunting

While working in Washington, D.C. this summer, I had the dubious honor of getting in touch with Vice-President Dan Quayle's office in order to get the fax number and send him something he wasn't going to read. Easy enough, I thought, I'll just call the White House directory, and they can give me the number. Now before all of you policy nerds start to get upset, I *know* Dan doesn't work there, but I figured surely someone would know how o get in touch with him — I mean, vhat'll they do if George dies or somehing, flash the Bat Signal over the Washngton monument?

Anyway, to make a long story longer, I all the directory, tell the women there hat I need Quayle's fax number, and she ransfers me to some office. Now, I hought: a) she's transferring me to Quayle's office, or b) she's transferring me to someone who knows his number. I got neither. The woman who answered the phone did not know Dan Quayle. I don't mean that she didn't know his number, or that she didn't have cocktails with him, I mean she honest-to-God had never heard of the man.

Me: Hi, I need to fax something to Dan Quayle's office. What's the number?

Her: Dan who?

Dan Quayle.

There's no Dan Quayle here.

Well, how can I get in touch with his office?

I don't know, there's no one by that name here.

It's Dan Quayle, you know, the Vice-President, the man a heartbeat away from the presidency, Big Chief Number Two... THE GUY THAT LOOKS LIKE ROBERT REDFORD!

I'm sorry sir, there's no one here by that name.

So what you're telling me is that you don't know how to find him?

Never heard of him.

That's alright, a year ago, nobody else had either.

I never did get the phone number for Dan Quayle's office, let alone the fax number. Dan, if you're reading this (and I know you are), how about giving us a call, just to let us know you're alright. I didn't vote for your boss or anything, but some of the other people on the staff were a little worried. Also, you might want to start hanging around the White House a little more often. Barbara's cooking may not be that good, but you should probably get to know the staff a little better, maybe pass out a few business cards. Just a little constructive criticism, otherwise, I think you're doing a fine job doing... whatever it is v.p.'s do.

—Anthony Woodlief

THE CAROLINA PORK

Thank heavens for Lisa Frye. Against staunch opposition from evil proponents of a second referendum on the Student Recreation Center (SRC), CAA President Frye took a firm stand against democracy. Given the fact that there has been a tuition increase, a fee increase, and an influx of about 2500 freshman since the original SRC bill was passed last spring, some Student Congress members thought maybe it would be appropriate to ask students if they still wanted to pay for the SRC. Some even had the audacity to suggest that this might be a little more fair than the last vote, since some of the students voting this time would actually have to pay for the thing.

Congress member Jeffrey Beall (Dist. 7), who introduced the bill calling for a new referendum, listed a number of instances in which past CAA President Carol Geer used the CAA as a propaganda machine rather than as a representative student organization. The fact that he was able to get this information to the Rules and Judiciary meeting on time was itself amazing, considering the fact that the two discs on which he had stored his bill were mysteriously erased in the Student Congress office, while his hard copy of the bill somehow disappeared.

Lisa Frye stood up for the CAA in Student Congress, however, and insisted that students want the SRC, so there. Never mind that the CAA sent members around campus dorms plugging the SRC before the last vote, and never mind that nobody who will have to pay for the Center got to vote on it. Never mind that even as Beall's bill was being debated, lots of Carolina Fever members were petitioning dorm residents to support the SRC. These are all just meaningless facts, and Frye skirted them decisively, determined to give students the SRC she knows they really want, whether they like it or not.

Displaying an incredible ability to ignore the substance of an argument and cut straight to a peripheral issue, Student Congress member Matt Lottspeich (Dist. 15) exclaimed that he had "no sympathy for those who decided not to vote" on the original SRC, and now decided they didn't like it. Somebody clue this guy in. The point isn't that people who didn't vote the first time want the chance to do so. The point is that information that was previously withheld or unavailable is now available for students, and they deserve a chance to rethink their decision.

In the end, none of the arguments for a new referendum mattered, because Todd Wyatt (Dist. 4) had THE LETTER. Just as debate over the bill was heating up, Wyatt brought out THE LETTER, from UNC graduate Montague Dixon, who was miffed because somebody was questioning his decision to spend other people's money. Well, after everyone found out how old Montague felt about the matter, there was no question as to the proper course of action. Forget what **students** think about this, because if we have another referendum, Montague is gonna be major PO'd. Wake up, Wyatt. The people you need to represent are your **constituents**, not some pal that doesn't even go to school here anymore.

Student Congress really gave us the bird this month, allocating $10, 305 to the student newsweekly *The Phoenix* to buy a spiffy new turbo-powered computer system (the Desktop Publishing System) that will supposedly enable its editors to finally start delivering some news, maybe even on a weekly basis. This swelled the total money wasted on this elusive publication to nearly $28,000 for this year alone, and they have yet to print a single word this semester. Still, according to *Phoenix* staffer Bailey Irwin, *The Phoenix* "has not missed a publication deadline in three years." The question is, has *The Phoenix* **had** a deadline in three years, or is everyone wasting all that latent creative talent dreaming up new and exotic reasons for Student Congress to keep them on the student dole?

■

➢The Raleigh News and Observer, which recently began charging for obituaries that give anything more than the deceased's name, wrote an editorial calling on airlines to provide discounts to travellers going to funerals. They called it "the decent thing to do." Does that make them despicable? Why is it that liberal newspapers abhor capitalism in every business except publishing.

➢Those of you acquainted with economics might be surprised to learn that out of all the economics, history, and political science classes offered at UNC, not one requires Adam Smith. You know Adam, he's the guy that pioneered economic thinking in the eighteenth century, helping to lay the groundwork for modern microeconomic theory. For those of you unfamiliar with microeconomics, suffice to say that this is the stuff leftists hate — you know, supply, demand, prices, all those little complications that can ruin a good Democratic social or economic policy. Don't be alarmed though, because while UNC is turning out thousands of students unfamiliar with the foundations of economics, plenty of them will have a good grasp of the writings of socialists like Michael Harrington, whose propaganda is required reading in at least one political science class. Of course, what can we expect from a university where the economics department has a professor who teaches his Econ 10 students that the national debt doesn't mean anything, because

BARREL

The latest allocation all but commits Student Congress to spending another $18,000+ over the next two years on the publishing system, this in addition to the thousands *The Phoenix* will get during regular appropriations. *Phoenix* editor Ed Davis attempted to justify the massive expenditure by claiming that all small publications at UNC need the system, and that it would improve their quality. Besides neglecting to speak to representatives from most of these publications before claiming to represent them, Davis overlooked the fact that computers can only improve the quality of the graphics, not the quality of the writing. Although the system can increase the **quantity** of writing, where *The Phoenix* is concerned this may not be such a good thing. Furthermore, Davis all but confessed that he wanted the system not for all UNC publications, but specifically because *The Phoenix* is going downhill fast. A week before the Student Congress vote on the publishing system, Davis was quoted in the DTH, "At this point we can't afford not to do it (buy the system) if we are going to stay competitive with other publications."

Several Student Congress members didn't think *The Phoenix* request was so extravagant. Matthew Heyd (Dist. 11) said that, "fiscally this is a conservative way to go." Good thing he wasn't in a liberal mood, or Ed Davis might have gotten a limo, too.

Hats off to those members of Student Congress who really spent some time on these issues in an effort to represent their constituents. Congress members Gary Morris (Dist. 1), Jeffrey Beall (Dist. 7), Andrew Cohen (Dist. 7), Jonathan Martin (Dist. 8), Ken Costner (Dist. 8), Mark Bibbs (Dist. 12), and Phil Thompson (Dist. 14) had the good sense and guts to go against the grain and vote to allow students to vote on the SRC, and to vote against giving *The Phoenix* a $30,000 early Christmas.

In the interest of seeing what goes around come around, here's a list of those Student Congress members who didn't feel students should be allowed to make their own decisions, and who flushed another $30,000 of your money on a newsweekly that hardly anybody reads. Feel free to call them and express your gratitude:

B. Brown (Dist. 2), Jurgen Buchenau (Dist. 3), Carlos Cerezo-Suarez (Dist. 3), Dave Davidson (Dist. 13), Donnie Esposito (Dist. 10), Mindy Friedman (Dist. 12), Jill Gilbert (Dist. 17), S. Johnson (Dist. 11), John Lomax (Dist. 13), Matt Lottspeich (Dist. 15), Chris Peeler (Dist. 17), Bill Stallings (Dist. 15), Todd Wyatt (Dist. 4), and Carole Yost (Dist. 18).

—*Anthony Woodlief*

"we owe it to ourselves?" This is the same economics department that requires students to slavishly apply the multiplier, that magic tool that somehow enables government to create wealth by spending money. At least it's good to know that some people still believe in fairy tales.

➢*The Raleigh News and Observer*, in its never-ending battle to stamp out free enterprise wherever it may rear its ugly head, has ecently begun a vendetta against blood banks. In a front-page article with the ominous title, "Blood is big, unregulated business in U.S.," the N&O detailed the shocking accounts of blood banks actually *selling* blood to one another, with some groups, like the Red Cross (that evil corporate conglomerate), making *profit*. The writer went so far as to cite as evidence of monopolies in the industry the fact that prices for blood vary by as much as 400% across the country. Apparently the writer is a graduate of the UNC economics department. When a monopoly exists, prices are *fixed* guys, so clue in. As can be expected, the writer called for regulation of the blood industry, comparing it to a public utility. Now, there's a comforting thought, the government insuring the same quality service in blood delivery as it does for electricity. We can see it now, a hospital calls the government-regulated blood bank for fresh supplies, and gets told they can expect the delivery sometime in the next two-weeks. C'mon, the best way to insure chronic shortages of something is to let the government handle it! Maybe the N&O should let the government regulate it's ink supplies for a month, to get a feel for what their advocating. People may not get their newspapers for a while, but no news is arguably better than poor news.

➢Well, even Santa, er, Student Congress can't give *Phoenix* editor Ed Davis everything he wants, much as they'd like to. Davis asserted in a DTH interview that the $30,000 computer system to be purchased with student fees would help the *Phoenix* staff improve its circulation, which he called "the most crucial part of a paper." Davis went on to say that, "You can put Pulitzer Prize-winning stories on every page, but if you can't get the paper out to the people, they won't get read." Of course, we've noticed *plenty* of Pulitzer material in past issues of *The Phoenix*, and could never figure out why it sits in unread piles for weeks at a time. And to think that all this time the reason nobody read *The Phoenix* was because they just couldn't get their hands on one!

➢China turned 40 years old on October 1. Let's see— that's 30 years of social, political, and economic privation, followed by 10 years of nominal democratic and capitalist reforms, followed by a crackdown and more privation. Sounds like cause for a celebration.

➢The America's cup is back in the hands of the San Diego Yacht Club after an appeals court overturned an earlier ruling by the N.Y. Supreme Court giving the cup to New Zealand. The skipper from New Zealand, Michael Fay, was more than a little upset by the ruling, and will no doubt try to litigate this thing for a while longer. "Hoist that sail, reel out the attorney..."

Ω

CRITIC ALMANAC

Percentage of Americans in 1981 who feel that environmental standards cannot be set too high: 42

In 1989: 80

Percentage of deep wells in Poland that are polluted: 80

Number of Czechoslovakian rivers that support no fish: 1 in 4

Public company buyouts in 1979: 16

In 1988: 125

Share of U.S. income taxes paid by wealthiest 1% and poorest 50% of taxpayers in 1981: 18.1%, 7.5%

In 1986: 26.1%, 6.4%

National Defense spending as a percentage of GNP in 1960: 9.5

In 1987: 6.4

Soviet defense as percentage of GNP in 1988: 17

African countries severing diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973: 29

Price for Joe Dimaggio to sign a baseball: $75

Americans who would sacrifice rapid career advancement to spend more time with their family: 8 in 10

New cereals introduced in 1988: 97

Abandoned houses in Detroit: 15,215

Percentage of Atlantic City hotel rooms controlled by Donald Trump by Spring 1990: 39

Percentage of people on the West Coast who believe that prostitution is always wrong: 45

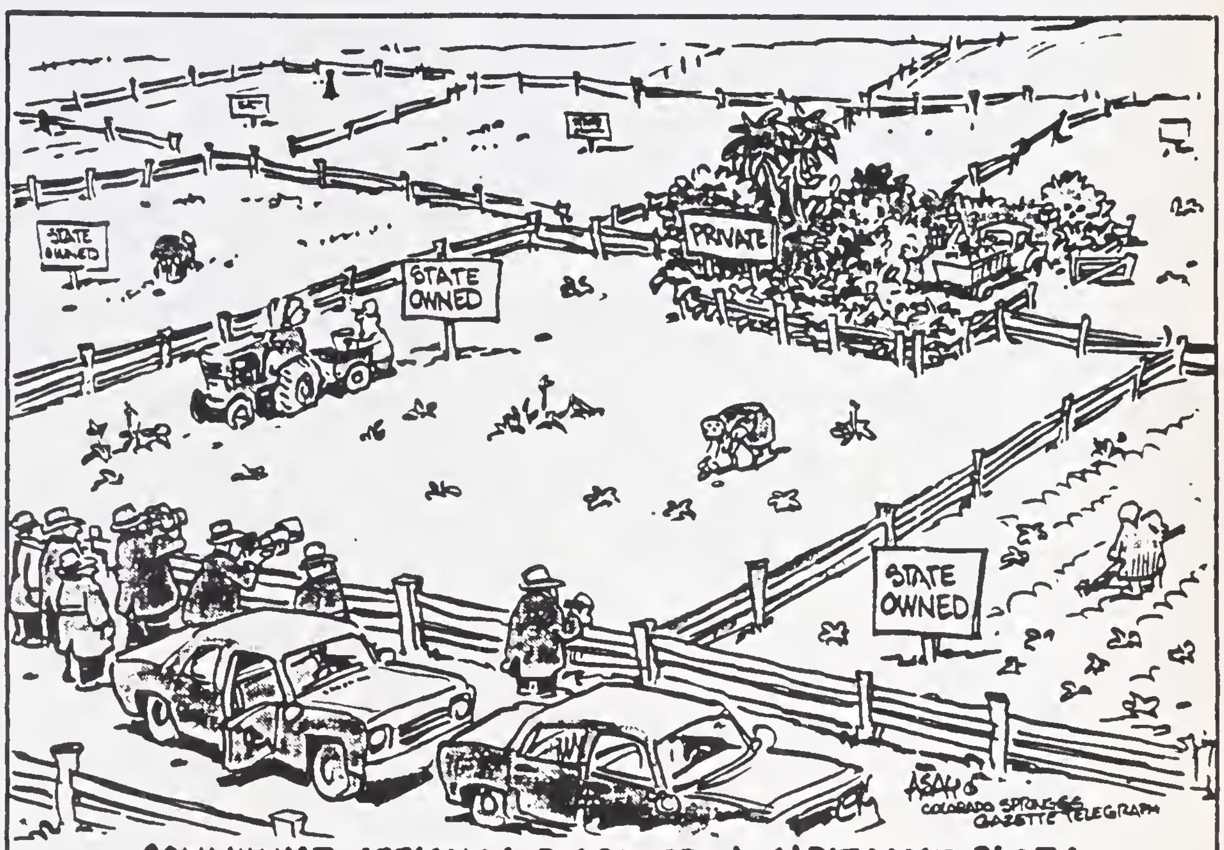
In the South: 71

Sources:The *Economist* (9-2-89); *Harvard Business Review* (9/10-89); *National Review* (6-24-88); *National Review* (3-4-88); *Middle East Review* (1-89); *Life* (10-89); *Journal of Accountancy* (9-89); *Consumer Reports* (10-89); *U.S. News & World Report* (9-25-89); *Time* (9-25-89); *Sex and Morality in the U.S.*

WORLD STAGE / MICHAEL LOWREY

Exodus:
Escape from East Gernamy

Sometimes truth *is* stranger than fiction. The recent rise of writers such as Tom Clancy has produced a new ilk of military suspense novels based on the what if. *The Hunt for Red October*, for example, examines what might happen if the crew of a Soviet ballistic missile sub were to try to defect. Even writers as imaginative as Clancy though, would never dare to spell out as bizarre or unlikely a tale as what recently happened in Hungary. Thousands of East Germans in Hungary are allowed to reach the West, despite having visas stating they are not to leave the East bloc. In spite of a 1969 tourism treaty between the two communist allies, the Hungarian government is letting the East Germans go anyway. Over fifteen thousand are now on their way to West Germany. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has done nothing but verbally deplore the affair. Aside for the compelling story of thousands risking everything in the quest for freedom, these events mark the beginning on a new, more testing period for East Germany.



COMMUNIST OFFICIALS DISCOVER A CAPITALIST PLOT!

The status quo for the past 40 years or so has been simple: the Soviet Union has dominated the six nations (Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and East Germany) of the Warsaw Pact. The shared values of this unlikely alliance were Moscow-style communism and Soviet troops. Under the theories of Marx and Lenin, once the fateful step to ommunism has been taken, there can be no going back. When one of these nominally sovereign nations try to regress, then Russian troops, acting under the so called Brezhnev Doctrine, quickly and violently showed the offending nation the error of ts ways. Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 are prime examples.

Unfortunately for the Soviets and their allies, communism s a failure as an economic system. Mikhail Gorbachev admitted s much when he introduced *glasnost* and *perestroika*. And espite several years of these reforms, the Soviet economy and hose of its allies continue to stagnate. Shortages of consumer oods are, if anything, more chronic today. Meanwhile, the reater freedom of expression under *glasnost* has seen the oviet's pot of ethnic and nationality problems start to boil ver. With three republics demanding virtual independence, nrest in half a dozen others, the virtual abandonment of communism in Hungary and Poland plus the economic problems everywhere, Mr. Gorbachev has had to jump from hot spot to hot spot to stay in control. Force and repression are out of favor in Moscow, their use though, may not of been forgotten.

East Germany is currently a hard line regime of the old type, proudly proclaiming the virtues of Marxism. Its leader, Erich Honecker, is 79, in poor health, and very much a hard liner. The government seems lost and has yet to act in the current crisis. But act it must, or face continued migrations to West Germany. While only a tenth of a percent of the population has fled, many were among East Germany's best and brightest young professionals. The last time something similar occurred was in 1961; the answers were walls and mine fields on the border to the West. Will 1989 see walls to the east? Few other options seem viable if Hungary stands by its open door policy. Of course, additional travel restrictions further limit what little communism has to offer its citizens; German weather and vacation are mutually exclusive terms. The average East German is well informed and is aware of the changes in other East bloc nations through West German radio and television. More repression will only cause greater resentment toward the government, an even stronger urge to reach the other Germany, and an increased likelihood of open opposition to the government as happened in

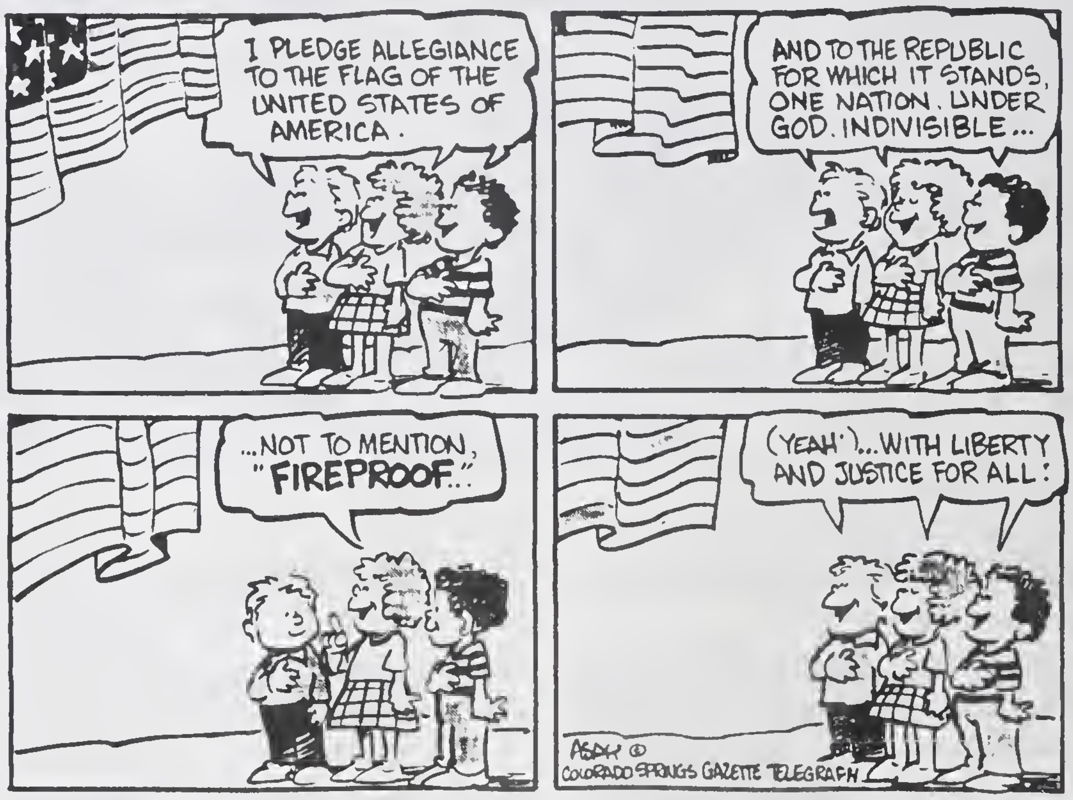
(continued on page 27)

NATIONAL TRUSS / ANDREW COHEN

The Flag: A Burning Issue

The House of Representatives recently approved a bill entitled "The Flag Protection Act of 1989." The bill establishes criminal penalties for anyone who violates "the physical integrity of the United States Flag." What the authors of this bill and all who have spoken on this issue seem to have forgotten, however, is that there is no such thing as the American flag.

"So what are those things hoisted up flagpoles in the United States each day?" it may be asked. The answer is quite simple. Those are *American flags* . No where in the bunch — from the one above the post office on Franklin Street to the one on grandma's draperies — no where can we find *the* American flag. There are only particular American flags.


I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
AND TO THE REPUBLIC FOR WHICH IT STANDS, ONE NATION, UNDER GOD, INDIVISIBLE...
...NOT TO MENTION, "FIREPROOF."
(YEAH!)...WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL!
ASAY ©
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

Now, this is no pointless nitpick. Once it is understood that there is no "American flag" but only *this* American flag and *that* American flag — then the proper moral and legal resolution to the flag-desecration issue becomes clear. Contrary to what the Supreme Court ruled in June, an individual's right to desecrate an American flag is not best protected by the First Amendment but by the Fifth Amendment — that which prohibits the government from depriving any person of "...property, without due process of law."

The issue concerns the Fifth Amendment precisely because it concerns whether or not the government may stop you from using (or destroying) your property as you see fit. Imagine if many people decided that "the American automobile" was a symbol of everything upon which this nation was founded. But now fundamentalists were torching American Fords and Buicks in the Middle East. To top off this insulting behavior, American citizens were seen displaying soiled American cars and occasionally going so far as to mutilate, deface, burn or trample their Chryslers and Pontiacs. "Such behavior," came the cry from Washington, "cannot be tolerated. Our boys lied face down in the dirt to protect the American automobile, and now these unpatriotic slime have the effrontery to desecrate the American automobile." So they passed "The Automobile Protection Act of 1989" which prohibited such conduct upon any American automobile. Would this be consistent with property rights?

If you torched your neighbor's Oldsmobile, that would be a violation of his property rights. But what if you "desecrated" your own American automobile. Who's rights would you have violated? Why may the government, even with the sanction of a great majority of Americans, stop you from taking a sledge hammer to your Chevy? It's your car, and you have a right to do anything you want with it, except when doing so would constitute a violation of the rights of others.

The flag is different, might say its "defenders." There are many American cars, but only one American flag. Besides, cars are primarily functional in purpose whereas the flag is primarily used for display — and not just as adornment but as a symbol — and not just as any symbol but as the symbol of the ideas which gave rise to the United States. And people didn't fight the Nazis for their Chevys, but for the flag. So no one has any "right" to desecrate the flag.

None of these claims can lend support to flag "protection" legislation. As to the argument that there is only one American flag, this is patently false. There is just as much one American flag as there is one American car. Flags and cars resemble other flags and cars by virtue of being based on some one *idea* of each. And a person cannot desecrate "the American flag" by burning his American flag because one cannot physically destroy an idea. So a "flag protection act" is either empty, or at risk of infringing upon individual property rights, because such a measure would legislate what you can do with your personal property, beyond the usual stipulation that you cannot use it to physically harm others.

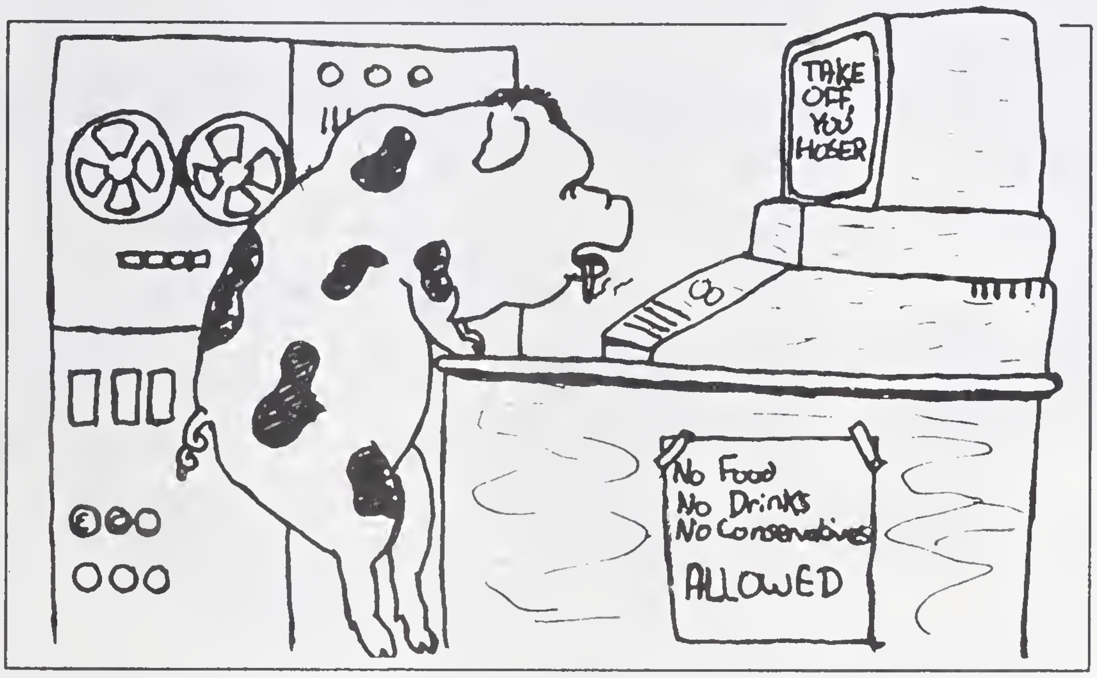
Perhaps people would argue that the flag cannot be someone's property. This is true: how can you own *the* flag? You can only own *a* flag. But they might argue for some conditioned

(continued on page 28)

IN THE ZOO / KREST & GRISSOM

The $10,305 Stepladder

A Desktop Publishing System for the *Phoenix*



Popular legend has it that, several years ago, *The Phoenix* rose from the ashes of one student's unsuccessful bid to become editor of The *Daily Tar Heel.* Funded by his wealthy parents, the young man was able to bring his own publication to life. Upon graduation, he left, taking his rich parents with him, and leaving *The Phoenix* to search for another monetary lifeline. An umbilical was eventually provided by the Student Congress. Since then, student fees have helped a new Phoenix rise up to greet UNC students.

This year, the rise will be a little easier, thanks to an expensive boost provided by Student Congress: a top-of-the-line Desktop Publishing System (DTP), costing $10,305. This gift comes in addition to the over $17,000 which Congress gives The Phoenix annually, and will require an additional $18,000 student expenditure over the next two years — provided future Congress members are as generous.

In the original spending proposal, submitted to Student Congress by the editors of *The Phoenix* and *Cellar Door*, the computer system was to be based in the *Phoenix* office, and available to all students on a first-come, first-serve basis — provided *The Phoenix* staff was not already using it. Now, however, scheduling conflicts will be taken care of with a computer schedule written by *Phoenix* editor Ed Davis, supposedly guaranteeing equal access for all small publications that want to use the system. Even with such a clearly unbiased scheduling system, there are still questions about the proposal which were left unanswered by Student Congress. The most important question is: Is this system needed at all?

Student Congressman Andrew Cohen (Dist. 7) did try to question the necessity of the system, reminding fellow Congress members that "the need might not be as great as we are being led to believe." He cited THE CRITIC, *the catalyst*, and *The White and Blue* as examples of publications that publish using existing facilities, and do so without student funding. Matthew Heyd (Dist. 11) was quick to point out that none of these publications are recognized by Student Congress. He went on to say that THE CRITIC and the other magazines could have sought recognition if they so desired, but they felt they did not have to. Therefore, they have no right to criticize those who chose a different avenue of funding. What Heyd failed to recognize is that Student Congress exists to fund those who cannot raise money on their own, not those who simply don't want to.

Student Congressman John Lomax at least put forth the effort to contain the damages, when he proposed doing away with some of the "luxury items" involved in the *Phoenix* proposal. These luxury items included an Interfax Modem, and a hefty "unforeseen expense" category. In truth, the entire system appears to be a "luxury item". The bill's co-sponsor, *Cellar Door* editor Aarre Laakso, all but admitted this fact when he said, "We're not trying just to get by. We wouldn't be asking Congress for $12,000 just to...be able to do what we're already able to do...we're trying to get better." Less dramatically phrased, Laakso was saying that the *Cellar Door* and *Phoenix* don't need the new system, only that it would make things easier. This certainly sounds like a luxury item to us. If Congress is cutting "luxury items," they should start with the entire system.

Obviously, the DTP system is not going to improve the quality of writing at The Phoenix, only the appearance. This would be fine if The Phoenix were a comic book rather than a newsweekly, but it is substance, and not graphics, that should concern a news magazine.

There is, however, something that could improve all facets of the publication: incentive. Since *The Phoenix* is student funded, the staff has nothing to lose as a result of poor journalism. Even if no one reads it or buys advertising space in it, they are still guaranteed a hefty check from Student Congress. The only way to avoid this apathy is to cut the "lifeline" of Congressional funding. Giving them another $10,000 gift is counterproductive.

Perhaps Student Congress should provide the aspiring journalists at *The Phoenix* a realistic look at the world of

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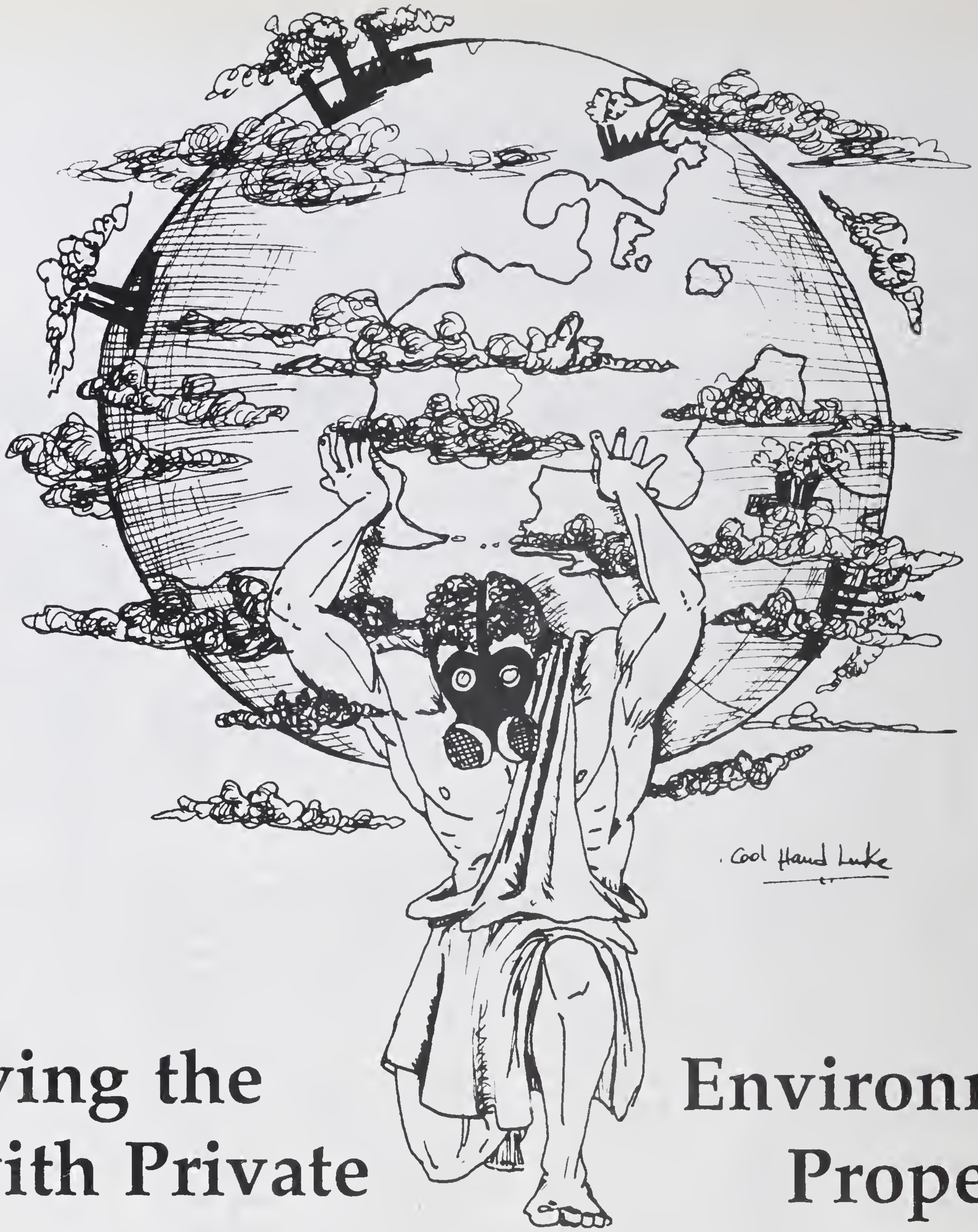


Saving the Environment with Private Property

by Anthony Woodlief

The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. The hired hand is not the shepherd who owns the sheep. So when he sees the wolf coming, he abandons the sheep and runs away. Then the wolf attacks the flock and scatters it. The man runs away because he is a hired hand and cares nothing for the sheep.

John 10:11-13.

The new battle-cry of the left is "environment." The darling of leftists in the late 1960's and 70's, Mother Nature is once again the fragile flower that must be protected from the ravages of capitalism. Certainly the outlook seems grim. There is a hole in the ozone, lakes and rivers are being filled with oil and garbage, seas overfished, and forests burned and uprooted. A flood of environmentalists have rushed to the rescue of the planet, fighting to limit the use of public land by industry, for bans on hunting and fishing of a variety of endangered species, and for strict government regulation of industrial pollution. The majority of the public appreciates the selfless efforts of the environmental crusaders, as evidenced by the growing memberships and overflowing coffers of groups such as The Environmental Defense Fund, The Sierra Club, and The Audubon Society. The public may be surprised to learn that the source of most environmental ills is a threat to nature that environmentalists have traditionally supported wholeheartedly — public property.

In his book *Tragedy of the Commons*, Garrett Hardin detailed a phenomenon people have been intuitively aware of since the beginnings of civilization. Limited resources, whether they are bananas on an island, or grazing land in a densely populated area, tend to be overused when they are common property. When nobody can exclude others from the resource, nobody has an incentive to invest time and capital into preserving and cultivating the resource because others will reap the benefit of their investment without paying for it. Furthermore, in the absence of ownership the resource is free, so people tend to overuse it, or use it wastefully. The result is that people rush to use the resource before it runs out, which it almost inevitably does. Hardin termed this a "tragedy of the commons."

The answer to this dilemma, many would say, is for the government to regulate the use of resources. Government control of resources, however, can be even more dangerous to the environment than no ownership at all. The rain forests in Peru, for example, are government-controlled. In order to attract industry, and to take back some of the countryside held by Shining Path guerillas, the government practically subsidizes destruction of the forests — as does the Brazilian government. Indeed, it costs more in these countries for individuals to keep trees in the rain forests standing than to cut them down. Even in the United States, in Alaska's Tongass National Park, the U.S. Park Service subsidized road construction into the wilderness so that lumber companies can cut timber that otherwise would not be accessible.

Unlike government agencies, private owners have a direct interest in preserving the value of a resource, because they bear the costs if the resource is destroyed. In other words, if you own a small lake that has a high tourism and fishing value, you're not going to dump sludge into it. If you did, the resale value would plummet, and you would suffer financially. Bureaucrats, who cannot profit from a resource's value, bear no direct costs if they use the resource poorly.

As a private owner, you have a number of different ways to use your resource. If you own a lake, you must decide whether you will keep the lake for private enjoyment, allow fishing and swimming for a fee, or even pave it over and make a parking lot in the middle of the woods. Your decision will be based in part on your personal preferences, and in part on how much other people will pay you to use the lake as they want to use it. Your self-interest leads you to consider the interests of others. If you want to profit from your ownership of the lake, you will allow others to use it for a fee, or you will sell it. If you choose not to profit monetarily from your ownership of the lake, you alone bear the opportunity cost incurred when you forego more profitable uses.

Government bureaucrats have a different set of goals. Success in bureaucracy is not measured by profits, but by money spent, the size of the bureaucracy, and its influence and power. As a result, agencies like the Bureau of Land Management tend to be more concerned with expanding their operations and increasing their budgets than with managing and using natural resources wisely. An excellent example of a burgeoning bureaucracy is the Forest Service, which this year asked Congress to give it 15,000 additional acres of land in North Carolina alone. Another example is the Army Corps of Engineers, which has never met a river it didn't want to dam. Wildlife in the Everglades National Park is declining because in 1948 the Army decided to build 1,400 miles of canals and levees to drain water for agriculture.

Fine, some may say, so occasionally they mess up, but at least government agencies keep industry from raping the environment. Think again. Just as bureaucrats have different goals than private owners, they have different incentives. While a private owner is motivated by economic pressures to use his re-

How to Lower Your Heating Bill, or Global Warming: Fact or Fantasy?

It's nearly time to panic in the streets. Global warming is causing the polar ice caps to melt, and New York City will soon be covered by 10 feet of water. Well, that might not be bad, but a sharp rise in average global temperatures could have a severe effect on animal and plant life. The problem is, there may not actually be any change in global temperature. In fact, the evidence for higher temperatures is often about as strong as the evidence for the next Ice Age. And that was the opinion of many scientists of the 1970s.

That Carbon Dioxide levels are causing global warming, however, is *not* the prevalent opinion among climatologists. Of the one hundred or so experts in the world, only one, that being James Hansen of NASA, was convinced of a current global warming trend. Many of the others are worried about the accuracy of the relevant data.

First, computer models have predicted a much higher temperature rise in the last 130 years than has actually occurred. These models are flawed because they do not account for many factors. For example, a small increase in temperature would cause increased cloud formation which in turn may cause a counteractive cooling by reflecting sunlight. They also do not allow for heat transfer caused by ocean currents, which are one of the major reasons for the world's varying climates.

Second, much of the data may be contaminated. It seems that many weather stations (98% of them in the U.S.) are located near major sources of local heat—the cities and towns of the world. At those U.S. weather stations certified as rural, there has actually been a decrease in temperature in the last 50 years.

In fact, during the forty years prior to this decade, global temperatures were going down. Granted that it has been getting hotter in the 1980s, but an eight year trend can be caused by any number of factors such as the intensity of the sun (which has been increasing) or small changes in the earth's orbital geometry (which is the suspected cause of the Ice Ages). This casts serious doubt on the significance of the global warming data.

This is not to say that there is no warming. Some parts of the globe seem to be getting hotter, particularly those in the southern hemisphere. Others however, such as have been cooling off, such as the record lows in the tropical Pacific last year or the unusually cold weather in Northern Europe and the Great Lakes.

—Jason James

sources in the most valuable way, a bureaucrat responds to political pressures. In the earlier example, if you decide to keep your lake all to yourself, you benefit from the peace and quiet, but you also pay by not receiving any money for its use. Bureaucrats, however, pay when they don't yield to the most politically powerful groups, be they industrialists or environmentalists. As a result, these groups concentrate all their energies on swaying public opinion and receiving government favors. Instead of putting their money where their mouths are by investing in and cultivating these resources, they get the government to give them the resources, spreading the costs, both in real terms and in terms of potentially more valuable uses, to the rest of us.

SELL IT TO THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS

An example of how government ownership of resources costs society is the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), where oil companies are battling environmentalists for the right to drill. Environmentalists want the refuge to be off limits to all industry, because they want to preserve its pristine qualities. Oil companies want to exploit a potentially profitable resource. The future of the refuge will be determined by the federal government. If environmentalists have their way, potential billions of dollars worth of resources, valuable to the entire economy and thus to every American, will go untapped. If the oil companies win out, thousands of acres of land will probably be destroyed, and hundreds of animals, many endangered already, will be threatened. The situation is zero-sum, an apparent tradeoff between one valued good and another. The decision will be made not on the market, where consumers can express their preferences through prices, but politically, where rhetoric rules.

The real tragedy in the case of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is that the decision over how to use the refuge doesn't have to be either/or. The National Audubon Society, for example, owns over 26,000 acres of wildlife refuge in Vermilion Parish, Louisiana. This refuge, the Rainey Wildlife Sanctuary, is very similar in its abundance of wildlife and pristine conditions to ANWR. Interestingly enough, although Audubon opposes drilling in ANWR, they have allowed three oil and gas companies to drill in Rainey, and have received royalties from the drilling of nearly $1 million a year. Unlike drilling on public land, where controls are lax (remember, the bureaucrats run things there), the oil companies were contractually obligated to drill only at certain times using special techniques so as not to harm the surroundings or disturb the wildlife. The companies accepted these terms not because of altruism, but because the property is privately owned, and could not be captured politically. Not a drop of oil was spilled, because watchful Audubon officials were present to insure the safety of their refuge. Such is the power of private ownership.

Environmental False Alarms

1798: Thomas Malthus predicted that famines caused by overpopulation would become more common and more severe. But maybe we need to wait more than 191 years.

1900s: Teddy Roosevelt's chief of the Forest Service decided that the country was running out of timber.

1960s: The Population Bomb — Paul Ehrlich created quite a stir when he warned that by 1977, large scale famines would kill off large numbers of people who could not get food. Wrong again.

1970s: A book called *The Cooling* arguing for the imminent approach of the next Ice Age was published and supported by many prominent scientists.

1970s: Mercury Scare in Fish — the high levels of mercury found in some fish did not hurt the fish and were not caused by human pollution but by nature.

1980s: Superfund — designed to clean up toxic waste dumps, this across-the-board tax has done nothing to encourage companies to handle their waste properly and has actually created new toxic waste dumps with the waste of others.

— Jason James

SAVING THE ELEPHANTS : DESPITE THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS

Experience shows that private ownership works just as well for endangered species as for land. This summer, President Bush, along with other world leaders, agreed to a ban on ivory trade in an effort to save the African elephant, whose number had fallen in Kenya alone from 65,000 to 18,000 in just 8 years due to poaching. International environmental groups like the World Wildlife Fund publicized these declining numbers, citing population declines in Central and East Africa as evidence of the need for an immediate ban on ivory trade. What these environmentalists neglected to report is that in several Southern African countries, including Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe, the African elephant population is *increasing* by about 5% annually, and now accounts for 20% of the continent's total elephant population. The reason? These countries allow a limited form of private ownership.

Villagers around the game parks where the African elephants live are allowed to sell hunting rights for elephants that come onto their land. The villagers in these countries protect the elephants, because they are a source of profit. Villagers in Kenya, by contrast, work as guides and look-outs for illegal poachers, because for them the elephants are nothing but competitors for scarce resources. While in Kenya villagers work for the poachers, in Zimbabwe they shoot the poachers on sight. Anyone who doesn't believe that private owners can protect nature as well as government bureaucrats would do well to consider the body count of poachers in Zimbabwe. Indeed, in East and Central African game parks, government officials not only do little to stop the killing of elephants, they often receive a bulk of the profits.

Unfortunately, the international ivory ban will only serve to eliminate the value these elephants have to the community, while increasing their value to criminals willing to trade ivory on the black market. Poaching will increase, while protection by legitimate businessmen, the Southern African villagers, will decrease. By supporting the elimination of a market, environmentalists are issuing a death warrant for the African elephant.

AVOIDING ANOTHER *VALDEZ*

Well defined property rights could have averred, or at least mitigated, the damage done off the coast of Alaska earlier this year by the Exxon oil tanker *Valdez*. The fact that nobody owned the shoreline, coves, inlets, and fishing grounds damaged by the spill meant that Exxon was obligated only by publicity concerns and fear of a government lawsuit to clean up portions of their mess, and then only to the satisfaction of Uncle Sam (and we all know what high environmental standards the feds have).

Contrast the Alaskan coast with a private street. If the *Valdez* had been a tanker truck driving down this street, and it overturned and spilled oil into neighboring yards, Exxon clean-up crews would have been on the scene immediately. Why? Lawsuits. If Exxon did not restore people's property to its original condition, or compensate them for their losses, they could take the company to court.

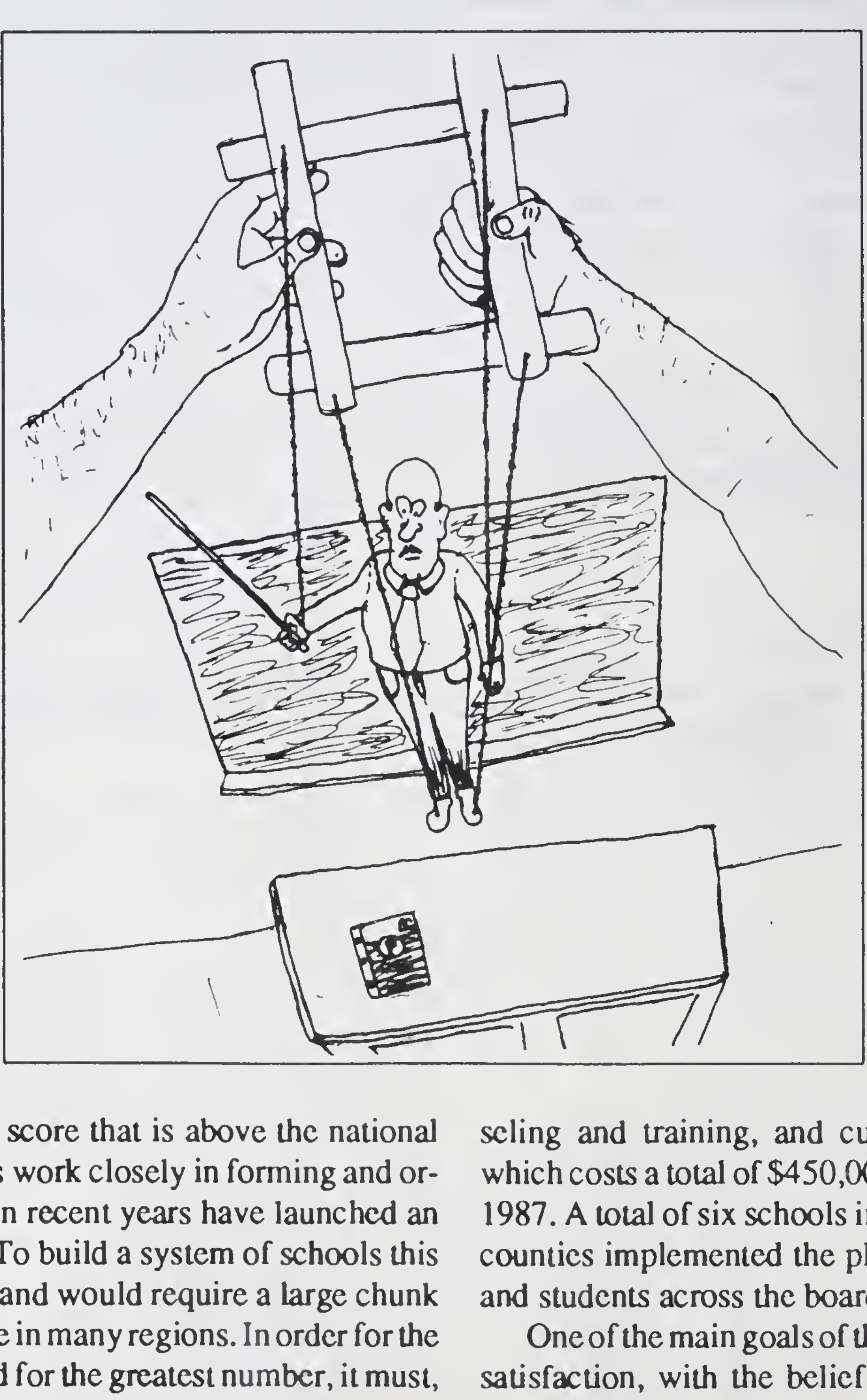
(continued on page 31)

OUR ALTERED STATE / DEBORAH UEBE

Decentralizing Education

The Lead Teacher Program

North Carolina is facing a crisis in education, particularly in its rural Eastern schools. Dropout rates are too high; 3,890 left school in the Eastern region last year. Few people dare to mention SAT's or classroom performance. Rural communities especially resent the newer, larger schools which alienate the community and intimidate the students. With SAT scores the lowest in the country, the N.C. General Assembly is certain to seek a quick solution to the problem by throwing more money at the ailing school system. Instead they should take a second look at the one reform which has been proven effective — decentralization.



Small schools are, to use a metaphor, the flowers among the weeds in rural Eastern North Carolina schools. They have shown marked improvement in student performance over the past few years. Students in these schools receive more personal attention and, therefore, are motivated to do better. Gatesville School, with a student body of about 200, reports a 96% attendance rate, and an average California Achievement Test score that is above the national average. The faculty members work closely in forming and organizing the curriculum and in recent years have launched an impressive writing program. To build a system of schools this size is too costly for the state and would require a large chunk of local money, which is scarce in many regions. In order for the state to effect the greatest good for the greatest number, it must, as one official said, get the most "bang for a buck" and consolidate schools.

These consolidated schools, however, are providing an inadequate education for many students. The problem is not a lack of funding, or even a lack of reform. North Carolina's Basic Education Program (BEP) has appropriated nearly a billion dollars over the last four years, and has received about $400 million to extend over the next four. The money has been directed mostly toward expanding curricula to include programs in foreign languages and the arts in the hope of improving student performance and attitude, as well as simply broadening the scope of education. Educators have noted some improvements, but many view the changes negatively, saying that the days are "too full" and that, in trying to teach too much, the students are not gaining a firm grasp of the basics. Noticing the problem, however, is of no use when teachers and school administrators lack the small school flexibility to manipulate their resources.

It is this flexibility problem that North Carolina's Lead Teacher Program appears to solve; allowing small school organization on a large scale. Similar programs are used in West Germany and are generally regarded as very successful. The Lead Teacher Program essentially puts reform in the hands of "teams" of teachers assembled within a school according to grade level or subject. These teams then select a leader, the Lead Teacher, whose jobs include team management, student placement, peer counseling and training, and curriculum adviser. The program, which costs a total of $450,000, began a two year trial period in 1987. A total of six schools in Granville, Stanly, and Haywood counties implemented the plan with good results for teachers and students across the board.

One of the main goals of the program was to increase teacher satisfaction, with the belief that happy teachers give rise to happy students. During the program's trial run, teachers reported higher morale due to new professionalism and to having an active part in decision making. Close to 90% endorse the project wholeheartedly. Some have even refused higher paying jobs or postponed retirements to work in schools using the

(continued on page 29)

Students Get No Choice on the SRC

by Charlton Allen

AUTOCRATS OFTEN use past election returns to justify a government policy, or even their own existence. Adolf Hitler pointed to a Nazi plurality in the Reichstag of the early 1930s throughout his dictatorial regime. Vladimir Lenin and his gang of cutthroat Bolsheviks deceived the Russian populace into believing there was a Bolshevik majority in the non-convened 1917 Constituent Assembly in order to justify their stranglehold on power and their authoritarian policies. And now UNCs revered Student Congress, by a 17 to 9 vote, has effectively stifled the democratic process and denied this year's freshmen the fundamental and inalienable right to determine their future, in this case, whether or not the class of 1993 and future classes will foot the bill for the Carolina Athletic Association's (CAA) zealous support of the Student Recreation Center (SRC).

Last spring, in a student referendum, the student body halfheartedly approved a measure authorizing the construction of a new recreation facility. The majority of the Student Congress felt this was a legitimate vote, since there was a 22% turnout, and a whopping 56% of these voters supported the measure. A little math shows that a "majority" equal to 13% of last year's student body voted to construct this monument to luxury. Despite this fact, these Congress members believe that the opinions and concerns of those who will fund the facility are unimportant. The SRC decision is a blatant example of what happens when an elite, egocentric group decides that it knows better than its constituents.

In the SRC decision, Student Congress not only distorted traditional concepts of democracy, they shredded it beyond recognition. Proponents of the SRC presented a letter from an '89 graduate in support of their position. Montague Dixon, the letter's author, whined that a second vote was an insult to his competence, yet he will never pay for or use the SRC. For him to claim he is more "competent" than those who will do both is the same as valuing the opinions of Tennessee voters over North Carolina voters in this state's gubernatorial elections.

In democracies, elections are never chiseled in granite, the people are allowed the right to change their minds. Jurgen Buchenau (Dist. 3) compared the SRC referendum to U.S. presidential elections. This comparison is not only erroneous, it demonstrates either a lack of political research, or simply poor logic. Buchenau claims that Americans "can't vote again after two years" (It's four years, Jurgen). Once the SRC is contracted, students won't have another chance to change their minds, yet Buchenau thinks this is fine. By Mr. Buchenau's standards, in 1976 Jimmy Carter was elected president — for life.

Rep. Jeffrey Beall (Dist. 7), the main supporter of a revote, noted that if the U.S. Congress had been as obstinate as Student Congress, the amendment prohibiting alcoholic beverages in the '20s would have never been repealed. Beall also noted that the *Daily Tar Heel*, immediately after the February elections headlined "Violations Plague Elections." Beall stated that the intentions of a revote was not to kill the SRC, but to give students, especially freshmen, the chance to express their opinions on this issue, in light of recent events.

The main opponent of a revote on the SRC is CAA president Lisa Frye. The CAA, however, should represent the opinions of current students—including freshmen. To do this responsibly, there has to be some measurement of student opinion, like a referendum. "Polls" taken by groups such as the Graduate and Professional Student Federation will not suffice because: (1) a poll of 32 graduate students is hardly a scientific, representative survey of the entire student body; (2) the graduate students will never pay for the center; and most importantly, (3) the fact that this poll was taken concedes the point that some sort of device is needed to determine if the SRC is still desired. As Andrew Jackson said, "For fair and frequent elections, there is no substitute."

(continued on page 29)

So You Want
To Be a Journalist?

Scholarships are now available for youthful journalists at the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C.

The NJC, established in 1977 to help correct imbalances in the media, trains young people in the basic skills of journalism, within a context of traditional values.

Highlights of the program include:

° Location on Capitol Hill
° Three 12-week sessions annually (summer, fall, winter)
° Practical experience with newspapers, magazines, columnists, news services
° $1,200 scholarship
° Assistance with housing location
° Seminars with working journalists and public officials
° Job placement services

If you are interested in pursuing a career in journalism and would like further information about the NJC, contact M. Stanton Evans, National Journalism Center, 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002(Phone: 202-544-1333.

Sex Crimes

Harry Dolan

On September 12, the House ethics committee began an official investigation of the relationship between Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts and male prostitute Steven Gobie. Frank has admitted that he answered an ad in a gay newspaper and paid for sex with Gobie in 1985. For the next two years, while employed by Frank as a driver and housekeeper, Gobie used the congressman's apartment for prostitution, and he alleges that Frank was aware of this activity. As the investigation progresses, we are bound to hear more about whether Frank actually was aware and whether his relationship with Gobie violated House ethical standards. We have already heard calls for Frank's resignation, and more of the same are likely to follow.

If some adults choose to exchange money for sexual services, that is their business.

But what we will not hear — from the press, from ethics committee members, or from any of our elected leaders — is a rational debate over whether prostitution ought to be illegal in the first place. To engage in such a debate would be to explore a fundamental issue, an issue involving individual rights. They will not touch it.

If individual human beings have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then there can be no justification for legally prohibiting consenting adults from engaging in any activity which does not violate the rights of others. If some adults choose to exchange money for sexual services, that is their business. Others may be offended by such activity, but in a free society there can be no such thing as a right not to be offended. Some people may feel a sense of moral indignation toward prostitutes and their clients, and they are free to express that indignation in any manner they choose — as long as they do not violate anyone's rights. Some may be repulsed by the very idea of buying and selling sex, but if they advocate the criminalization of prostitution — or of any other form of sexual activity between consenting adults — they are acting on an idea that is far more repulsive to anyone who values freedom: the idea that society or the state owns the bodies of its members.

To own a thing is to control its use. To own one's body is to be free to decide to engage in any activity one chooses, so long as one respects the freedom of others to do the same. If the free use of one's body is legally proscribed by society, then society has, in effect, proclaimed its ownership of one's body, to the extent of the proscription.

On what grounds, then, have laws been passed against prostitution? A number of justifications have been offered, ranging from a concern for the well-being of prostitutes and their clients to a pressing need to prevent the spread of venereal disease. Each of the interests commonly cited as reasons for prohibiting prostitution could be served as well or better by decriminalization. Let us examine some of these interests more closely:

A concern for the well-being of prostitutes and clients: This is laughable. One does not express concern for someone by subjecting him or her to harassment, fines, or imprisonment. Perhaps the idea here is that prospective prostitutes and clients will recognize prostitution laws as signs of society's noble concern for them and thus be shamed into not taking part in the business in the first place. Yeah, that must be it...

Prevention of incidental crimes associated with prostitution: This is a legitimate concern, but one that certainly cannot be promoted by criminalization, since criminalization is part of the problem. Crimes associated with prostitution in-

(continued on page 30)

Essays

Send in the Clones

SHARON SENTELLE & LEE NEWCOMB

Imagine, if you will... It is election day. The year is not important, but it is in the very near future. For months, you have pondered your choices, weighed the facts, considered the options. You pull the levers... Candidate A... Candidate B... Candidate C... The choices, like the year, are not important, for the names are merely different wrappings for the same package. The candidates look different. They talk differently. They might even appear to disagree. However, the real choices were made months before. Whoever is victorious will soon adopt the pre-determined "party line," will become a "true believer." He will follow the dictates of the party elite. Small differences and individual thoughts will be cast aside as "positions modified after further consideration." Powerful entities will see to it.

Where is this strange land, a land where individual thought and choice are replaced by scripted candidates, a place where voters decide only the names, not the ideas? The Soviet Union? East Germany? A Third World dictatorship? No. The time and place of which we speak are closer than you might think. In fact, the time is the present, the place is the United States. You may even participate. The events we have described are those of the Democratic primaries for the 1990 elections.

Confused? Let us explain...

Since it is becoming apparent that no prominent Democrat is willing to risk his political career with a loss to incumbent N.C. Senator Jesse Helms, Democratic strategists have developed a new plan of attack. Elite party leaders have decided that dissension within the Party must be eliminated before the public becomes involved.

Everett Ward, Executive Director of the N.C. Democratic Party, discussed this plan recently at UNC. A series of "white paper meetings" will be held beginning September 30 and concluding in December, to develop a cohesive policy statement for Democratic candidates to follow, he said. Ward, who commented that he "used to think people were intelligent enough to know what the real issues were," said that in these meetings select strategists will "pick and choose" issues that they feel will go over well with voters.

When Democratic candidates emerge from the primaries, they will be given these in-depth instructions on what issues to focus on, what the voters want to hear about these issues, what answers to give to media questions, etc. The candidates will thus be "guided" in their campaigns, Ward said.

What's the problem? Check your calendar. The primary has not yet been held. Isn't the primary a chance for voters to see which candidate agrees most with their ideas? But since the issues will have been decided long before the vote, all that Democrats will be choosing is what name and face will appear on commercials spouting the Party line. If the candidate wants the support of the Party, he will adopt its pre-determined stands.

Well, who is attending these "white papers meetings?" A representative sample of the Democratic Party? Maybe the same delegates who voted on the platform? No, not quite. Charlotte Johnston, Administrative Assistant to the N.C. Democratic Party, revealed that the directors of these meetings chose who would be included. Calling the meetings "Future Focus Groups," Johnston said that they were very small groups, so of course not everyone could be involved.

Johnston expressed her opinion that "Diversity can be the Democrats' weakest point as well as their strongest." Some N.C. Democrats are almost Republicans, she said,"but many are almost Communist." (Well, at last somebody finally admitted it!)

Apparently these meetings will decide whether the near-Republicans or the near-Communists will determine the Party line. Don't you wish you knew who was attending these meetings? The process itself might lend a clue as to which side is in control!

The primary has become immaterial. According to Johnston, "A few years ago the cry was for more openness in the process. Now a lot of people think that the old way might have been better and that we ought to go back to the smoke-filled rooms."

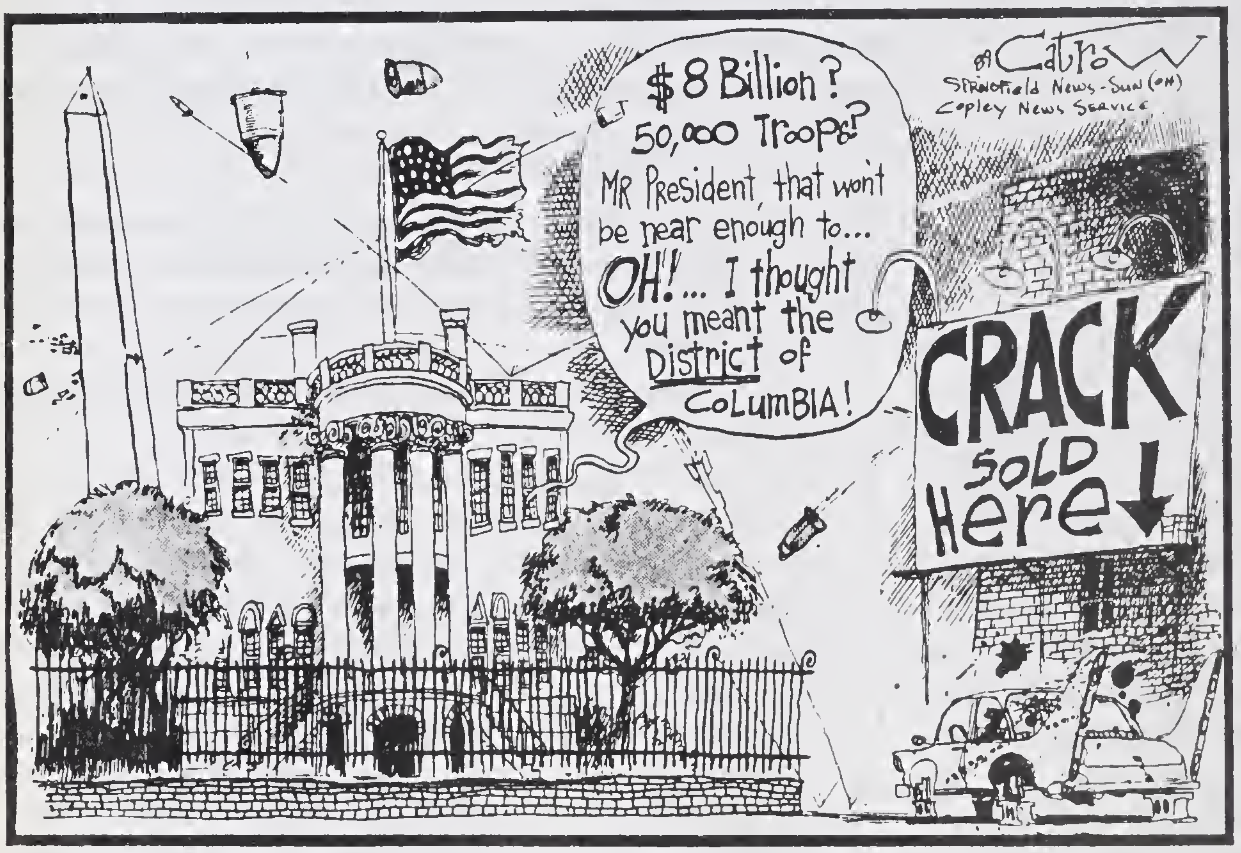
Apparently this transition has begun. Ω

Sharon has helped Lee move to the political Left by involving him in College Republicans.

Just Say No to Bush's "Andean Strategy"

CHANNING ROUSE

Talking out of both sides of your mouth is difficult, but President Bush and other proponents of the Andean strategy are handling the task with relative ease. The Bush administration is using a tone of moral outrage to propel its militant drug posture in Latin America, but the actual results of giving military assistance for coca crop eradication will be far from moral. Ignoring the dire political consequences of a proposal already doomed by economic realities to fail, is not only irresponsible, but intolerable.


$8 Billion? 50,000 Troops? MR President, that won't be near enough to... OH!... I thought you meant the District of ColumBIA!
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Springfield News-Sun (OH)
Copley News Service
CRACK SOLD Here

Although the Colombian government is requesting U.S. aid in an attempt to quell the power of the drug cartels, this stance will only succeed in undermining its position. More than 10 percent of the Colombian population is estimated to be directly employed in the drug trade. Quite logically, elimination of literally hundreds of thousands of jobs does not bode well for domestic tranquility. The peasant base of the country will suffer significantly and as a result will be vulnerable to the promises of security made by the drug cartels, as well as to the emotional appeal of insurgency movements.

The rise of Maoist guerrillas in Peru provides a case in point. While the United States has been coercing the Peruvian government to decrease its country's coca production, (and in some instances has trained and equipped forces to destroy the fields of uncooperative peasants) hostility towards the fragile democratic regime is increasing. By fostering anti-American sentiment and simultaneously eliminating the livelihood of a substantial proportion of the population, U.S. policy is directly encouraging support for the leftist-group Shining Path.

The Peruvian situation is not unique. Communist insurgencies pose a threat to the government of Bolivia and Columbia as well. And not surprisingly, there is an increasing trend for the powerful drug cartels to align themselves with these guerrilla groups in an attempt to further their own interests. Such an alliance propels the power and influence of leftist movements and poses a grave threat to the fledgling democracies in the region.

By soliciting U.S. military assistance to eradicate drug production, Colombia is the exception rather than the rule. Coca is grown as a legal cash crop in both Peru and Bolivia, and that accounts for as much as 27 and 95 percent of their respective legitimate exports. Expecting the Andean nations to voluntarily destroy their primary means of revenue is ludicrous and demonstrates extreme short-sightedness on the part of the Bush administration. American proposals of economic aid are comparably minute; the $65 million "emergency assistance" package cannot begin to offset the severe recession which many government officials and economists agree would result from an end to the drug trade.

Even if American drug eradication efforts succeed in the Andean region, production efforts will simply shift to neighboring states or to other areas in the world. The demand for a product provides a market which inevitably gives rise to supply. The administration that claims a commitment to the preservation of capitalism does not understand, (or is ignoring) basic economic principles.

Past attempts by the United states to eliminate the drug supply has succeeded only in diversifying narcotic production across a wider geographic spectrum. Particularly important to note is that previous U.S. efforts to eliminate Colombian cocaine production did not decrease drug trafficking to the United States. Instead, other Latin American nations such as Venezuela and Brazil sought to increase their share of the market. State Department statistics, in fact, graphically portray the inadequacy of an Andean strategy. During U.S. drug campaigns of 1983 through 1984, cocaine production rose by approximately 37 percent.

What Ethan Nadelman, professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University, has dubbed as the "push-down, pop-up factor" is sound — not only in theory but in practice. The drug habits of U.S. citizens will be satiated. If the Medellin cartel is shoved out of the market, then other suppliers will rush in to fill the void. Economically speaking, the Andean strategy is an exercise in futility.

The "war on drugs" is a misnomer. In actuality, Bush's proposal is little more than a war on the people of Latin America and a threat to the vital security interests of the United States. Diversifying cocaine production while simultaneously nurturing communism in the Western hemisphere is inconsistent as well as counterproductive to U.S. foreign policy objectives. There is nothing to gain from a military drug campaign in the Andean region and everything to lose. It is time for the administration to realize that domestic problems must be handled internally — not by fostering economic instability and political turmoil in unsuspecting Latin American nations. Ω

Channing is the producer of Student Television's new talk show, Campus Roundtable.

Sex Ed is Valuable

(continued from page 5)

against abortion. In a world governed by such beliefs, many young women would have no manner in which to end an unwanted an pregnancy and more importantly, would have no knowledge of how to prevent one. It is obvious that such narrow-minded ideology serves no practical purpose.

Fortunately, however, sex education combined with access to birth control has been proven effective method in reducing teenage pregnancy as well as sexually transmitted diseases. Two studies in particular should give impetus for a reassessment of current sex education programs in the United States.

A comparative study of Western Europe and the United States found that American teenagers have higher rates of unintended pregnancy and abortion than other teenagers in England, France, the Netherlands, or Sweden. Surprisingly though, American teens are not more sexually active than the teenagers of Western Europe. The study concluded that the higher proportion of unwanted pregnancy among teenagers in the U.S. can be directly attributed to less frequent use of birth control.

Sweden, for example, maintains one of the lowest teen pregnancy rates even thought its teenagers start to have sexual intercourse at an earlier age than other Europeans or Americans. In contrast with the United States, Swedish law requires sex education be taught in the schools, and there is a close link between school and health clinics where students can receive free contraceptives.

A similar program initiated in the United States by the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine provided medical services, contraception and counseling to junior and senior high school students from inner-city Baltimore, in conjunction with their sex education classes. During the 28 months the program was in place, pregnancy rates declined by 30 percent.

As the old adage goes, "the road to hell is paved with good intentions." While opponents of sex education in the schools are waging war, society is paying the price. Unwanted pregnancy, and sexually of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS, can be prevented. But only when people are armed with comprehensive knowledge and resources, will they be fully capable of overcoming peer pressure or at the very least provide themselves with adequate protection. Sex education cannot fill the moral vacuum in society — but then again, that's not its purpose. Educating young adults about the consequences of their actions should be a mandate in a country where sexual activity has become the rule, rather than the exception. Ω

Channing stunned official Washington this summer with her Southern charm, refined intellect, and strapless leather dress.

Say No to Sex Ed

(continued from page 5)

between "church and state" is not violated.

Sex education in schools should be abolished because its current structure is detrimental to students, and a factor in many visible social ills in today's permissive society. Teenage pregnancy, deadly sexually transmitted diseases, and abortion as birth control must be fought with a profound change in attitudes and values, not misguided government intervention in the lives of American families.

American schools would be well advised to teach their students how to read and write (wasn't that once a priority?), rather than sanction irresponsible sexual behavior. Ω

Peter wants singer Lita Ford to teach him what he didn't learn from school.

Germany

(continued from page 15)

1953.

Americans see Europe with a "good" Germany and a "bad"Germany, the Federal Republic (West) and the German Democratic Republic (East) respectively. The former are the nice chaps that make good beer, BMWs and live in the Black Forest, while the latter produce large, muscular and quite unattractive females named Helga that win lots of Olympic medals. The two are one and the same people. The division of Germany is artificial—a relic of the Second World War and Cold War political realities. They see each other as being part of the same whole, indeed their border is referred to as German-German. Greater East German ties to West Germany would be domestically popular and ensure large scale investment. The Federal Republic prides itself on *Ostpolitik*, a policy of large scale financial involvement in Eastern Europe. An ever increasing web of trade and tourism would quickly draw the two nations together. It would not take much to start talk of unification, especially in West Germany, a move that would alter the balance of world power that has existed since World War II. Those leaders that bring Germany closer will be national heroes.

A reunification would also do much to lift the guilt of the Hitler era from the minds of the German people, allowing Germany to act more assertively on the world stage. This united

Germany could also make territorial claims to parts of the Soviet Union and Poland and be a great counterweight to Russia in all of Eastern Europe.

To the Soviet Union, none of the nations of Eastern Europe is as important as East Germany. Though the richest of the Eastern bloc nations, the German Democratic (sic) Republic's importance has little to do with population or industrial strength and everything to do with history and geography. The struggle of the past forty plus years between America and Russia has been largely for the hearts, minds and land of Germans. East Germany is the front line to the Soviets, the base for several hundred thousand troops upon which its military strategy is built. It also serves as a buffer zone against an invasion of Russia proper.

A combined Germany would also be perceived as a threat (whether real or not). The Russian people still remember Hitler's soldiers before Moscow. Already, the Federal Republic is the leading economic power of Western Europe, a giant beside the likes of France, Italy or Great Britain.

How probable is this scenario? Not likely perhaps, but then again, who would have predicted a non-Communist led government in Poland five years ago? Or even six months ago? It seems that virtually anything can happen in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe now. Change, for good or bad, bloody or peaceful, will certainly continue to occur. Should reform reach East Germany, Soviet *perestroika* and *glasnost*, and Gorbachev's abilities, will be tested to the limit. Ω

Michael finds the social life to be seriously lacking at NC State, where he is a graduate student.

Flag Burning

(continued from page 16)

property rights over particular flags, saying that because of its symbolic meaning, individuals can only act as "custodians" and not outright owners of particular flags.

This would be a peculiar notion indeed. We are being asked to accept the idea that individuals lose clear title to their property when a group of people (congress and/or the "public") decide that it is too important to be "mistreated." But by what right can they say what you may do to your particular flag? Is it that they cannot "tolerate" the message you might wish to communicate with "their" flag?

This is not, despite appearances, a free speech issue. Freedom of speech can easily be understood as an extension of property rights. If you are stopped by the government from speaking on some topic in a lecture hall *you own*, your freedom of speech has been violated, but only as a consequence of a more fundamental violation of your property rights. The government would be prohibiting you from using your property freely. That you wished to have your property serve as a forum for ideas is secondary. The point is that you were going to exercise your property rights, not violate the rights of another, so the government or the community had no business stopping you.

It's still different, the flag "defenders" may insist. The American flag is just that: a flag owned by the country. So the country can decide how the flag may be treated.

At best this point is a silly sophistry, at worst a blatant rejection of individual rights. A "nation" cannot "own" anything, let alone an abstract idea. Ownership is a relation some individual or specific group of individuals bears to objects. "America" does not qualify as an owner and thus cannot own things. But we'll never be told that "America" owns all American flags everywhere but that it owns *the* American flag. So then why are they stopping us from "mistreating" our particular American flags? Just because it is called an American flag does not mean that it belongs to the country. The terms "American" or "United States" in "American flag" or "United States flag" are descriptive, not possessive modifiers. Are we the property of the nation because we are all American citizens? What this all means is that though a symbol might represent a country, that country can have no say in what people do with their copies of that symbol.

Once confronted with the bankruptcy of their arguments, flag "defenders" resort to emotional appeals: "We can't allow people to tarnish American flags our boys died defending on the battlefield."

Well, "our" boys didn't fight wars to defend some particular flag you might wish to burn. They didn't leap onto grenades in defense of all the colorful pieces of fabric that existed, then or now, called American flags. Nor did they wade through Vietnamese swamps in defense of the abstract idea of the flag. What they might have been doing is defending what the flag stands for, and if the idea of the flag stands for anything, it at least represents the notion that a respect for individual liberty is the only valid basis for a moral and prosperous society. Did "our" boys crouch in foxholes to protect the "right" of the "community" to dictate what people may do with their personal property?

The flag you buy at your local K-Mart becomes your property. It is then a patch of patterned fabric to which you hold title. If someone were to take this piece of fabric from you without your consent, that person would be a thief. If someone were to hold a gun to your head and threaten you with imprisonment if you treated your flag in ways that person didn't like, then that person would be a thug. Somehow, when the government acts like a thug, it gets colorfully redescribed as "patriotism."

This is how the debate should be conducted: by examining the *principles* behind the positions on both sides. We must ask ourselves if we are willing to uphold any laws outlawing flag desecration, for such laws can only affect particular flags owned by particular people. The principle behind such laws is that whenever a group of people invest great value in some object you own, they can tell you what you can do with that object. The more fundamental principle at work is that rights are dependent on community "feelings." Once these principles are accepted, government won't just stop with deciding what we can do with our flags. There would be *no* personal property exempt from public control. These are not principles upon which America was founded. These are not principles for which the flag stands.

America was created with the idea that society and government must be subordinated to individual rights. Which means that individuals have property rights which cannot be voted or legislated away without due process. It also means that individuals can do what they want with their property. Thus they have a right to mutilate, deface, burn, or trample a flag they own. And if the sight of a flag-burning so offends someone, a remedy can be found by consulting another principle represented by the flag, namely, the freedom to look away. Ω

Andrew is a graduate student in philosophy who claims to love mom and apple pie.

Phoenix Publishing Center

(continued from page 17)

independent publication. It would certainly be a more valuable experience than to guarantee them funding for the next semester. Surely the legendary founder of The Phoenix has learned to stand on his own two feet, and is not still living off his father's wealth. Shouldn't his creation learn to do the same? Let The *Phoenix* prove its worth to everyone. Let it pay its own way. Let working for The *Phoenix* teach prospective journalists the true difficulties of independent publication by letting them sink or swim on their own merit. Ω

Shawn and Daryl spent most of the Student Congress meeting rying to figure out if Ed Davis was Gene's evil twin.

Lead Teacher Program

(continued from page 22)

rogram. Staff attendance at "pilot schools" remained high. In survey, 100% of the teachers questioned agreed that the Lead eacher program has improved the staff's attitude toward the chool. Teachers also appreciated the professional guidance nd training of the Lead Teacher.

Smiling faces at the blackboard positively affected students. erhaps the biggest boon to students was the program's virtual limination of over-sized and combination classes, as well as e opportunity to take challenging courses outside their grade vel. In one school, Toler-Oak Hill, a new computer learning system and other innovative teaching techniques have proven the benefits of flexibility to student performance; many students are performing tasks above their grade level with proficiency. Students in Lead Teacher schools also seem more enthusiastic; one school reports "an increase of 98 days for instruction" based on students' rising attendance. Average SAT scores increased up to 111 points. Students also received higher scores on Achievement and writing tests, as well as on curriculum-based tests given by the schools.

The Lead Teacher Program seems to have proven that passing the buck can work. By shifting the responsibility of reform to individual schools and watching for the results of these reforms, state legislators may have found the perfect solution to North Carolina's education problems. They have relieved themselves of a great burden, yet it is a burden that educators seem able and, more importantly, happy to take on. Ω

Deborah is a freshman who has declared English and History as her majors. This is subject to change without notice.

Student Rec Center

(continued from page 23)

In order to justify her unrelenting stance, Frye stated she is representing the students who voted her into office. In this, she is entirely off base. Last year's student body elected Frye to represent **this year's** student body. To fulfill this requirement, Frye should insist on a second referendum to prove there is a strong base of support for the SRC in this year's freshman class. How else can she adequately represent her new constituents? No one seriously believes she is "Carnac the Magnificent," able to "divine" student opinion at will. But don't tell her that.

If the student body truly supports the SRC, what could Student Congress and the CAA possibly fear in a second vote? A revote would confirm the first election and silence SRC opponents. Why then is the CAA opposed to a revote? Easy. They are afraid that students will learn that: (1) the SRC will have no showers, bathrooms, or locker rooms; (2) the CAA, as the only source of information, displayed a conflict of interest in its support of the SRC; and (3) the CAA's proposal no longer meets the parameters established by the first vote.

Originally, the CAA claimed that students needed a recreation facility with more flexible hours than the current facilities. Without proper bathroom and locker facilities, however, the SRC will be restricted to Fetzer Gym's hours, leaving a primary reason for its construction unfulfilled. Last year's CAA president, Carol Geer, stated that the new facility "would be open for student body use at all times." Either the CAA did not do its homework in researching the SRC facility, or they deceived the students. Regardless, another referendum is in order.

The DTH only aggravated the matter with slanted reporting. According to Dr. John Silva, a professor in the UNC Physical Education Department, the DTH "suppressed information" concerning the facility's design limitations, site selection, etc. Furthermore, the DTH refused to print a letter concerning the SRC from Dr. Silva. As a consequence of his recent experience with the DTH, Dr. Silva stated he doubts the "*Daily Tar Heel*'s present ability to be managed in a manner sensitive to the concerns of the clientele it serves — the students and the university community."

The CAA, continues to play a dubious role in the SRC shenanigans. At the recent Student Congress meeting, the CAA presented Wayne Going as a full-fledged spokesman and member of the PE department. In fact, Going is merely a non-tenured instructor who cannot vote legitimately in faculty meetings. The CAA and the DTH inaccurately stated the results of a PE faculty meeting concerning the SRC, a vote about which many irregularities were reported. For example: (1) one faculty member opposed to the SRC was absent and denied an absentee vote, thus allowing the chairman of the department to break a tie vote that should have gone the other way; (2) the CAA was allowed to speak to the faculty while opponents of the SRC were not, wrongly influencing the vote; and (3) numerous rules of parliamentary procedure were broken. The vote is now under investigation and appeal.

These incidents are further examples of how the proponents of the SRC have railroaded the project without regard to the legitimate concerns of those who question its necessity. Mr. Going exclaimed that a second vote on the SRC would throw the physical fitness of UNC students back 100 years . Although Going's claim was absurd, he does raise an interesting point. If there is not a vote in which the students who will fund this center are allowed to participate, it will set us back in time. Two hundred and thirteen years to be precise. Back to the time when American colonists were taxed without representation.

The SRC has proven a veritable Pandora's box. Those who oppose the revote made numerous statements reflecting a disregard for students. One congressman stated, "freshmen chose to come to UNC... You've bought it." Carol Geer, past CAA president, supported the SRC by stating, "we (the upperclassmen) will also not have to pay for it." If there is truly a need for the SRC, the CAA and the Student Congress have nothing to fear from a second, legitimate vote. Municipalities commonly have revotes on tax bonds and similar referendums as situations and information change. The SRC should not be different. The "representatives" who are against a freshman vote on this issue should not ask freshmen to re-elect them.Ω

Charlton Allen is a freshman and is thus qualified to write this article.

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Prostitution

(continued from page 24)

clude those committed against clients by prostitutes (most typically, theft) and those committed against prostitutes by clients or by pimps (theft, assault, rape or even murder). Since involvement in prostitution itself is illegal, incidental crimes of this sort are not likely to be reported to the police, and thus are likely to go unpunished. If prostitution were legal, services could be provided through legitimate agencies and business establishments (brothels); it would be in the interests of such establishments to provide for the security of their clients and employees. Moreover, destructive relationships between pimps and prostitutes would be less likely. As long as prostitution is an illegal activity the prostitute is in a sense tied to her pimp: she needs him to provide protection against police, to post her bail if she is arrested, to prevent her being victimized by clients or by rival pimps. If all pimps were caring and trustworthy, this would not be a bad arrangement, but criminalization ensures that only the most violent and least risk-averse will elect to become pimps: thus prostitutes must put up with abusive pimps since they have no better alternative.

Elimination of "public nuisance" caused by streetwalkers: Here again, decriminalization is the answer: if it were legal to operate brothels and to advertise prostitution, prostitutes would be less likely to walk the streets — as was the case in the early decades of this century, when brothels (though not legal) were generally more tolerated by law enforcement officials. If some further measure is needed to eliminate the "public nuisance" of streetwalkers, the answer is not to ban prostitutes from the streets but *to privatize the streets*, thus converting a "public nuisance" to several "private nuisances" which can be dealt with more readily and in a manner consistent with respect for individual rights. The private owners of different streets (who might be individuals or associations of individuals) could decide whether or not to allow prostitutes access to their streets. People engaging in prostitution could then be ordered to leave or escorted away; if they refused to go, or if they kept coming back, then they could be charged — not with prostitution but with *trespassing*.

Protection of children from harmful influences: Sooner or later we must abandon the notion that the protection of children requires or justifies the violation of the rights of adults. Decriminalizing sexual transactions engaged in by consenting adults would not mean decriminalizing child prostitution. And once adult prostitution was decriminalized, all the resources which are wasted on enforcing current laws could be concentrated on protecting children from exploitation. Those parents who protest that decriminalizing prostitution would be tantamount to teaching children that it is a good thing to buy and sell sex might better concentrate on teaching their children about the evils of statism and of the idea that their bodies belong to society.

Prevention of the spread of venereal disease: It is outrageous that this is put forward as a reason for *outlawing* prostitution when it is in fact one of the most compelling reasons for decriminalization. The way to eliminate the spread of disease is to make legal the existence of brothels and prostitution agencies, which agencies would then have an interest in insuring that their employees were disease free. This is the case in those counties of Nevada where prostitution, when confined to brothels licensed by the state, is legal. In these brothels, prostitutes are required by law to undergo weekly blood-tests; those who fail may no longer work legally. The result is a very low rate of disease transmission. But that is not to say that government licensing and regulation are the answer: indeed, government licensing of prostitutes is likely to instill in clients a false sense of security — as it has been shown to do in some European countries where it has been put into practice. The prospective client assumes that the government is watching out for him and thus takes no precautions of his own; meanwhile, prostitutes simply operate without licenses or continue to operate after failing a blood test. The client who does not care enough to seek out a reputable brothel is not likely to ask to be shown a government license. The spread of venereal disease will be halted only when individuals take responsibility for their own actions.

But some people do not believe in allowing others to take responsibility for their own actions; they do not approve when prostitution is called a "victimless crime." These are people who seek victims and are willing, where none exist, to make some. They are people who believe that society has the right to control the bodies of individuals. Their crime is the passing of laws against prostitution. Their victims are prostitutes and their clients. If America is to be a land of freedom, of individual liberty, they must be stopped. Ω

Harry Dolan is a graduate student in Philosophy.

Protecting the Environment

(continued from page 21)

If the government sued Exxon for the mess in Alaska, bureaucrats would have no way of knowing the costs of the damage, because they are not direct owners. For an illustration of how well the government estimates costs and prices, consider he Defense Department's $800 hammers, and government sales of mineral-rich land to developers for pennies an acre. These are not the people you would get to appraise your home, and we certainly could not expect them to accurately know the value of vast amounts of indirectly owned property.

The best way to defend nature is to place it in the hands of elf-interested individuals, and let liability laws handle the rest. Rest assured that if the *Valdez* had been shipping oil next to a oast owned by watchful, litigious Alaskans, Exxon would ave taken more precautions to avoid a costly spill. If not, the ompany would have paid for every dime of damage and clean-p costs.

RIGHTS TO POLLUTE?

Even to protect the air, a domain where property rights are very far off in the future, if conceivable at all, some semblance of property rights can be created to at least limit the amount of pollutants. Charging polluters a fee to pollute, for example, gives them an incentive to curtail the pollution. Unfortunately, this entails depending on the government to set a price for pollutants that will reduce air pollution to an optimum level. This is somewhat akin to expecting the Soviet Union to produce soft toilet paper.

Still, experience with tradable emissions permits which allow factories that reduce pollution below set levels to sell pollution "permits" to those who cannot do so as efficiently, demonstrates that pollution "markets" can be created to reduce air pollution. Creating this kind of market will lower pollution at less cost than broad government mandates. Similarly, charging drivers for their auto emissions has the potential to create the same kind of incentive structure. This will create a consumer demand for pollution control technology that, as President Bush says, "harnesses the power of the market" to reduce air pollution. Unfortunately, for President Bush, free markets are more rhetorical rallying points than applicable tools.

IDEOLOGY IS KILLING MOTHER NATURE

Common sense and experience demonstrate that the best way to protect any resource is to place it in the hands of individuals with a direct interest in preserving its value. Still, the majority of environmentalists remain committed to government ownership, partly because of a belief that better government is just over the horizon, and partly because of hostility toward private property. Government, however, has often been nature's greatest enemy.

Perhaps we should distinguish between the activists who are environmentalists only because it is the trendiest way to be socialist, and those who are genuinely concerned about the environment. Those of us who are concerned about Mother Nature would do well to ignore those "environmentalists" who consistently disregard free market solutions to environmental problems simply because these are not in keeping with their own left-wing ideologies. By ignoring market solutions and concentrating on government programs doomed for failure, these groups are indirectly responsible for the demise of the wildlife they claim to care about.

Hopefully, the future of environmentalism lies in the hands of people like Dayton Hyde, an Oregon rancher who bought and landscaped hundreds of acres of land for wildlife, making homes for over 80 species of animals. Contrast his efforts with left-wing environmentalists, who lobbied the government to oversee his activities once they found that he was caring for endangered species. Uninspired by his noble efforts to save animals, and irritated at their own inefficacy using public property, they were more content to have his endeavor brought under government jurisdiction than to assist him, or to imitate his efforts. Hyde, however, still persists in helping the animals he loves, and he does so with private property, not because he is right-wing or libertarian, but simply because it works. Ω

Woodlief is worried about destruction of the Amazonian rainforests and has a plant collection in his room to help lower CO2 levels.

You are cordially invited
to attend a lecture,

South Africa's War Against Capitalism

by

Syndicated Columnist & Professor
at George Mason University

Walter Williams

Tuesday
November 7, 1989

Sponsored by
The Carolina Critic Society,
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The CRITIC

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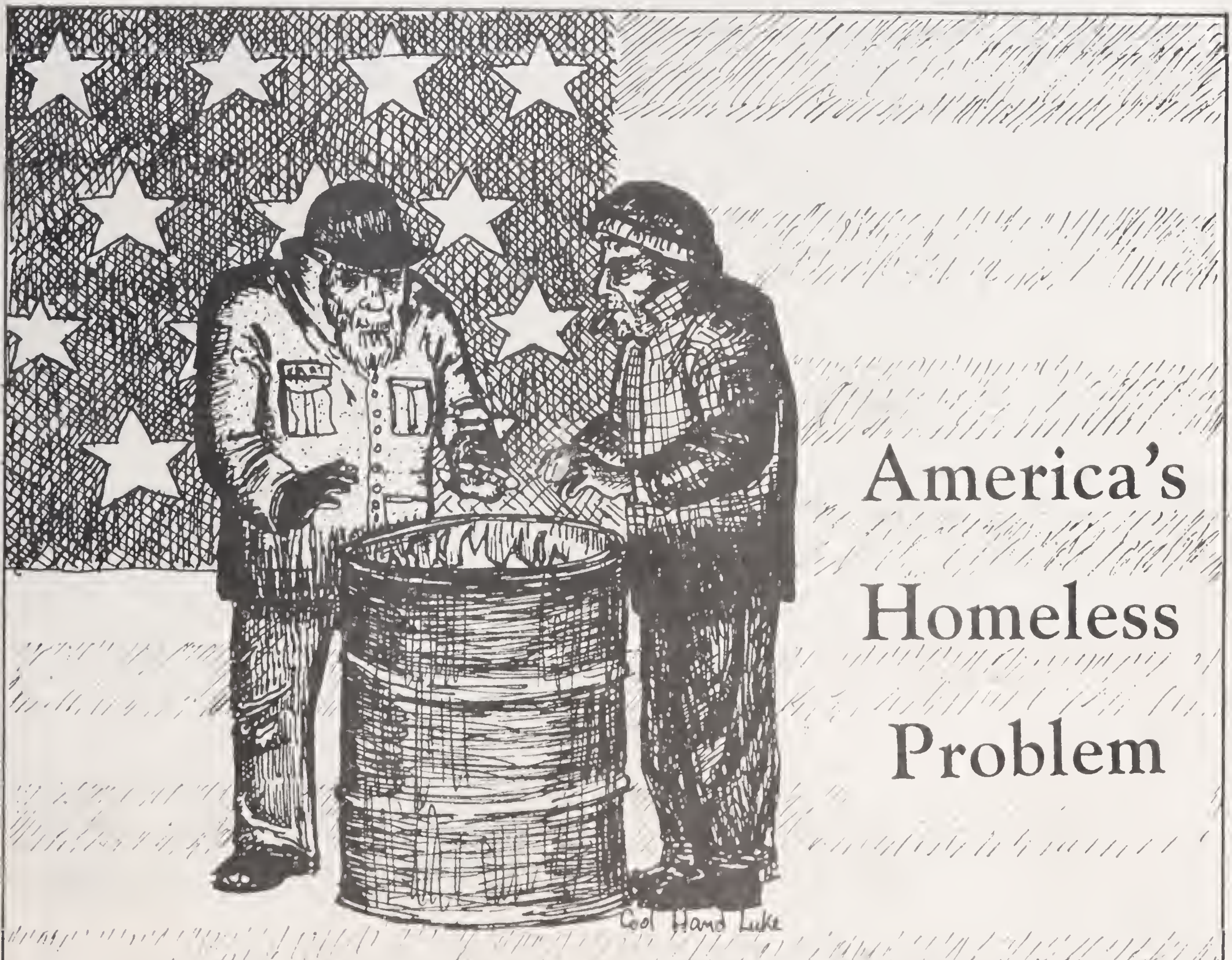
Cool Hand Luke

America's Homeless Problem

The
CRITIC

A Student Journal of News & Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

The CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year and are fully tax deductible. Manuscripts, **letters to the editor**, and art are welcome. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. Editorial titles in the masthead are arbitrary and are subject to change without notice.

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IN THIS ISSUE

4 **Correspondence**
Ideological high horses & Senior Class gifts.

5 **A Modest Proposal**
By Michael Lowrey

6 **The Critical Eye**
Flag Burning, Russian laundry, & prodding the *cattle-ist...*
Clipboard
The Pork Barrel
Dear Darth
Critic Almanac

14 **A Generation of Idiots**
Bob Lukefahr makes a case for a core curriculum.

17 **Faculty Forum:** *Barbecue Tales*
Professor John Shelton Reed talks pigs.

19 **National Truss:** *Politics and Defense*
Pork Barrel spending endangers national security.

21 **America's Homeless**
Exploding the myths and developing a solution.

24 ***My Turn* with Nancy Reagan**
They killed trees for this?

26 **Hiding Behind the First Amendment**
Robert Berry finds fault in free speech debates.

28 **Essays:**
Walter Williams' latest book as seen through Elliot Fus' eyes... David Hood and Thomas Sowell go looking for the right college... Woodlief picks on Ralph Nader...

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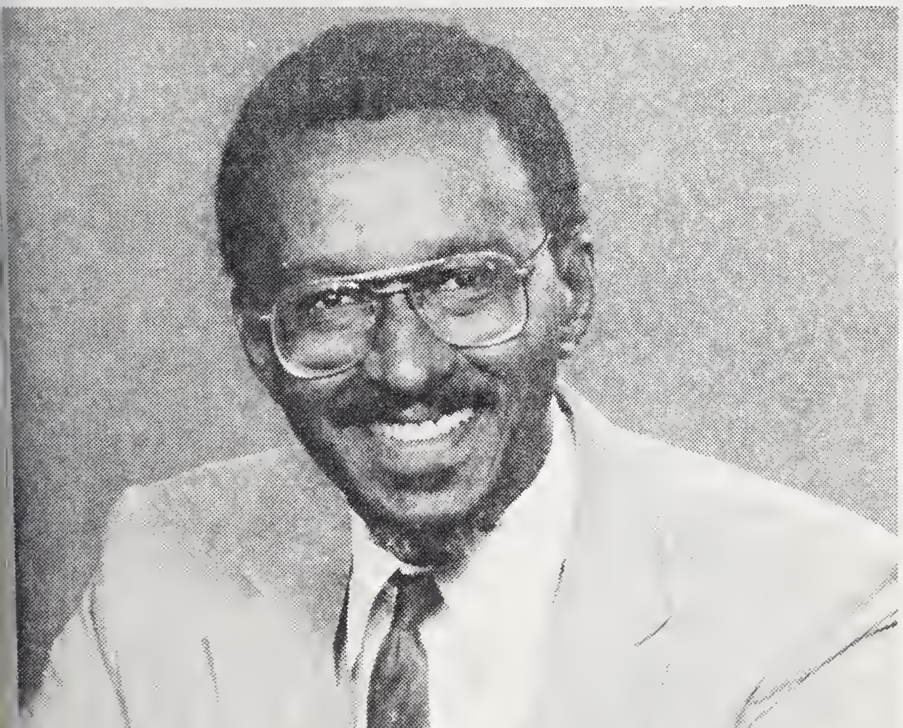

Tuesday
November 7, 1989
Gerrard Hall
7:30 pm

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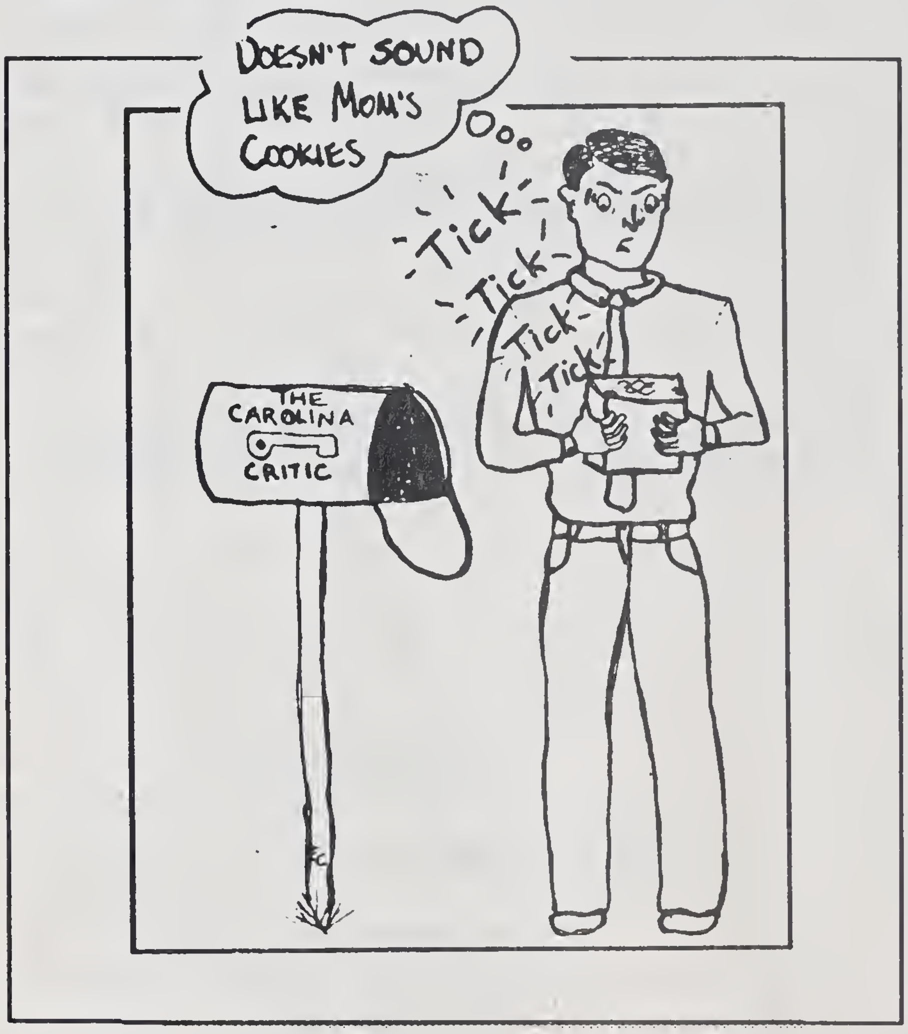
Ideology Is Important

To the new editor:

Have you no shame? Last month, you devoted nearly one-third of the Critic to lambasting Student Congress for purchasing a state-of-the-art computer system for the *Phoenix*. Yet in spite of your purported ideological opposition to this boondoggle, rumor has it that your own magazine is now being produced on the system.



Can this be true? Do you so readily abandon your ideals for an 80 megabyte hard drive? This lack of consistency is appalling! Would John Adams have been seen drinking British tea after 1773? Would Martin Luther King, Jr. have rented office space from the John Birch Society? Would Ronald Reagan smoke Cuban cigars? *I think not.*

This sounds more than a bit hypocritical to me. As Shakespeare once wrote, "The false face must hide what the false heart doth know." It appears as if Ed Davis is having the last laugh after all.

Disillusioned,
Bob Lukefahr
Publisher and ideologically consistent former editor.

Jason humbly responds:

C'mon Bob, we're talking about computers, not a revolution. As bad as Davis and his flock may be, they don't compare to Castro and King George. As for MLK renting from the John Birchers, maybe you should re-read your article on the homeless. Pay special attention to the rent control section.

In addition, it's helpful to remember exactly who paid for the new computer system. I paid for it, you paid for it, and all our readers paid for it. Now that we've been taxed, it is our duty to get as much value as possible out of our stolen money. I still think the student fees should not have been given for the *Phoenix* computer system, but I won't look a gift horse in the mouth.

Yours in spirit, if not in action,
Jason

Give the Gift that Keeps on Giving

Dear Senior Class,

It's almost that time of year again. Soon you will have to decide on a gift for the institution that has kept you working so hard all these years. I realize that it is always an arduous task to come up with the right thing for that special univeristy, so I've made a wish list to make your decision much easier. Here it is:

1. Enough dough to give all teaching assistants a merry Christmas.
2. A contract with Joe Montana and Lawrence Taylor.
3. A year's supply of glass and four golf cart wheels for Teague resident hall.
4. A muzzle for overly boisterous College Republicans.
5. A place for the Animal Protection Society to take care of its homeless animals.
6. A punching bag so Student Congress can vent their little frustrations in a more productive way.
7. Sunshine and Carolina blue skies forever.

If you can not accomodate me on any or all of these things, I'm sure Santa would be glad to oblige. Thank you so much.

Sincerely,
Bryan Tucker

A(nother) Modest Proposal
by Michael Lowrey

Editor's Note: Please don't read this if you are easily offended, lack a sense of humor, or are a member of student government (yes, I know that is redundant). This is a parody. It is not a news report. Please don't try to adjust your television, Michael is reporting from his very own little twilight zone.

As part our continuing effort to report campus news before the DTH, the Critic's secret intelligence unit has learned of the university's latest construction project. And for once, we actually endorse it.

To be located on the quad (so it will be the most convenient to all), the new building will attempt to bring together all of the most controversial and overused campus facilities under one roof. It has long been noted by our staff, as well as local trendinistas, that protesting on campus is needlessly demanding and time consuming because of the distances between the Pit and South Building. Nor does the pit offer any protection against the elements.

Starting from the bottom up, the basement will feature the *Phoenix*'s new printing press, procured at a cost in excess of $500,000. A special combination jail cell/classroom will also be included, allowing certain grad students to serve out their jail sentences while keeping up with their lecturing duties. After all, why should poor, apathetic undergrads have to pay the price for their TA's protesting activities?

On the first floor, there will be numerous administrative offices, including the chancellor's. Note the proximity to the outdoor protest sites—we wouldn't want protesters to have to walk too far to deliver their ultimatums. A specially designed room with rows of radiators down the middle and plush carpet will allow those who insist on chaining themselves to furniture to do so in maximum comfort. A single class room s also planned so a few students will be around to notice the occupation of the chancellor's office (or the entire building). This will also allow the more socially conscious to disrupt campus life if need be while not bothering too many of those not in the new BPLT (Bachelor of Protesting and Leftist Thought) program.

The second floor will house the Carolina Gay, Lesbian, Biexual, Foot Fetish and Fruit Lover Association will have its own office. The Other Minorities Beside Blacks' Cultural Center, meanwhile, would be located nearby and will be open from 7:00 to 7:15 am or whenever else the janitors won't be eeding their mops.

The third floor will feature the offices of the College epublicans. A special research arm of the Sociology department will try and see whether the CRs are capable of coming up ith original ideas or just instinctively like to protest against ther people's protests and do little else. Throughout the build g, space will be taken up by mysterious offices, storage rooms nd cubby holes with no known purpose. You know, the ones at say "Authorized Personel Only" but nobody ever seems to e.

Around the outside of the building there will be several protest/preacher sites, designed for all conceivable protest needs. Site 1 is reserved for real protests while Site 2 will house counter protests. Sites 3, 4 and 5 go to other leftist types who basically agree with the goals of those at site 1, but differ in their tactics or just can't stand the others' (assumed) leader. Site 6 will be given over to the Apathetic Student Movement. Site 7 is reserved for student government's Rameses kissing drives and similar worthy projects. Sites 8 up are reserved for other people who just want to stand up and shout at people for no apparent reason—such as pit preachers.

The Pit, meanwhile, will be turned completely over to hacky-sackers and skateboarders. As nothing short of DDT will kill these demi-humans, a different solution is obviously called for. A new syndicated TV series, the *Hacky-Sack vs. Skateboarder War Games*, will also be filmed in the Pit. The idea of the show is to see how many people kicking bean bags can be run over by prepubescent skateboarders from local junior high schools. This show will be shown on a distant station at a popular hour like 3:00 am every other Tuesday. STV might also air it, at a day and time to be announced at least five seconds before the show actually starts.

Mike's Military Insignifica

Sweet *Charlotte*: The Navy will name a nuclear attack submarine after this state's largest city. The USS *Charlotte*, SSN-766, will be built at Newport News Shipbuilding in Virgina with commissioning due in 1992.

***Perestroika* above you:** The Soviet factory that produced the SS-20 missile, which is being eliminated under the INF treaty, has signed an accord with an American firm to build a new version for use as a space launch vehicle. The new rocket, called *Start*, should be available in 1992 to put small.

Number three on the ways: *Jane's Defence Weekly* reports work has started on the third full fledged Soviet aircraft carrier at the Nikolayev yard on the Black Sea.

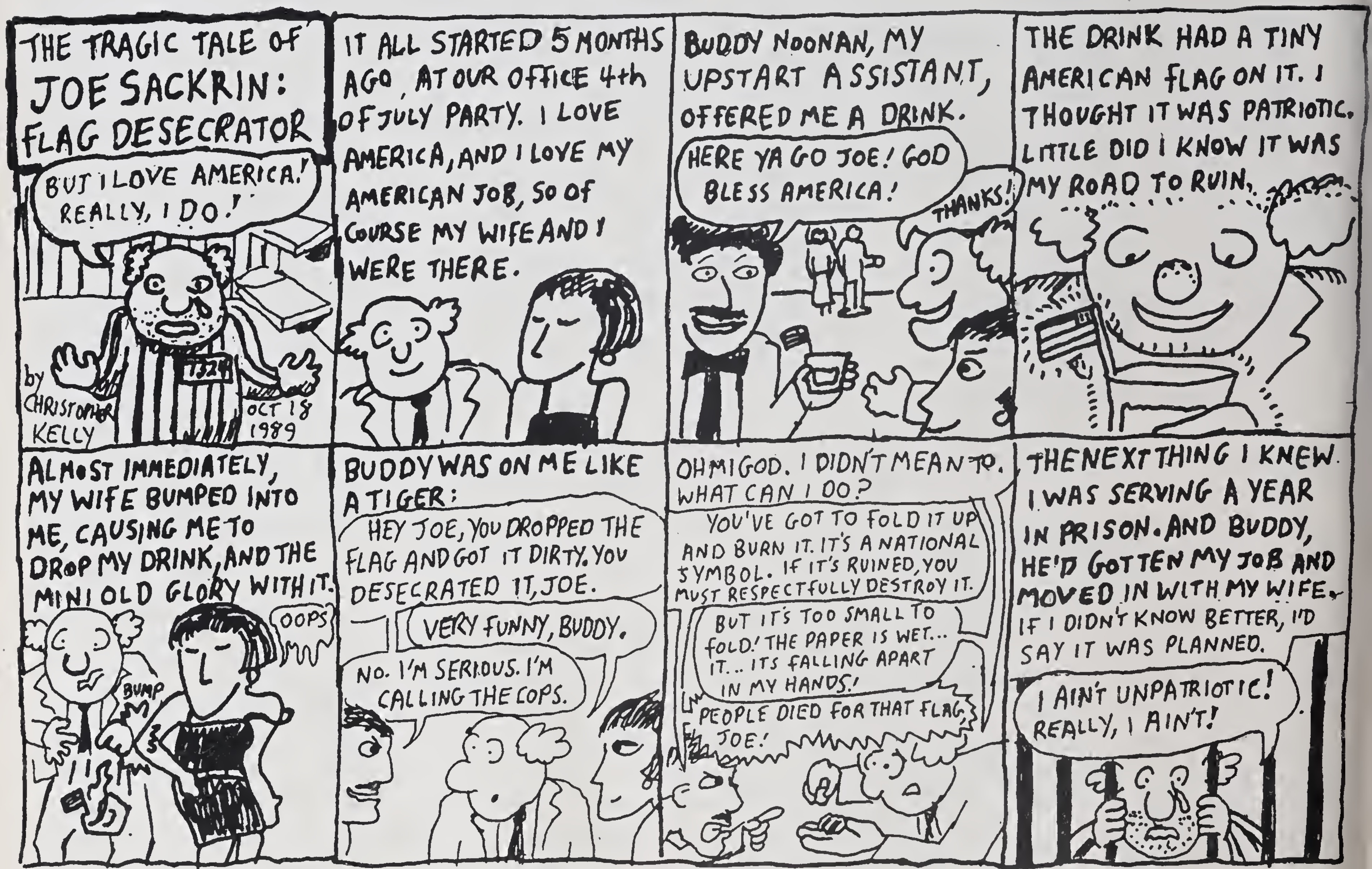
Another advantage of the program will be the additional parking available. Before construction the rest of the quad will be bulldozed and covered with asphalt. After staff permits have been sold and used approximately four days, the real construction will begin. Staff members will be assigned spaces in the various student parking lots until a "permanent" parking solution can be found.

And, of course, this will be paid for by this and next year's *modest* increase in your student fees. It might even be finished before our children come to Carolina. Like we said, the only way this could be better is if a real football team were unearthed somewhere along the way. Ω

Michael's big city sensibilities were challenged when he spent a Friday evening in Benson, North Carolina. He now has the ability to "cruise" properly.

THE CRITICAL e·y·e

The Search for Intelligent Life Continues...


THE TRAGIC TALE OF JOE SACKRIN: FLAG DESECRATOR
BUT I LOVE AMERICA! REALLY, I DO!
1324
by CHRISTOPHER KELLY
OCT 18 1989
IT ALL STARTED 5 MONTHS AGO, AT OUR OFFICE 4th OF JULY PARTY. I LOVE AMERICA, AND I LOVE MY AMERICAN JOB, SO OF COURSE MY WIFE AND I WERE THERE.
BUDDY NOONAN, MY UPSTART ASSISTANT, OFFERED ME A DRINK.
HERE YA GO JOE! GOD BLESS AMERICA!
THANKS!
THE DRINK HAD A TINY AMERICAN FLAG ON IT. I THOUGHT IT WAS PATRIOTIC. LITTLE DID I KNOW IT WAS MY ROAD TO RUIN.
ALMOST IMMEDIATELY, MY WIFE BUMPED INTO ME, CAUSING ME TO DROP MY DRINK, AND THE MINI OLD GLORY WITH IT.
OOPS
BUMP
BUDDY WAS ON ME LIKE A TIGER:
HEY JOE, YOU DROPPED THE FLAG AND GOT IT DIRTY. YOU DESECRATED IT, JOE.
VERY FUNNY, BUDDY.
NO. I'M SERIOUS. I'M CALLING THE COPS.
OHMIGOD. I DIDN'T MEAN TO. WHAT CAN I DO?
YOU'VE GOT TO FOLD IT UP AND BURN IT. IT'S A NATIONAL SYMBOL. IF IT'S RUINED, YOU MUST RESPECTFULLY DESTROY IT.
BUT IT'S TOO SMALL TO FOLD! THE PAPER IS WET... IT.. ITS FALLING APART IN MY HANDS!
PEOPLE DIED FOR THAT FLAG, JOE!
THE NEXT THING I KNEW. I WAS SERVING A YEAR IN PRISON. AND BUDDY, HE'D GOTTEN MY JOB AND MOVED IN WITH MY WIFE. IF I DIDN'T KNOW BETTER, I'D SAY IT WAS PLANNED.
I AIN'T UNPATRIOTIC! REALLY, I AIN'T!

➢English armchair "middies" are being asked to help free some of their fellow soccer fans from prison in Greece. Ten of the notoriously rowdy Welshmen were jailed after a drunken brawl, and it will take $26,000 to get them free. David Morgan, the gentleman organizing the fundraising, said, "Our boys were the victims of an unprovoked attack and some rough justice." He sounds like members of last year's Coalition for Freedom to Dissent protest group as they tried to rescue one of their hooligans from jail.

➢The Russians are suckers for a little dirty laundry. According to *U.S. News and World Report*, *Pravda* had reprinted an article from an Italian tabloid describing politburo member Boris Yeltsin's recent trip to the U.S. as one of drinking binges and shopping sprees. This, of course, was untrue, and last month *Pravda* printed a correction and an apology. Imagine if the U.S. government was stupid enough to believe everything printed in tabloids. We would have alien baby abortion clinics, and space probes launched to rescue Elvis from the moon.

➢At the meeting where it was agreed to buy the *Phoenix* a desktop publishing system, Student Congress found it hard to "just say no." Several funding debates were punctuated with references to the lavish gift to the *Phoenix*, and that a much smaller request to another group shouldn't be denied. Faced with this pressure, representatives voted to give campus groups the money they wanted. Now the DTH reports that Student Congress has less money than it usually does. Hey guys, you can't have your cake and give everyone a slice too.

➢In lieu of jail terms, Alabama Circuit Judge John E. Rochester recently sentenced two convicted drug users to read five books and give a written report on each one. Perhaps, instead of parole hearings, in a few years they'll decide to let the convicts use Cliff's Notes.

➢Good news for all you frustrated physics students; a group of scientists have decided that all matter is made up of three fundamental particles. There are quarks (both the up and down kind), charged leptons, and neutral leptons. This should make your next test considerably easier.

➢In a related development, a crack team of political scientists, commissioned by the Critic, has determined that the political spectrum also consists of three types of people: those who don't care, those who don't understand, and those who read the Critic.

➢Last month, some mindless hooligans terrorized an innocent student because her views on the CIA were at odds with their own. Laura Lee Roper became irritated by the constant flow of unwanted propaganda being distributed under the door of her dorm room by the CIA Action Committee. So Laura exercised her own right of free speech by posting a note requesting no further materials from this group. Little did she know, the penalty for offending certain groups is harsh.

Several nights later, Laura returned to her dorm room to find her door nailed shut, with anti-CIA comments and personal attacks scribbled on it. They even went so far as to splash blood on the floor. (And we've all seen that before.) While members of the CIAAC denied taking part, evidence points to the contrary. The pattern follows previous actions by that group, not to mention that a member of the CIAAC lives just down the hall from Laura.

Even if this act was not sanctioned by the CIAAC, the example set by Dale McKinley and his cohorts precipitate such injustices. It is both hypocritical and irresponsible for these activists (whoever they may be) to deride the CIA while simultaneously engaging in the very activities they condemn. Isn't it ironic that people who are so certain of their own moral superiority can cavalierly disregard the principles they claim to uphold?

➢Argument #7,608,353 against communism/socialism: Aeroflot, the Soviet state airline, left 15 million people behind in 1988 because of inadequate capacity and inefficiency.

➢Members of the Federal Election Commission were in for some surprises when they visited the Soviet Union to evaluate the way the new Congress of People's Deputies was elected. They found that the Soviets had never heard of absentee ballots, preferring instead to let people vote in the district they happened to be in. As one FEC member pointed out, that little glitch permitted people to invite their relatives to stay during the elections "so they could elect the Boris Yeltsins."

CLIPBOARD

"Everyone agrees that trolleys are quaint... even Mr. Rogers has a trolley, but his trolley only goes back and forth to 'the land of make-believe,' which is where the Downtown Commission must have been when they decided to buy this thing." —*Campus Roundtable* moderator Bob Lukefahr, commenting on the new Chapel Hill trolleys.

"Bureaucracy is the art of making the possible impossible." — Javier Pascual Salcedo

"Wisemen say that complaining about Congress is as futile as complaining about the weather. For as long as anyone can remember, members of Congress have been plundering the public to finance the largess they trade for reelection." — William E. Simon, Professor of Political Economy at Lafayette College.

"Newspapers are run by people, and people are infallible [sic], so don't always believe everything you read, especially if you know better." — *Phoenix* editor Ed Davis.

After four years of *perestroika*, Supreme Soviet member Boris Yeltsin said, "I signed up with the local polyclinic, and when I went to see the local doctor there for the first time, she kept telling me the pipes are broken, the windows aren't fixed, the floors have to be repaired. I'm not even mentioning that they have to use one hypodermic needle for the whole hospital."

"The one intolerable thing in education is the absence of intellectual design."—Mark Van Doren in *50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students.*

"The trouble with socialism is that it takes too many evenings." — Oscar Wilde

"...the affinity between Lyndon Johnson and my grandfather was certainly strong: although my grandfather died in 1904, he voted for Johnson in 1948." — William F. Buckley, Jr.

"I am convinced that the animal rights movement poses a greater hazard to human health than cancer, heart disease, or AIDS. For without the use of animals in medical research, scientists have little hope of finding a cure for these and other diseases." — Dr. Herbert Pardes, President of the American Psychiatric Association.

Lech Walesa, leader of Polish socialists, stated "My dream is that they (the communist authorities) lock me up in prison for 48 hours every week like they used to. That way I could rest, sleep, and relax. Now I sleep little and only have problems."

THE CAROLINA PORK BARREL

Hold the phones. Rumor has it, and remember; this is only a rumor, but word is that Dave Davidson (Dist. 13) actually stayed for an *entire Student Congress meeting* on the 11th. Next thing we know, he might actually start to *represent his constituency*, even to the point of *returning phone calls.* Stayed tuned.

Hypocritical statement of the month comes from Carlos Cerezo-Suarez (Dist. 3), who, speaking for graduate students, said that "I don't think that we should toss more money into activities that we have no interest in." This is the same person who voted to pour an additional $10,000 in student funds down the gullet of the *Phoenix*, which most students don't read. Carlos was referring to a bill that would require separate referendums for graduates and undergraduates on matters concerning only one of the groups. According to this guy, "it is not fair for students to vote on fees that will not affect them." Carlos didn't mind that students voted to raise fees $13 a semester in order to pay for the Student Rec Center, even though none of them would have to pay for it. Of course, we have to remember that Jurgen Buchenau (Dist. 3) thought this taxation without representation was alright as well. I wouldn't want to imply that Carlos doesn't have a mind of his own, but has he ever voted differently than Jurgen? It seems like the students who elected Jurgen got two representatives for the price of one.

If a lack of backbone is all that is required for a student congress member to become speaker, then Mindy Friedman (Dist. 12) is a sure winner. Mindy took great pains to distance herself from Jeff Beall's (Dist. 7) efforts to recall DTH editor Sharon Kebschull, going so far as to write a letter to the DTH. What Mindy forgot to mention is that she too had signed Beall's petition, and later asked him to erase it after she realized that the petition wasn't as popular as she had anticipated. The DTH reported that Friedman was also behind recent efforts to recall fellow congress member Mark Bibbs (Dist.12). Look's like Mindy's ready for the dirty world of politics.

Tears were shed when Bill Stallings (Dist. 15) resigned after allegations that his appointment to the Undergraduate Honor Court would conflict with his activities as a student congress member. One group that probably shouldn't have been upset, however, was his constituency, which is made up of off-campus students. Stallings opposed allowing students a revote on the Student Rec Center, despite the fact that a good number of his constituents were already paying for athletic facilities in their apartment complexes. I guess if you're not going to run for office again, it's alright to forego your responsibilities as a representative.

Rest easy everyone, the UNC Student Congress, having a moment to spare from wasting your money, has seen fit to guarantee abortion rights for women. We'll all sleep easier.

In a sincere effort to defend Student Congress and, freshman Michael Caldwell, a student government flunkie, recently chastised DTH writer Matt Bivens for his criticism of Student Congress. According to Caldwell, every Student Congress member he's met "is a truly dedicated and hard-working student whose sole purpose is to serve the student body and the University." Apparently Caldwell has a lot of people left to meet.

Displaying an amazing ability to overlook reality in favor of catchy titles, Student Congress voted to give $800 to the left-wing former Greenpeace director Richard Grossman because he will speak on "Human Rights." Despite the fact that a number of students might contest some of what the Campus Y calls "rights," the majority of Student Congress didn't dare question Grossman's motives or goals, because he was speaking on "rights." After all, who could be opposed to "human rights?" Apparently Student Congress would find nothing political in what former East German leader Erich Hoenecker might say on human rights, so long as it was in keeping with the Campus Y's definition.

Of course, even if Student Congress did decide that something to be funded was political, they have ways of getting around that little "technicality." As Jurgen Buchenau (Dist. 3) points out, "Donations are a trick on the treasury laws. We appropriate funds to the executive and tell them to appropriate the funds to the group." This is how your money is going to make its way into the hands of Socialist Barry Commoner, who will be speaking at the Threshold Environmental Conference on October 29. Buchenau seems to go to Student Congress committee meetings when he doesn't have to, simply to consult his Robert's Book of Rules and generally be a pain. Yet somehow he thinks it's alright to avoid the intention of Student Government rules simply because he doesn't like the way they restrict how he spends someone else's money.

—*Anthony Woodlief*

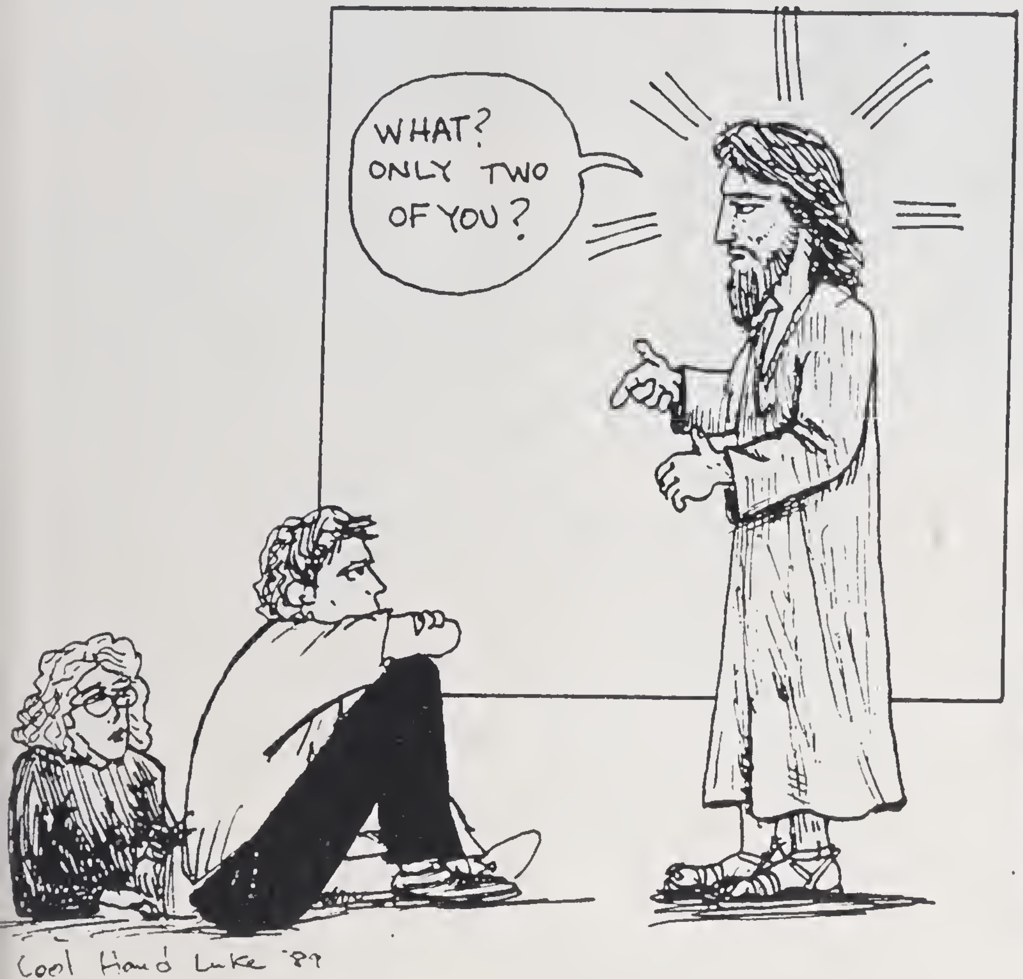
■

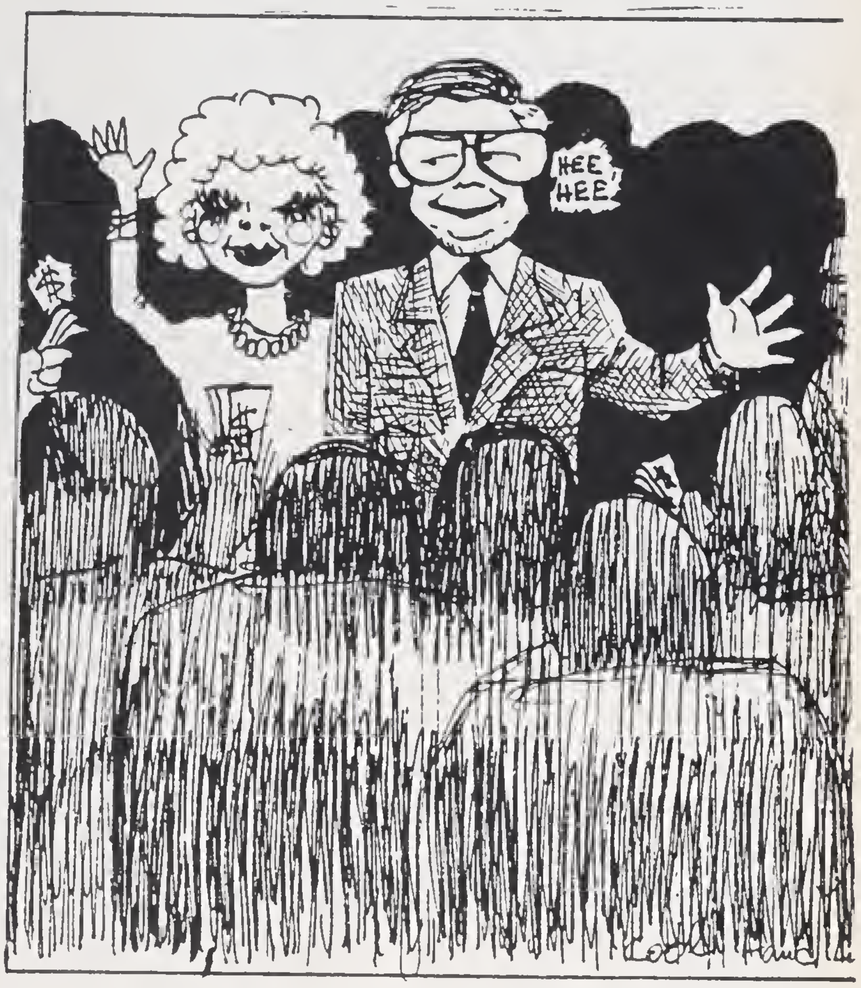
➢For his part, the ubiquitous Yeltsin, target of Communist Party slurs, favors a ban on negative campaigning. "I think it is morally wrong to allow candidates to campaign against their opponent," Yeltsin avers. This puts Yeltsin on the same wavelength as his bombastic Western doppleganger, Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.). Echoing another great duo, how about Fritz and Borsch in '92?

➢Flash! Mexican telephone monopoly Telmex ("Reach out, reach out and bribe someone...") is being sold off by the Mexican government. Foreign investors worry the Telmex's Dixie cups-and-string system will hamper modem and fax transmissions.

➢Under pressure from the usual do-gooder types, Ernest &

SUNDAY MORNING IN THE USA


WHAT? ONLY TWO OF YOU?
Cool Hand Luke '89



Julio Gallo, Inc. has agreed to pull the fortified wines, and wino staples, Thunderbird and Night Train from skid row stores. Now when the DTs set in, the winos can substitute stuff like lighter fluid or mug somebody for cash to buy a bottle of liquor. Good job.

➢Jerry Jones, member of the CIA-AC and convicted Honor Court felon, stated after his hearing that "whether what I did fits into your student code is irrelevant. Your legal opinion doesn't interest me." Did you ever think, Jerry, that your bankrupt socialist propaganda doesn't interest us either?

➢In his book, *The Economic Challenge of Perestroika,* Abel Aganbegyan, (Gorbachev's chief economic advisor) stated that the Soviet Union and socialist nations in general, "must be more educated, more intellectual, more spiritually and morally committed" than their capitalistic counterparts. Fortunately, the Critic staff has developed a means to keep the Evil Empire in check. The CIA should immediately begin infiltrating the Soviet educational system with N.C. public high school teachers.

➢Kevin Watkins, a third-year law student at Harvard, was unceremoniously booted out after University officials discovered he had been making videotapes of himself and an undergraduate having sex. Cheer up, Kevin! While you may not pass the bar, you certainly qualify for the U.S. Congress.

➢A *U.S. News and World Report* article indicated that President Bush is making plans to invite Gorbachev to his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine next year in conjunction with the proposed summit in D.C. Yet another bold policy initiative by the Bush administration.

➢The U.S. Department of Energy spent $344,000 last year mailing out copies of one of its documents. It seems that federal law requires that a copy of documents be sent to each person who commented or testified on a project. This meant that an 8,000 page, 26-pound environmental-impact report on site selection for a new superconducting supercollider was mailed to over 16,800 people, many of them schoolchildren. A department spokesman later admitted that "it should maybe have been done differently." Nah, it wouldn't be government if it had.

➢President Bush has got his finger on the pulse of American problems once again. He wants to abolish "non-ideological" political action committees and require politicians to return unspent campaign contributions. Of course, if Bush succeeds, then membership in the communist party may increase dramatically as labor union PACs attempt to find an "ideological" purpose for existing.

➢New medical research has found that information from the senses can bypass the analysis section of the brain, the neocortex, and go directly to the emotion forming part, the amygdala. This means that emotions can be can be formed independent of rational thought. Finally, medical science has delivered an explanation for the modern American liberal.

➢Inmates in a Monroe, Washington prison have been stripped of their personal computers. Officials claim that they were worried that escape plans could be stored on floppy disks, though many of the inmates were using computer power to file appeal and parole claims. In our modern information age,

Dear Darth

Dear Darth,

I'm really conservative, but leftists get all the best looking chicks! What should I do, short of cancelling my *National Review* subscription?
Desperate and Republican.

Dear D&R,

Leftists don't always get the cutest girls. Check out the intellectual beauties that hang out with the Critic staff. Woodlief has to beat them off with a stick. Maybe you're just ugly. My advice is to hang out in really dark bars and buy drinks for anything that moves.

Dear Mr. Vader,

Is Socialism really dead? If so, where should I send my condolences?
Concerned and Feeling.

Dear C&F,

Yes, Socialism is dead. Send all condolences to the *catalyst*.

Yo Darth V,

I had this horrible dream. I was in Graceland and the ghost of Elvis came to me except, instead of his usual attire, he was wearing rhinestone Adidas sneakers and large gold chains. He had shaved his sideburns and had what he called a "fresh flat-top cameo." He told me he was coming back from the dead to form a rap group called "Easy Pres and the Hound Dog Posse." He also said he already had plans for "Bust It Tender," "Don't Be Wac," and "Jailhouse Hip-Hop." I told Elvis it was a bad idea, but he went on about how he was going to make it big again and he was really excited about his new image. He then told his boys to, "Hit it" and started dancing around like a madman. Luckily, I woke up. Tell me Darth, was it really a dream?
Seeking your wisdom, Frightened.

Dear F,

Yes, It was only a dream. I personally discussed this with Elvis last week, and he assures me that he is still working at a gas station in LaGrange. But F, what should really frighten you, is that you have this kind of dream. Obviously "zero-proof" day was too much for you. Drink more.

Letters to Darth should be mailed to the Critic. *Due to the overwhelming volume of mail, personal responses cannot be made, but he promises to laugh at each one.*

doesn't this constitute cruel and unusual punishment?

➢The federal government is going down the toilet, but Sen. Wyche Fowler, D-Ga., and Rep. Chet Atkins, D-Mass., are trying to insure that it does so using less water. The National Plumbing Efficiency Act would override local and state laws to reduce the standard toilet flush from 3.5 gallons to 1.6. No doubt George Bush will move quickly to appoint a Toilet Bowl Czar to coordinate the "War on Doo-Doo."

➢Watch out on Spring Break. A jury of apparently daughter-less, wife-less, sister-less, mother-less Floridians recently acquitted Steven Lord of rape, saying the victim, who was scantily dressed, "asked for it," because "she was advertising for sex." Assuming he's cleared of additional rape charges in Georgia, we can only hope that when Mr. Lord next comes to town looking for fun, he finds one of the jurors wearing a bathing suit.

➢Bryant Gumbel, *Today* show host and anchor of a new NBC special entitled *R.A.C.E.*, recently described the limitations of the show. According to Gumbel, the show "is not going to tell you whether you are a racist or a liberal." Given the devastating effect minimum wage laws have upon the employment levels of young blacks, and the overt discrimination fostered by Affirmative Action laws, we would like to know if it's possible to be liberal *without* being racist.

➢Another reason why you shouldn't read the *catalyst*: in their latest (read only) issue of the semester, the editors mention three times that Ed Davis does not go by his "real" name. For this somewhat unusual inconsistency Davis gets an arrow down (did you guys lose your thumb graphic?) in the "sound bites" section. We here at the Critic abhor this practice of name calling. The *catalyst* has clearly stepped over the line between attacking ideas and attacking those who hold them. Boy Mike, you guys are sure jerks! Kyle Hudson call your office.

➢Give me that ol' time religion... a California woman, claiming to be the high priestess of the Church of the Most High Goddess, tried to no avail to convince a judge that one of her religious rites involved fornication. This, she explained, was the only reason she performed this particular ceremony over two thousand times. But being high priestess was apparently not a good enough excuse for running a brothel. Passing the collection plate after the, er, service was just too much — even in California.

PUBLIC INTEREST

"I'M FROM THE PUBLIC INTEREST MOVEMENT, AND I'M HERE TO HELP YOU!"

The headlines speak for themselves:

Courts stop illegal aliens' deportation . . .
New shopping center blocked . . .
Judge takes over school system . . .
Court forces community to build low-income housing . . .
Defense Department projects targeted by court . . .
Murderer's death sentence halted by . . .
Environmentalists defend Yellowstone fire . . .
Anti-drug law faces court challenge . . .
Cop killer mocks light sentence . . .
Judge orders busing to begin . . .

What some people call public interest law!

We call it political activism. Unfortunately, when you come down to it, it's the public's interest that suffers the most! It's enough to give "public interest" a bad name.

It's the handiwork of lawyers for America's liberal movement. You see, when it comes to how well-organized, radical activists use our courts as ideological playgrounds, the good guys don't always win. For every liberal political cause that exists, there is a heavily funded legal institution that seeks to achieve in our judicial system what it couldn't possibly win at the ballot box. Sometimes you wonder whose side they are on.

We're the **Washington Legal Foundation (WLF)**, a public interest law and policy center dedicated to protecting the individual rights and economic liberties of honest, mainstream Americans.

WLF's overriding goal is to continue serving as an effective counterweight to the hundreds of special interest legal groups who excel at promoting their anti-business, anti-national defense, pro-criminal crusades in the courts.

There is no reason why the judicial process should be driven by their agenda. We believe that the courts are for all Americans, not just for those on the fringe of society.

At WLF, we believe that America's future and the rights of hardworking taxpayers are worth fighting for!

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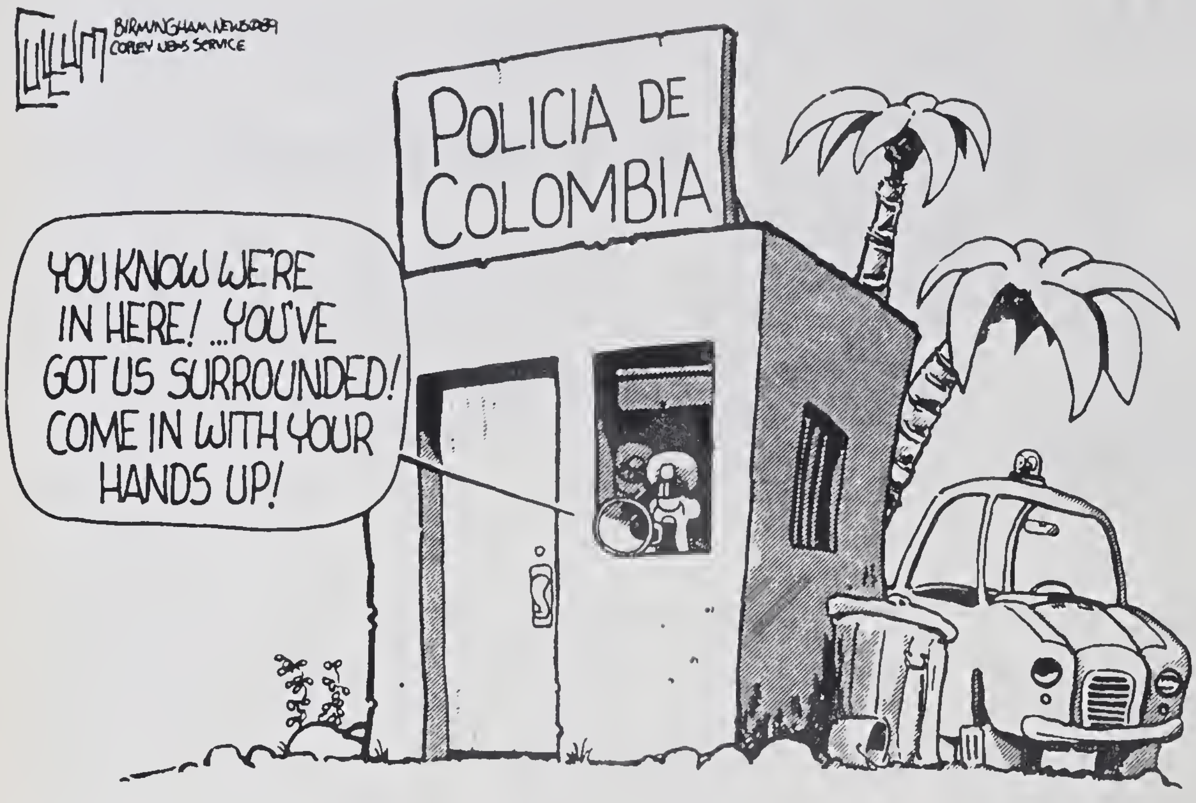
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POLICIA DE COLOMBIA
YOU KNOW WE'RE IN HERE! ...YOU'VE GOT US SURROUNDED! COME IN WITH YOUR HANDS UP!

Colombian Drug Bust

➢Massachusetts Congressman Barney Frank is currently being investigated by the House Ethics Committee for alleged improprieties involving a male prostitute. The Boston Globe is calling for his resignation, but Frank sees no reason to leave. Interesting coming from the man who thought Ed Meese should resign because he had been "extraordinarily careless in his associations."

➢According to a recent poll commissioned by the *Miami Herald* and *La Prensa*, people in Nicaragua are tired of Sandinista Socialism. 54.6 % of the people preferred a capitalist democracy while only 32.2% continued to support socialism. When asked if they favored giving the Sandinista's six more years in power only 28% said yes. Somehow we suspect they'll win the upcoming election anyway.

➢Shoichiro Honda, founder of the company that bears his name (Honda, not Shoichiro), has been inducted into the Automotive Hall of Fame. He joins the likes of Walter Chrysler in receiving this honor. Now that he's one of the boys we can't help but wonder whether we'll be seeing a Honda K-car and a $1.5 billion bailout in the near future.

➢Anthony D'Amato, a law professor at Northwestern University, recently claimed that judges routinely fudge facts to "make the case come out the way [they] desire." Of course they do. After all, they *were* lawyers once.

➢A Swedish company has built a golf course, called Lenin Hills, in the Soviet Union. We wonder what Lenin's handicap was.

➢Senator Jesse Helms was recently quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, "I didn't come to Washington to get along." As you may have noticed, he has been enormously successful in forwarding this particular part of his agenda.

➢In the New York mayoral race Democratic candidate David Dinkins had an amusing skeleton creep out of his closet. It seems that he *forgot* to pay his income taxes for four years. Amazingly, the voters are buying this story, and he will almost certainly be the next mayor. So next time you don't get a paper in by the deadline, just cite the Dinkin's excuse. Since most professors are die hard Democrats anyway, it's bound to work.

➢For all you North Carolinians who have developed "Dinkins Amnesia," remember you have until December 1st to take advantage of the tax amnesty. After that you will have to settle for becoming chief executive of a major city.

➢Haven't these people learned anything? A survey of 700 of the nation's college seniors revealed that they had learned little about American history or literature during the fifteen years that they had been in school. Of the people surveyed, a full 23% thought that the words "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" came from the U.S. Constitution. Of course, having been subjected to Democratic campaign speeches all these years, this comes as no surprise.

➢But this could never happen here at our nation's fourth ranked public university, right? Guess again, Sherlock. Correspondents for STV's *Campus Roundtable* interviewed students in the Pit recently and found that 50% of students could not place the Civil War in the correct half century. How these intellectual wunderkinds got into this school is beyond us. They must be children of alumni.

➢The Carolina Union recently showed Martin Scorsese's *Last Temptation of Christ*. We went prepared to be offended, challenged, and possibly enlightened. We ended up asleep, $1.50 poorer, and no wiser.

➢For the record, Gene Davis refused to go out drinking with Critic staffers on "zero-proof" day. Also for the record, Gene, you're invited next month, but you're buying the first round.

➢Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., was offended after viewing a picture of U.S. Marine recruits displaying the hand-painted slogan, "kill, rape, pillage, burn." Perhaps Sen. McCain, who apparently attended the Lt. William Calley School of Military Euphemisms, would be more comfortable with the slogan, "tickle, kiss, borrow, warm." Maybe, given a rash of recent military accidents and budget overruns, the Marine slogan ought to be, "crash, explode, malfunction, overspend." Ω

CRITIC ALMANAC

Number of suggestions received for every 100 employees in a government agency: 4

In a private firm: 30

Number of Democratic officeholders who have become Republicans this year: 130

Average number of mail carriers that are bitten by dogs each day: 9

Number of overweight American children in the: 10 million

Percentage of student loans that remained in default in 1982: 37

In 1988: 61

Number of employees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture: 120,000

Number of full time farmers: 500,000

Number of fundraisers on staff at Oxford University: 90

Amount raised since 1985: $127 million

Number of celestial objects in the *Guide Star Catalog*: 18,819,291

Amount of back taxes requested by the IRS of Nelson and Caroline Hunt: $700 million

U.S. population in millions in the Northeast and South in 1970: 49, 63

In 1982: 49, 78

Self employed Americans in 1930: 10.32 million

In 1983: 9.22 million

AIDS cases reported in the United States as of December 1, 1988: 78,985

In Bermuda: 81

In China: 3

Voter turnout in the presidential elections of 1824, 1876, and 1984: 16%, 82%, 53%

Minimum number of deaths needed for succssion to the Presidency for Jack Kemp: 13

Elizabeth Dole: 11

James Baker: 4

urces: *Insight* (10-16-89); *Harper's* (10-89); *Insight* (10-28-89); *Insight* (9-25-89); *Reason* (11-89); *Insight* (10-2-89);
onomic Statistics 1900-1983*; *State of the World 1989*; *Political Facts of the United States since 1789*;

A Lost Generation Enters the Twenty-First Century

by Bob Lukefahr

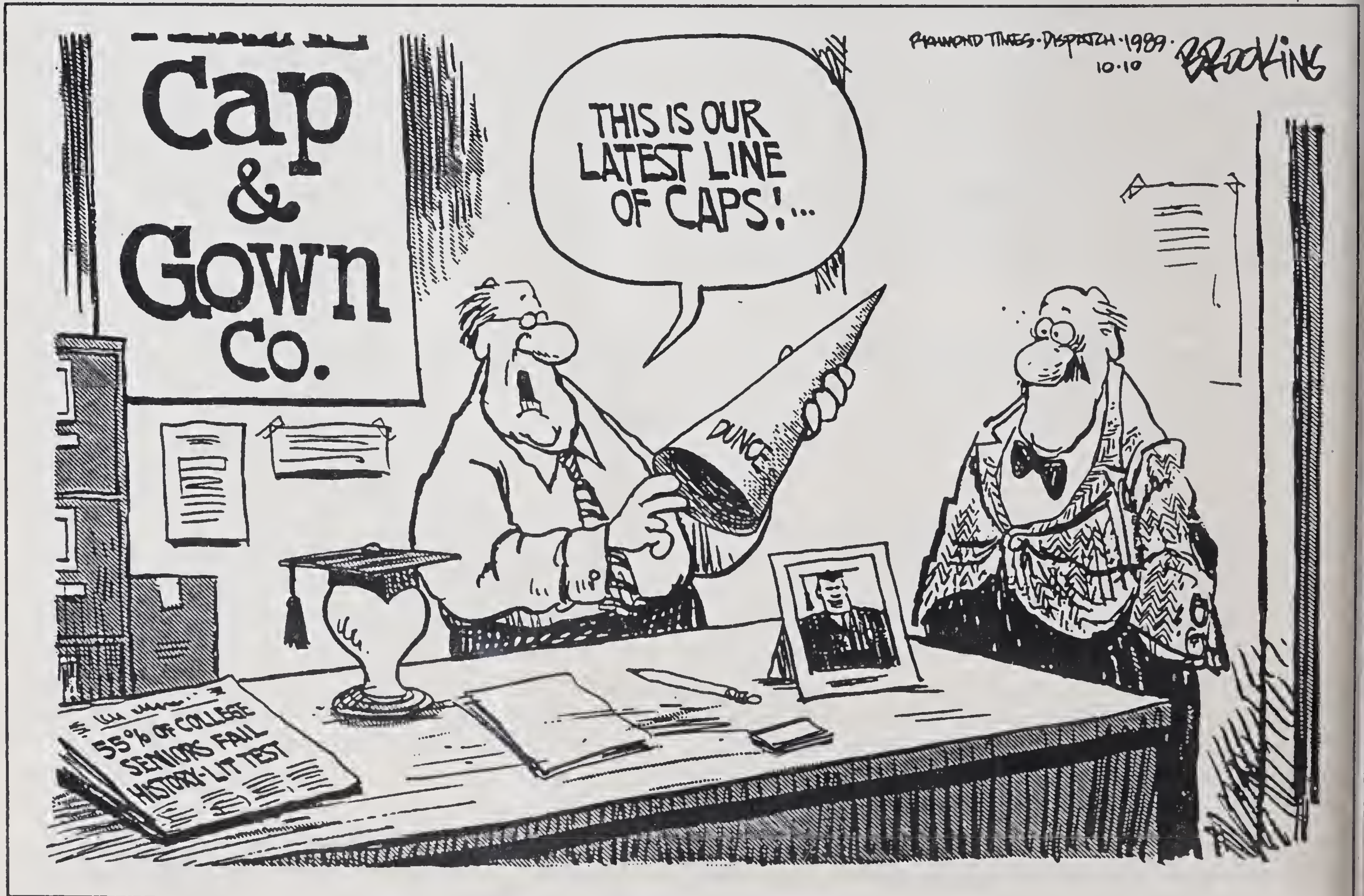
Yet another study was released last month indicating that American college students don't know a damn thing about their heritage. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) commissioned the study to measure how well the average college senior understands basic history and literature. The results were alarming. Among the 700 students surveyed, 67 percent would have received a grade of 'D' or 'F' on the test. On a four point scale, the average GPA for the nation's college seniors would have been a 1.04 on the section designed for *high school* seniors! These students knew even less about the college-level material. In short, the NEH study demonstrated that the American education system is creating a generation of intellectual paraplegics.

It should be noted that most of the survey items were not difficult. Trying to answer questions like, "What is the Magna Carta?" and "Who wrote the *Divine Comedy*?" should *not* strain the intellect of a person who has been in school for more than fifteen years. Unfortunately, it does, and that indicates that most colleges and universities are simply not doing their job.

Of course our institutions of higher learning cannot be asked to shoulder all of the blame for this sorry state of affairs. Most freshmen enter college with the albatross of a mediocre high school education hanging conspicuously around their necks. But the fact that most never manage to free themselves from this burden *is* the fault of the university, and it is the university which must take steps to correct the problem.

As one might expect, students have responded to the survey with that all-powerful incantation of the slothful, "so what." After all, they argue, who cares if most people don't know that Dante wrote the *Inferno*, or that Columbus discovered America in 1492? These things don't affect *their* lives. These bits of esoteric knowledge don't improve their "marketability." These people want sheepskin, not an education. They are in college so that they can earn more MONEY. And, by god, they can do that with or without the advice of Plato and the boys. Right?

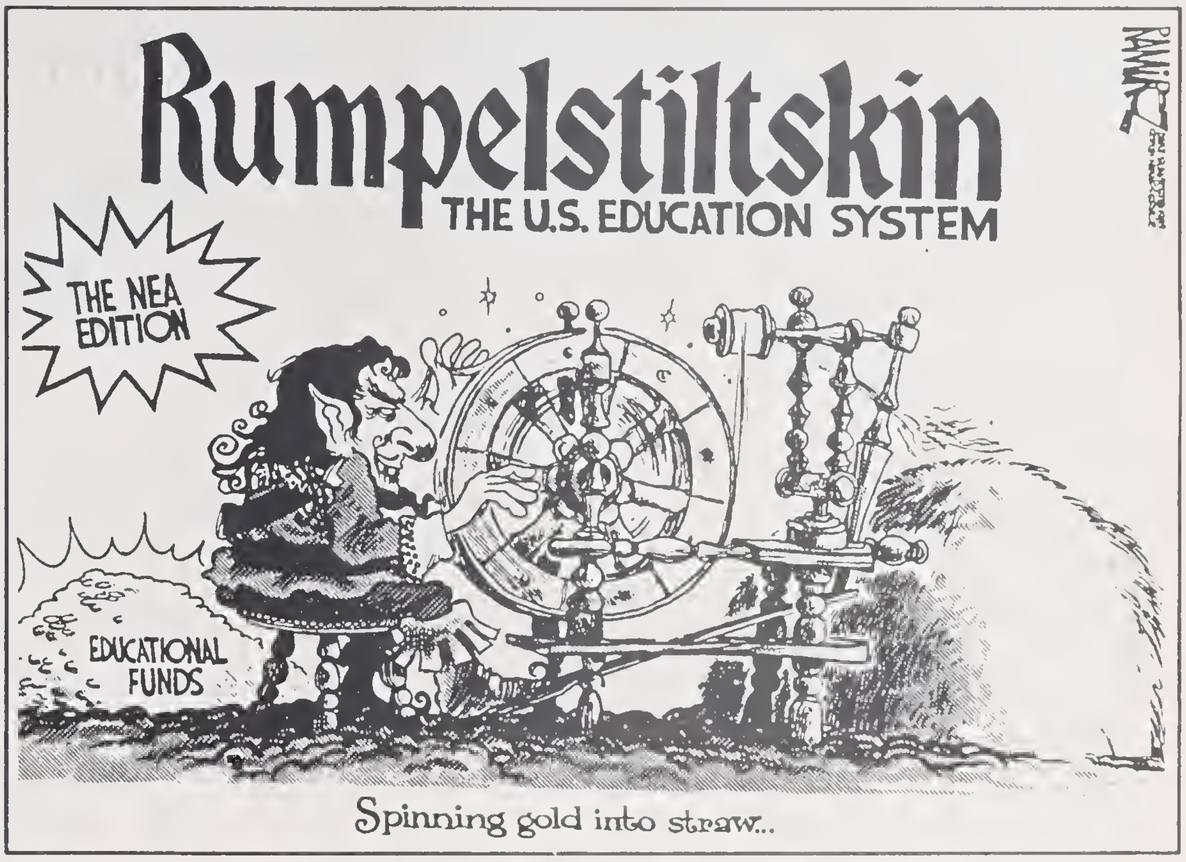
The answer is both right and wrong. Yes, one can function in society without the benefit of this basic knowledge, but the university was never meant to be a trade school. By missing out on the great ideas which shaped our culture they have lost something much more important that the ability to make a


Cap & Gown Co.
THIS IS OUR LATEST LINE OF CAPS!...
DUNCE
55% OF COLLEGE SENIORS FAIL HISTORY-LIT TEST
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH · 1989 · 10·10 BROOKING

living. They have been deprived of an opportunity to explore the *reason* for living.

As Saint Augustine wrote, "There is no reason to philosophize, except in order to be happy." IBM may make living possible, but understanding Dante or Shakespeare can help to make it worthwhile. And in the end, the latter is infinitely more important.

Beyond the benefits of examining one's life, an understanding of the basics is essential to the success of society as a whole. Before long, the current group of college students will be called upon to lead the nation into the next century. It is not a comforting thought. Imagine for a moment a country in which school teachers cannot distinguish between the words of the Communist Manifesto and the Constitution. Imagine a State Department populated by Foreign Service Officers who do not know when World War I was, who the United States fought in WWII, or who erected the Iron Curtain. Imagine a business community unfamiliar with the lessons of the Industrial Revolution, 1929 or *The Jungle*. Unless the current group of college seniors educates itself in the coming years, you won't have to imagine such a world—it will be all around you.



I, for one, would rest much more comfortably knowing that our future politicians have read and understand *The Federalist Papers*, Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, and *MacBeth*. Nothing is more frightening to me than the thought of a generation of ambitious young men and women pursuing their goals without having first contemplated the moral basis for freedom and individual rights, and the seductive nature of power. If this possibility does not bother you, then you are part of the problem.

Fortunately, this kind of ignorance is not invincible. The solution is as simple to understand as it is difficult to implement. What is needed is a solid core curriculum during the first two years of college. One which includes *mandatory* courses in History, Literature, Mathematics, Natural Science, and the Arts. NEH has proposed such a curriculum, requiring 50 semester hours of courses in the basics. Several universities, Columbia for example, already have similar programs. UNC demands only that its students fulfill the empty requirements of "the perspective system" before they graduate. This falls short of meeting the needs of an essentially ignorant freshmen class.

> *Most freshmen enter college with the albatross of a mediocre high school education hanging conspicuously around their necks.*

A quick glance at Carolina's perspective system reveals that one can easily complete the requirements without reading, much less understanding, the ideas which have shaped our nation and the world. As we reported in The Critic last month, here is not a single undergraduate course offered at UNC which ncludes Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* on its reading list. Granted this is an isolated example, but it points to the larger problem of "the ignorance conspiracy."

Students, like most people, tend to choose the path of least resistance. They refuse to complain when the curriculum is watered down to accommodate the less capable. Professors, faced either with engaging in extensive remedial instruction or lowering their standards, tend to choose the latter because it is easier than fighting the system. Often it is done in the name of making college more accessible to the less fortunate. As a result, a sort of conspiracy between the faculty and the student body has evolved in which students are allowed to remain ignorant while still receiving a degree. It is easier on everyone in the short run, and devastating to the students and society in the long run.

The only way to break up the ignorance conspiracy is to demand that students demonstrate a basic understanding of the core curriculum before they graduate. Even better, before students are allowed to transfer from the General College to the college of their choice, they should be required to pass a basic knowledge test. They should be asked to demonstrate that they have a grasp of the core curriculum, that they have learned to think logically, and that they know how to write in complete sentences.

If such a system were developed, those students who have had a quality high school education would be able to pass the test after their first year, and begin to pursue their specialized degrees as sophomores. Those students who enter college without the benefits of a solid educational background would probably find themselves stuck in the General College for five or six semesters. But in no case would a student graduate without first gaining a basic understanding of the information we have gained during the last 6000 years of civilization.

I am well aware of the fact that such a system will not be popular with either the students or the faculty. A core curriculum is difficult to create, even more difficult to implement, and from a students' perspective almost impossible to endure. It means spending more time studying and less time at Henderson Street Bar. Nevertheless, if you believe, as I do, that it is the role of the university not only to provide its students with the opportunity for a good education, but to ensure that all its graduates have received a good education, then the core requirements are essential.

Henry Adams may or may not have been right when he warned us that the dynamo could never replace the virgin. But then again, don't we live in an age where it has? Did Dante know what he was talking about when he showed us how to go from sin to salvation? Did Bunyon? Perhaps MacBeth hit the nail on the head when he called it all nothing more than sound and fury, signifying nothing. Who knows, maybe Marx was right, socialism is inevitable. Then again Dostoyevsky could have known better when he called communism another Tower of Babel. Maybe I'm babbling. Perhaps the search for a liberal education is nothing more than a quixotic quest for a better time that never was. In any case, someone who is college educated should have the intellectual tools to decide for himself. When one is allowed to graduate without them, the University has failed. Ω

Bob always has a "great book" with him so that he can use it as a beer can coaster.

The
CRITIC

announces editions at
Wake Forest
UNC-Charlotte
UNC-Greensboro
&
NC State

The Carolina Critic Society & STV present

Campus Roundtable

with host Bob Lukefahr
and panelists Gene Davis, Peter Hans,
Kyle Hudson, and Tony Woodlief

Campus Roundtable is shown on the first Tuesday and Thursday of the month on STV. Check the DTH for specific times and dates.

FACULTY FORUM / JOHN SHELTON REED

Thank You For Smoking

A wise man once observed that the existence of a nation requires that many things be forgotten—in particular, those things that divide its people. Maybe that's why the South never made it. Black and white Southerners have had their little disagreements in the past, of course, and so have flatlanders and hillbillies, rednecks and gentry. Politics and religion have usually been at least as good for an argument here as anywhere else. But is you want a topic with real divisive potential, something really fissionable, let's talk barbecue.

In this respect (in others, too, of course) barbecue is unlike grits. Grits glue the South together, if you'll excuse the image. Black and white, uplands and lowlands, *everybody* likes grits, and the only disagreement is over whether the word is singular or plural. A few years ago, a fellow named Stan Woodward made a marvelous movie called *It's Grits*, an hour or so of heartwarming grits lore, with testimonials from illustrious Southerners like Strom Thurmond and Craig Claibourne and from common folk including the entire crowd at a Gamecocks football game ("Give me a G!"). But the last time I saw Stan he was starting to film a movie on barbecue, and he hasn't been heard from since. I'm afraid he's a casualty. Reporting Southern barbecue is like reporting Lebanon: risky business.

Smoked meat is a subject folks can get *excited* about, you know what I mean? Barbecue drives a wedge between Texas (beef) and the Carolinas (pork), and completely isolates those parts of Kentucky around Owensboro (mutton). Even porcivores can't agree: barbecue divides western North Carolina

Cool Hand Luke

(tomato) from eastern North Carolina (no tomato), not to mention from South Carolina (mustard). You might say barbecue pits Southerners against one another. (Sorry.)

Now, personally, I don't regret these hard feelings. If they keep the South's proud local barbecue tradition alive—well, long may they wave. When a "Texas-style" barbecue joint opened in my Carolina hometown, I was delighted to see it go out of business within a year. Not that I don't like brisket. I love it, in Texas. But eating that stuff was like drinking Dr. Pepper in Munich—just *not right*, you understand? Southern barbecue is the closest thing we have in the US to Europe's wines or cheeses: drive a hundred miles and the barbecue changes. Let's keep it that way.

Anyone who cares about barbecue needs to see a new book by Greg Johnson and Vince Staten, called *Real Barbecue* ($8.95 in Harper & Row paperback). This is one important book, a cultural landmark. Remember a movie called *The Endless Summer*? This book does with barbecue what that did with surfing.

Johnson and Staten are reporters in Louisville, and they are fanatics. They are, in other words, just the men to travel 40,000 miles and eat roughly 200 pounds of barbecue (629,200 calories) in order to compile a sort of Whole Barbecue Catalog: 260 pages, with annotated listings of barbecue joints, sources for flash-frozen air-freight barbecue, recipes for side dishes, and plans for monster cookers guaranteed to capture your neighbors' attention. Boxed here and there are some tasty barbecue quotations (although not the raunchy testimonial from the North Carolina-born novelist Tom Robbins that the prurient can find on page 57 of *Another Roadside Attraction*). The book also includes nice little essays on such topics as the names of barbecue joints ("Bubba's" is indeed a favorite) and why Cincinnati doesn't have good barbecue.

Inevitably, the book has a Southern slant, since nearly all of the great pit-folk come from the South, and most are still in it. But Greg and Vince have worked real hard to include the rest of the country. Maybe too hard: their affirmative action has turned up what they claim is semi-decent barbecue in Vermont and a mail-order sauce from Castro Street, San Francisco, that I think I'll pass up. When I know what these guys are talking about, though, they do have pretty close to perfect pitch (I'd thought the fact that O'Brien's in Bethesda was actually good was my very own secret discovery), so I want to try some of the places I don't know. As a matter of fact, I was reading the book while visiting Chicago last August, and tried to promote an expedition to Lem's or Leon's for some Southside ribs, but my Hyde Park quiche-eating hosts thought I was out of my mind. Next time.

I do confess to mixed feelings about the book's list of great joints, because it's almost a law that fame isn't good for such places. As Greg and Vince point out, for example, after Calvin Trillin wrote about Arthur Bryant's in Kansas City, it started sealing its sauce in bottles with *price codes* on them. But since the cat is out of the bag, or the pig is out of the poke let's quibble (that's part of the fun).

I could show off by complaining that the book doesn't mention the Wild Horse BBQ, in Salisaw, Oklahoma. (Drinks from a machine, no health certificate in evidence, a side order of jalapenos, and *hot* sauce on the beef ribs that did in my effete Eastern taste buds before I could tell much about the meat, but my Fort Smith friends swear by it.) You'll probably get to Atlanta before Salisaw, though, so I'll plug the Auburn Rib Shack, also unaccountably omitted. I don't know if Greg and Vince missed the Shack, or just hit it on a bad day, but it's on Auburn Avenue near the Ebenezer Baptist Church and SCLC headquarters, which ought to count for something. Harold's, near the prison, gets the book's highest rating ("As good as we've ever had"); I ate there once back-to-back with the Auburn Rib Shack, and I'd rate the outcome a draw.

If you get over our way, we could check out Allen and Sons, which the boys rate "Real good." But lately their hushpuppies have gone to hell. (I don't think the lard is hot enough. It happened about the same time they put the hanging plants in.) Now, when my wife and I have the time, we drive 30 miles to O.T.'s, outside Apex, which isn't in the book. O.T.'s barbecue is standard-issue Piedmont pig—that is, merely transcendentally wonderful. What keeps us going back are the accessories: great baking-powder hushpuppies and Brunswick stew that rivals the best burgoo I've ever had. (As a Tennesseean, frankly, I find that Tar Heel Brunswick stew is too often just a peppery mush.) O.T. is a Baptist preacher, and serves no beer, alas, but for a buck he'll give you an enormous plate of "skin"—pork rind. You can feel your arteries clog as you crunch your way through it. Both Research Triangle yuppies and construction workers find O.T.'s worth the drive for lunch. Once I watched the News5 helicopter plop down in the lot, and fly off with several plates to go.

I could go on, putting Scruggs's unrated Knoxville ribs against Brother Jack's ("Real good"), for example. But you get the idea. If all of this means nothing to you, I'm sorry for you. If you enjoy it, two bucks to P.O. Box 30, Prospect, Kentucky, 40059, will bring you a cope of *Real Barbecue News* with, among other things, the itinerary of a three-day, two-night, eleven-barbecue-and-one-fried-pie-joint tour of Kentucky. (Between that and *Joe Bob Briggs's News of the Weird*, my mailman has started to look at me funny.) Better yet, get the book. Give it to your aerobics instructor for Christmas. Ω

Dr. Reed is a professor of Sociology at UNC. This article is being reprinted courtesy of Chronicles *magazine.*

The

CRITIC

Meeting:

Wednesday, November 1

7:30 pm, 2nd Floor Bingham Hall

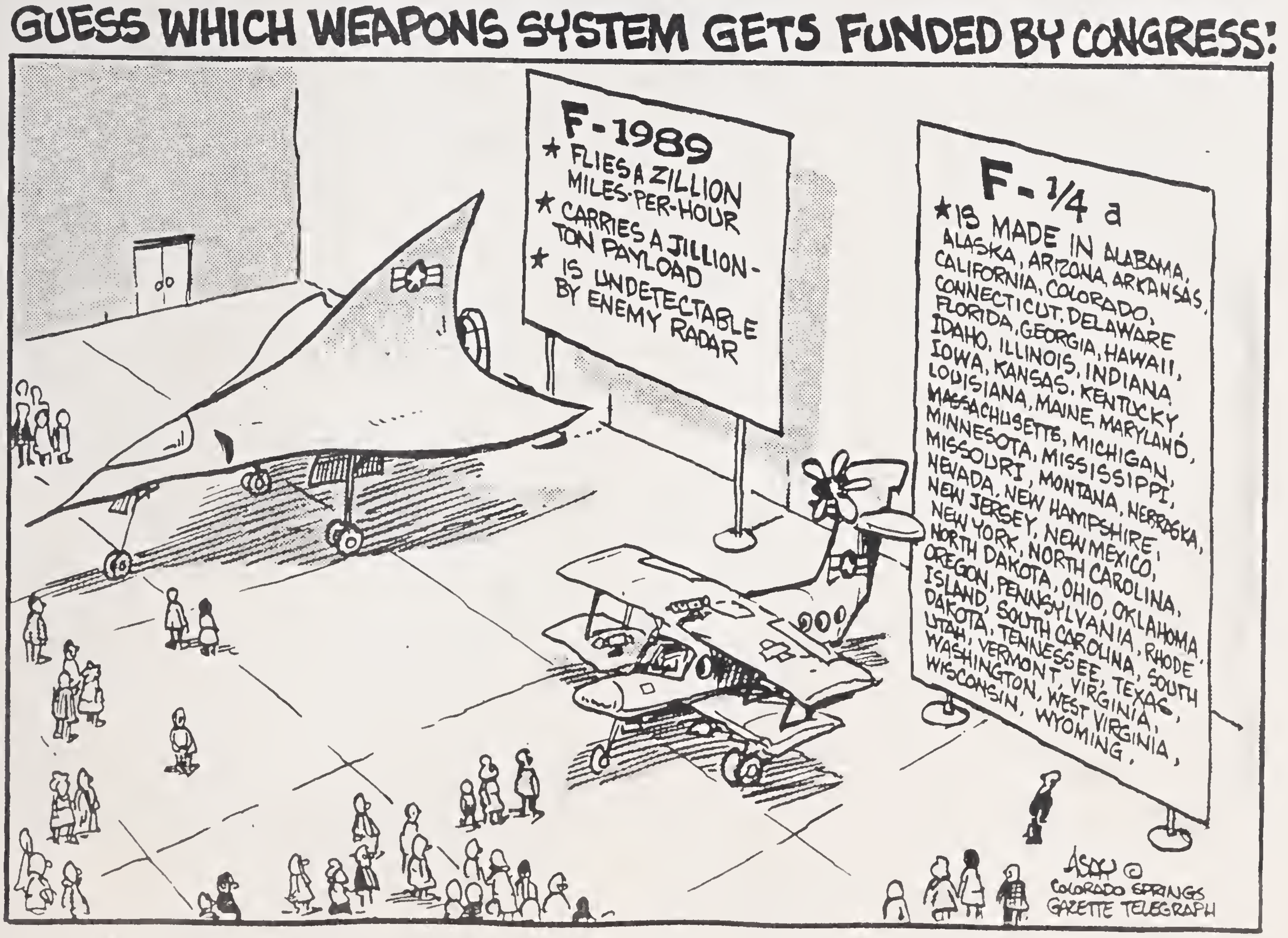
NATIONAL TRUSS / CHANNING ROUSE

Congress Plays Politics with the Defense Budget

Far too many congressmen corrupt the defense procurement process by transforming it into a welfare program designed to benefit their districts. In spite of the fact that this practice is often contrary to the national interest, these "public servants" view the defense budget as a means to return political favors, reward loyal constituents, and artificially boost the local economy. This pork-barrelling flies in the face of strategic rationale and destroys the government's ability to create a coherent and effective defense structure.

Examples abound. A flagrant abuse of defense management surrounds the decision to continue producing the A-7 subsonic attack plane. While effective in its mission during the 1960s, advances in technology made this plane obsolete by the mid-1970s. The armed services made it clear that they were no longer interested in the system because it had outlived its military usefulness. The A-7 is produced by the Vought Corporation in Texas, so it is not surprising that powerful Texas congressmen ignored the view of the military, and full production of this weapon system continued through 1981.

The ulterior motives of Texas congressmen such as George Mahan (D) and Senator John Tower (R) are not the only ones in question. An amendment offered to the defense appropriations bill by Rep. Tony Moffett in 1981, demonstrates the expansive role that defense contractors play in manipulating military spending. The proposal would have reallocated funds from the


GUESS WHICH WEAPONS SYSTEM GETS FUNDED BY CONGRESS:
F-1989
★ FLIES A ZILLION MILES-PER-HOUR
★ CARRIES A JILLION-TON PAYLOAD
★ IS UNDETECTABLE BY ENEMY RADAR
F-1/4 a
★ IS MADE IN ALABAMA, ALASKA, ARIZONA, ARKANSAS, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, CONNECTICUT, DELAWARE FLORIDA, GEORGIA, HAWAII, IDAHO, ILLINOIS, INDIANA IOWA, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, LOUISIANA, MAINE, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA, MISSISSIPPI, MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEBRASKA, NEVADA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, NEW MEXICO, NEW YORK, NORTH CAROLINA, NORTH DAKOTA, OHIO, OKLAHOMA, OREGON, PENNSYLVANIA, RHODE ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA, SOUTH DAKOTA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS, UTAH, VERMONT, VIRGINIA, WASHINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA, WISCONSIN, WYOMING.
ASAY © COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

virtually useless A-7s and provided the military with the less expensive and more effective F-16. Furthermore, this plane was to be manufactured in Texas as well. It seemed that the advantages of the switch appealed to everyone; everyone, that is, except the Vought Corporation. By rallying its congressional allies, Vought was able to preserve its own interest—the Moffett amendment was defeated on an overwhelming vote of 148 to 268.

Scandalous disregard for national security was certainly not absent from Congress' defense budget this year, either. While blatantly ignoring the military priorities set by the White House (not to mention reneging on a deal with the administration to fund both the MX and the Midgetman mobile missile systems), members of the House pursued individual agendas. In light of budgetary constraints, Defense Secretary Cheney took extensive measures to eliminate the least necessary weapons systems—namely the F-14D fighter and the V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor plane. In a classic case of pork-barrel politics, Les Aspin, Pat Schroeder and other powerful members of the House Arms Services Committee, reinstated these systems. The fact that other existing weapons can perform the functions of the F-14 and the V-22 was ignored. In essence, this aspect of the defense appropriations is nothing more than a public works program.

By procuring ineffective weapons systems at the expense of efficient ones, there is a net loss in capability as well as deterrence.

The incentive behind this self-serving Congressional posture of is rather obvious. Quite simply, defense contracts provide jobs, and jobs translate into grateful constituents. It is no coincidence that congressmen who consistently oppose Pentagon proposals feel no qualms about "hawkishly" supporting a military program which would provide employment and economic benefits for his voters. Apparently, dollar signs often take precedence over ideological commitment.

Beyond the moral implications of defense pork-barreling, the cost of this practice to the taxpayers, as well as the effect on defense management, demands analysis. One striking example is the measure that three senators—D'Amato, Moynihan, and DeConcini— took to protect their pork-barrel interest in the T-46 (a trainer aircraft program). The Air Force discovered that 40 percent of hardware produced by the defense contractor was defective and that company inspectors were passing 24 percent of these items. Furthermore, production was behind schedule and costs were 80 percent over budget. Under pressure to decrease spending, the Air Force proposed either switching to another contractor or eliminating the program altogether. Immediately, those senators who had a parochial stake in the T-46 launched an intensive campaign to preserve the status quo. Hours before the 1987 fiscal budget was to expire, they waged a filibuster on the issue. The government shut-down for 24 hours at a cost to the taxpayers of approximately $60 million.

The destructive effects of pork-barrelling on national security are more important. Congress often appropriates funds for additional M-1 tanks, but not an increase in the number of support vehicles necessary for their successful operation. They have also been known to cut the ammunition budget in order to purchase more guns. By procuring ineffective weapons systems at the expense of efficient ones, there is a net loss in capability as well as deterrence. Sadly enough, these are not isolated examples. Congressional micro-management of the defense budget undermines effective administration, throws off proportionality and makes military planning virtually impossible.

Short of abolishing the U.S. Congress, completely eliminating pork-barrel politics is an extremely difficult (if not impossible) task. In order to insure their position, congressmen will continue to trade stability for personal gain. There are, however, mechanisms by which such abuse of power can be mitigated. If Congress did not know which defense contractors would receive the bid, then manipulations of the procurement process would halt. An extreme (yet infinitely more effective) approach would allow the Defense Department to define a grand strategy and its implications on force structure. The role of Congress could be relegated to debating its merits, *independent* of the associated price tag. In this manner Caspar Weinberger's mission, as described by George Will would be continued: ask what is needed for an adequate defense and then ask how much it cost, *not* the other way around.

The first step in correcting this egregious breach of public trust is to make the public aware of the problem. If the voters realize they are nothing more than pawns in a congressional struggle for authority, then sufficient outrage and an appropriate reponse *can* make a difference. Nothing speaks louder to a politician than a sharp decline in support. But until the people harshly reproach their representatives for selling-out national security, this intolerable state of affairs will be perpetuated.

Accurately assessing the military threat to the United States and developing a plan to counter that threat is the primary responsibility of the Defense Department. However, current pork-barrelling tactics of the United States Congress is inhibiting this mission, generating unnecessary expenditure and posing a grave threat to U.S. security. Congress *should* scrutinize the Defense Department's recommendations and procure only those weapons systems necessary for national interests; *not their own*. By ignoring ideology, pork-barrel politicians sell-out the American public and our military posture. These tactics are not only irresponsible, but intolerable. Ω

Channing is assistant editor of the CRITIC *once again.*

Truth, Lies, and Fairy Tales:

How the Homeless Lobby Dupes America

Last month thousands of people descended on Washington demanding that the government solve the housing crisis. According to the activists, there are literally millions of homeless people sleeping on the streets of America because they cannot find affordable housing. They seem ignored and trampled upon by the affluent society around them. The pictures of men, women, and especially children sleeping on the streets are tragic, and have spurred the nation to action. But before you join the chorus of people crying "the government ought to do something," there are a few myths that ought to be exposed:

- There are three million homeless people in America.
- Most homeless people are just "average folks" who can't make ends meet.
- The lack of affordable housing is caused by the failure of government to intervene in the housing market.
- Reagan's budget cuts at the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) created current "crisis."
- More federal housing projects will solve the homeless problem.

ll of these charges have been made by ie self-appointed homeless advocates, nd all of them are false.

By Bob Lukefahr

HE NUMBERS GAME

Mitch Snyder is probably the best iown homeless advocate in the country. is group, the "Community for Creative on-Violence," brought the current risis" to public attention when it pubhed a report in 1980 called *Homelessss in America.* In it they claimed that ere were over two million homeless ople living in the United States. In 32 Snyder increased his estimate to 3 llion, and he has stuck with it ever since. Nearly all major television networks and newspapers have obligingly reported this number as though it was an incontrovertible fact. Fortunately for the people of America though, this is nothing more than the ravings of a zealous eccentric.

There have been several major studies done by reputable researchers since *Homelessness in America* was released. In 1988 the National Academy of Sciences estimated the number of homeless at around 650,000. That same year researchers at the Urban Institute found 570,000 homeless, while the General Accounting Office declared that the number was between 300,000 and 600,000. The lowest estimate comes from a study by Professor Richard Freeman, of Harvard University, who maintains that the actual number of homeless people is around 350,000. Regardless of which estimate one believes, the actual number is clearly no more than one-fifth of the Snyder estimate.

So how did Snyder come up with his estimate? In short, he made it up. According to Martin Morse Wooster of the Reason Foundation, "Snyder and [co-author Mary Ellen] Hobbes chose to prove their claim not by providing evidence but by listing dozens of horror stories about individual homeless people." Snyder's estimate was not based on, or supported by, empirical data. Instead it was research by anecdote—i.e. garbage.

Of course one might reasonably ask "who cares whether it is 300,000 or 3 million?" We would all agree that even 300,000 is far too many. Snyder himself complained that the search for accurate statistics was nothing more than the product of "Americans with little Western minds that have to quantify everything in sight." What we with our little Western minds understand however, is that in order to deal effectively with the problem we must first know its scope and its origins.

THE DIRTY LITTLE SECRET

What few people acknowledge when discussing the problem of homelessness is that most members of the homeless population have serious personal problems that prevent them from being productive members of society. The Urban Institute found that 71 percent of all homeless persons have problems such as drug addiction, alcoholism, and mental illness. The Institute also found that 42 percent of these people had two or more of these problems. Indeed, Dr. Martha Burt of the Urban Institute, claims that as many as 50 to 60 percent of the homeless "may have so many disabilities that they will never be able to take care of themselves." Clearly, more apartments will do little to help this majority.

What these people need is counseling, half-way houses, and in some cases to be institutionalized. What they certainly do not need is people like Snyder going around telling people that they are just "regular folks" that have had a bit of bad luck. They are not. The first step in dealing with the problem of homelessness must be to shift our focus from housing to treatment.

Tragically, when treatment becomes the focus, local concern for the homeless mysteriously disappears. It is one thing to march on Washington and demand action from the federal government, it is quite another to house recovering drug addicts in your neighborhood. One need look no farther than Chapel Hill to see evidence of this phenomenon. The city which prides itself on being a liberal, progressive and socially conscious community quickly rejected plans to build a home for AIDS patients, and a shelter to house the homeless. House the homeless? Yes, but not in my back yard. Any progress on the homeless problem must be preceded by a change in the attitude of local politicians and community leaders.

BLAMING REAGAN

The Reagan administration has received much of the blame for the housing "crisis." The Snyderites claim that it is largely the result of budget cuts at HUD. They assert that the HUD budget has been cut from $32 billion a year in 1980 to $7 billion in 1989. Again, this is false. While the budget *authority* has been reduced by that amount, *outlays* have been increased by 60 percent.

The distinction between budget authority and outlays is an important one. Budget authority is the amount of money an agency is authorized to spend in the future. In the case of HUD this translates into new housing units that the agency may commit to purchasing over the next several years. This portion of the budget was reduced because in the late 1970s the government committed to building over $250 billion worth of public housing units during the 1980s. As economist Warren Brookes has noted, the actual amount of money spent in direct housing assistance has risen from $5.6 billion in 1980 to $15.3 billion in 1989.

Additionally, the number of federally-subsidized housing units completed each year during the Reagan administration far surpasses those of the previous administration. Between 1977 and 1981 there were an average of 15,000 federally-subsidized housing units built each year. During the time of the alleged cutbacks, from 1982 to 1988, there were an average of 19,000 units completed annually. Of course it should be noted that the houses which became available during the Reagan years were generally *not* the result of Reagan's budgets. For the most part they had been funded during the Carter administration. But these statistics *do* demonstrate that the charge that budget cuts "decimated the nation's low-cost housing supply," as New York Governor Mario Cuomo claimed, is patently false.

One need only look at Snyder's own statistics to refute the charge that budget cuts caused the homeless crises. If, as he claims, there were 3 million homeless people in 1982, and again as he claims, there are 3 million today, then the famous budget cuts did not affect the size of the homeless population at all.

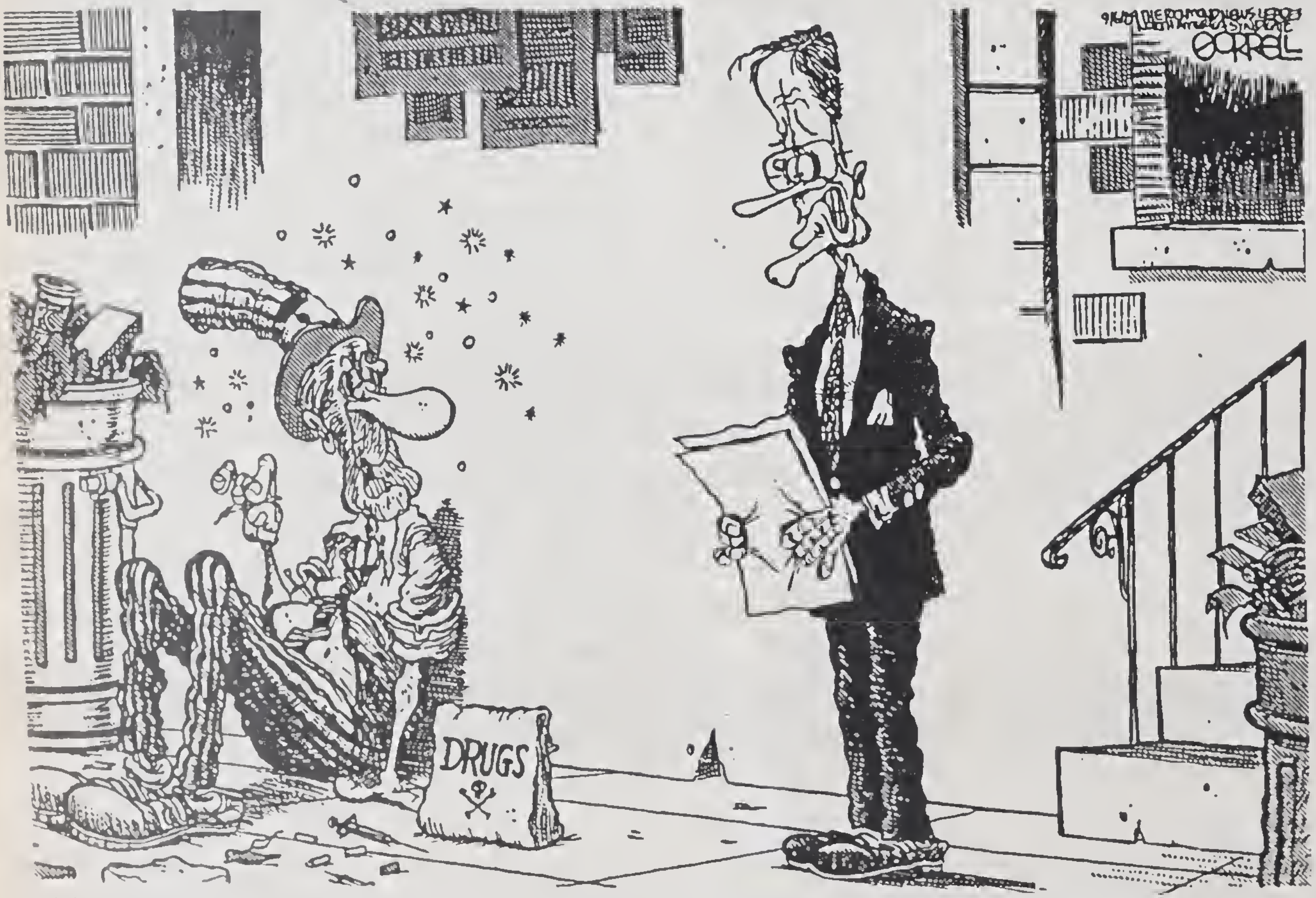
THE GOVERNMENT IS HERE TO HELP

This is not to say that a shortage of low-cost housing does not exist. A shortage not only exists, it is especially acute in many large cities. But if government inaction is not to blame, what is? The answer is government *action*. Action, in the form of rent control and over-restrictive zoning laws, has prevented the market from producing affordable housing.

At first glance rent control may seem like a good idea. In the highly inflationary era of the 1970s many local governments believed that their residents were being priced out of the rental market. They responded by setting maximum rental rates which, at least in theory, would insure that rental property remained affordable. Ironically, as William Tucker of the Hoover Institution has noted, "during the inflationary 1970s, rents were the slowest-rising item in the entire consumer economy." Nevertheless, rent control laws were adopted by over 200 cities.

Unfortunately, instead of helping lower income families, rent control laws have actually reduced the number of low-cost apartments. This should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the laws of economics. When rental prices are held to an artificially low level there is little incentive to build new apartments. And contrary to popular opinion, the best way to create low-cost housing is to build *luxury* apartments.

When expensive new housing is placed on the market, many of the most affluent members of society migrate to



"A THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT? . . . BABY, I'M *ALREADY* SEEING *TEN THOUSAND* . . . !"

the more fashionable neighborhoods. As the affluent move out of their old neighborhoods, middle-class residents move in, leaving their former apartments vacant. This, in turn, provides housing for low income families. Thus when expensive new housing is built, low-cost housing is produced.

Another way to think of this is by examining the basic law of supply and demand. Building luxury apartments increases the total supply of housing. As supply increases, the average price falls. This overall price reduction enables the lower income families to move into neighborhoods that only a few years before were beyond their financial means.

In addition to rent control, local governments have further limited the housing supply through restrictive zoning laws. This is especially true in suburban areas, where permits to build new housing are often extremely ard to get. Again, at first glance the idea f limiting growth in the suburbs may eem like a good idea, but these laws tend o add to the problem of urban homeless- ess.

When suburban governments slow ousing construction, the prices of all the ouses in the area rise. As a result, the rban middle class is priced out of the uburban housing market. This creates hat Tucker calls a "back-filtering" in hich urban housing is snapped up by ould-be suburbanites. Again the effect f this is to artificially increase housing rices in the cities and eliminate afford- ble housing.

INDING A MARKET SOLUTION

As was already noted, most activists vision a larger government role in nstruction of affordable housing. What perience has taught us however, is that blic housing creates many more prob- ms than it solves. Most public housing ojects are being taken over by crimi- ls and hooligans. Anyone who has ever sited a housing project in Detroit, Los geles or any other major city, will nfirm that they are not appealing places live. The free-market solution to the using crunch can prevent many of these problems.

Since the houses and apartments that are created by the market are owned by private individuals and corporations, they are less likely to become the crime-ridden, drug infested wastelands that characterize many public housing projects. Unlike their public housing counterparts, the property owners have a personal financial stake in protecting their investment. Common sense tells us that property owners will not continue to lease their investment to criminals and hooligans who will destroy it. Thus the market automatically improves the environment in low-cost housing districts.

According to economist Warren Brooks, the nation is already spending $8,000 a year per homeless person.

The incentives for public housing officials are very different. They want to increase their budgets and please the politicians they work for. Both of these goals can be served by limiting the number of private properties available and building more government subsidized houses. Is it any surprise that most government housing "experts" believe the solution to the housing problem is more government intervention?

VOUCHERS TO THE RESCUE

By eliminating rent control laws and hyper-restrictive zoning regulations much of the problem will be solved. If housing and counseling for the many homeless with serious personal problems is also created, even more of the horror stories will disappear. But even with these unlikely reforms in place, some will still need assistance. The most effective system of providing this assistance is a voucher program.

According to economist Warren Brooks, the nation is already spending $8,000 a year per homeless person—not counting private charities. This is more than enough money to provide adequate housing in an unrestricted market. Unfortunately, too much of this money is being wasted on expensive bureaucracies and government housing. The solution to this problem is not more money but more efficiency. Creating a voucher system is much more efficient.

Vouchers provide money directly to the poor to be used as rent subsidies. Such a system is much more efficient, because it cuts out the government "middle-men" who design, build, and administer public housing projects. Perhaps more importantly however, a voucher system returns control to the people we are supposedly trying to help.

Since the people actually receiving the money are the most qualified to understand their family's needs, they are best able to choose housing that effectively meets those needs. A single person, for example, will probably not be concerned about which school district serves his block. He will be perfectly happy living in a nice apartment located near a lousy school. To a single mother however, finding a good school for her children may be the most important factor in choosing an apartment. These are things which only individuals can know, but they are extremely important in improving the quality of life. By allowing individuals, rather than bureaucrats, to decide where they are going to live, both the poor and the taxpayers are better served.

Homelessness *is* a national tragedy. It is one with complex causes and no single solution. Local communities must convince overzealous city planners to lighten up and allow the market to produce housing. Community leaders need to impress upon their fellow citizens that the not-in-my-backyard mentality is counter-productive, and in nobody's best interest. The federal government should stay the course and continue to shift from government owned housing to vouchers. Most importantly, the media should stop repeating the myths of homelessness like so many trained parrots. If we truly wish to solve the problem, we must first understand it. Ω

Be nice to Bob. He has started smoking again and may not be with us much longer.

D-D-Don't Believe the Hype

Nancy Reagan Wastes Her *Turn* in a New Book

By Ganesh Gunasekaran

The evil that White House memoirists commit ends up on the covers of magazines. The good is oft interred in their books.

—Christopher Buckley
National Review, July 1988

You've probably noticed by now that the Critic is a wannabe *National Review*, and most Critic staffers fantasize about being a Buckley. With this in mind, I suppose basing a discussion of Nancy Reagan's new book *My Turn* on the excerpts in *Newsweek* would be ill-advised. I mean, I haven't the foggiest notion what is interred in her book. Unfortunately, since *Newsweek* somehow outbid the Critic for the first rights to *My Turn*, I've only read the excerpts from Nancy Reagan's memoirs, and don't know whether I've seen the evil or the good.

Reagan has two motivations for writing this book. First, almost everyone who has ever been in a headline seems to write a memoir in hopes of making fifteen minutes last forever; otherwise ghost-writing wouldn't be nearly so profitable. Throw in the allure of a six-figure advance and a collaborator who can reduce the writing work to a bit of dictation, and the existence of books by former White House non-entities like spokesman Larry Speakes and p.r. man Mike Deaver is easily explained.

Some White House memoirs are additionally motivated by an author's desire to avenge mistreatment suffered at the hands of the press. A glance at the titles of Don Regan's bitter memoir *For the Record* and Nancy Reagan's effort indicate that they fall into this category. In *For the Record*, Regan sought to replace the image created by the press of a stubborn impractical man whose ineptitude led directly to the Iran/Contra mess. In *My Turn*, Nancy Reagan, in addition to repeating the suggestion that the Iran/Contra scandal could never have occurred under James Baker's reign as Chief of Staff, responds to the plethora of allegations leveled against her during her years as First Lady.

An image of a tough-as-nails power behind the scenes delighted a newsmedia eagerly grasping at the portrait of a doddering, fuzzy-minded old president who dozed off during cabinet meetings.

Even Raisa Gorbachev could probably understand Nancy Reagan's desire for a "turn" to tell her side of the story. In sharp contrast to the rapid acceptance Barbara Bush has enjoyed, Reagan was a tempting target from the day she became Firs Lady. She easily fit the stereotype of a rich bitch; she appeared to be a "social X-ray" of the type described by Tom Wolfe. As the unemployment rate soared, Nancy Reagan ordered renova tions for the White House. The same day the Department of Ag riculture declared ketchup an acceptable vegetable for schoo lunches, the White House announced the purchase of a new se of china. The reality that no taxpayer money was used to finance the purchase went unobserved; stubborn facts like that do no find their way into newspaper headlines or liberal politica cartoons. (Sorry about the redundancy.)

Ultimately, as Don Regan learned, efforts like this are doomed to failure. Millions more people hear about these hyped-up books than actually read them. A public figure who blames the press for a negative image is rather naive if he expects the same newsmen suddenly to become fair and mature. Regan, who antagonized a White House press corps grown dependent on leaks by abruptly reversing predecessor James Baker's "no plumbing" policy, had to buy the newsmedia's favor with an irresistibly scandalous tale of "Astrology in the White House" as *Time* trumpeted on its cover. The astrology story overshadowed the rest of Regan's book, which included a thoughtful response to the Tower commission's conclusion that Regan bore "primary responsibility for the chaos that descended on the White House" in the wake of the Iran/contra revelations. Unsurprisingly, the press also ignored Regan's unambiguous statement that Ronald Reagan had absolutely no knowledge, and therefore, no criminal intent, concerning the diversion of funds from the Iranian arms sales. For all his troubles, Regan will end up as nothing more than the man who revealed the First Family's belief in astrology. His place in the footnotes of history is far from enviable.

Nancy Reagan appears certain to suffer the same fate. First the nature of the book, a response to several attacks leveled a Nancy Reagan over the years, poses some problems. Discussion of her book will rekindle memories of the scandals tha provoked the defense in the first place.

The manner in which she defends herself does not help either. Regarding astrology, she does not deny consulting Hollywood seer Joan Quigley, but merely tries to explain it away, invoking her terror that President Reagan would be assassinated. Though this context may make her behavior easier to explain, it does not allay the most serious doubts Regan raised. While she answers an allegation Regan never made—that policy decisions were made on the basis of Quigley's predictions—she never addresses one of Regan's most serious charges, namely that the president's absence from the public eye at certain times of crises, like after the revelation of arms sales to Iran and after the stock market crash of October 1987, was due to Quigley's prognosis that President Reagan was in a "bad period" and should avoid travel.

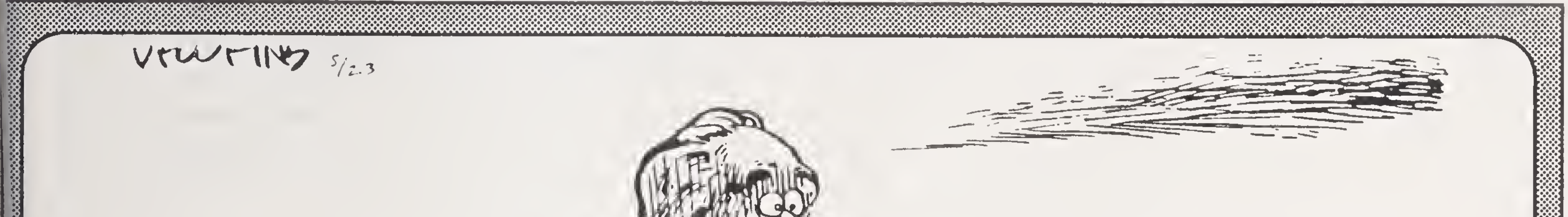
Nancy Reagan's input on policy in the Reagan years was another touchy issue. An image of a tough-as-nails power behind the scenes delighted a newsmedia eagerly grasping at he portrait of a doddering, fuzzy-minded old president who lozed off during cabinet meetings. (Other major world leaders ave had the same public relations problem. When Tom Brokaw nterviewed Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987, the censors decided hat Gorbachev's suggestion that his wife Raisa advised him on olicy was a bit too much "openness," and excised it from the oviet broadcast.)

Nancy Reagan never really makes clear how much influ-nce she had. While denying she was the "power behind the rone," she gleefully states, "For eight years I was sleeping ith the President, and if that doesn't give you special access, don't know what does!" (The issue won't be resolved until the resident finally gets down to writing his memoirs, and reveals ust how much he listened to his wife.)

For practical reasons, Reagan must not protest insignificance too vehemently. Distasteful though the popular "dragon-lady" image may be, it is precisely the reason the book has widespread relevance. This is important from the standpoint of the folks at Random House publishing, who realize that a volume confined to the "Just Say No" campaign and the renovation of the White House would not be worth $21.95 to most people. The fact that *Newsweek* editors, merely trying to justify a $2 purchase in a consumer's mind, focus sharply on the First Lady's political role in the White House bears this out. Reagan, whose interest in the financial success of the venture is probably limited, understands that she needs some hook to make her version of events important. It's her turn, and she does not want it to go unnoticed.

Enough about *My Turn* from Nancy Reagan's point of view. From the consumer's standpoint, I fear the hype will prove far more interesting than the book. (I say this well aware that much of the hype has been buried by discussion of the tragic earthquake in San Francisco.) Conservative columnist William Novak co-wrote with Nancy Reagan, but he is enough of a celebrity that he may have had a "ghost" himself. The writing is typically bland memoir fare, but a few examples of truly bad poetry stick out even in the excerpts. When discussing former Secretary of State Al Haig, described by Nancy Reagan as "Ronnie's biggest mistake in the first term," Reagan writes "we were relieved when Haig finally left," making him sound more like a recalcitrant dinner guest than the highest-ranking member of the cabinet. All things considered, forget Nancy and buy the *Washingtonian* with Don Regan's review of the book. Ω

Ganesh is a freshman from Los Angeles majoring in political science.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Hiding Behind the First Amendment

Robert Berry

When feminists and their allies protested the *Daily Tar Heel's Playboy* ad early this semester, no one, least of all the DTH's staff, was particularly surprised. Just as predictably, indignant civil libertarians screamed that the marches and protests against the ad were in some way violating press freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment.

What almost no one seemed to realize was that the First Amendment has absolutely nothing to do with it. I won't quote the amendment here; if you don't know what it says, you owe yourself the experience of reading the Constitution in order to find it. But like the rest of the Constitution, it delineates the powers of government. To my knowledge, no one in the government attempted to exercise any sort of control over the *Daily Tar Heel* as a result of the *Playboy* ad.

Sadly, however, this reckless misuse of the First Amendment is not limited to legal laymen. The same argument appeared in a paid advertisement in the September issue of *Harper's* Magazine, placed by a group called "The FA Anti-Censorship Project" and written by the group's director, New York attorney Richard Yao. The ad exhorts its readers in large type to boycott Exxon (that being fashionable then) and Pepsi, "The Exxon of the Soft Drinks Industry."

Pepsi? Was there a huge cola spill somewhere that I missed? The ad goes on to explain, first reviewing the facts of the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in March. "But a week or so earlier, Pepsi was guilty of something just as reprehensible. Surrendering to blatant fundamentalist censorship pressure, Pepsi pulled Madonna's TV ad. Just as Exxon did not think much about destroying our ecosystem, Pepsi did not think twice about selling our First Amendment birthright."

Yao goes on to expose a grand conspiracy between Exxon and Pepsi (all corporations are evil, remember) to a) destroy our environment and b) erode our civil liberties. The problem is that the only "right" Pepsi infringed by pulling Madonna's commercial is the right to watch Madonna Pepsi commercials, and I haven't been able to find that one mentioned anywhere in the Constitution.

Pepsi made its decision to pull the Madonna ad in much the same way the DTH made its decision *not* to pull the Playboy ad. They looked at a number of factors: how much money had they spent on this ad? Was it likely to boost their sales? And how did the public feel about it? As it happened, certain vocal members of the public said that they didn't feel very good about it, and Pepsi obligingly pulled the ad.

Their reasons weren't sound. The Madonna commercial did not actually contain anything objectionable. The problem was that it used her song "Like A Prayer," which was made into a video containing some controversial religious imagery. Pepsi didn't know about the video until it premiered, and was afraid—with apparent cause—that customers would confuse the video with the commercial. Tod MacKenzie, a spokesman for Pepsico Inc., explained: "When you've got an ad that confuses people or concerns people, it just makes sense that that ad goes away."

It may have been an overreaction; it may have even been cowardly; but the fact of the matter is, they were *listening to their customers*. It is not a novel idea for a corporation to actually pay attention what its customers want.

In the *Harper's* ad, Yao says: "We need to send corporations like Pepsi a clear message: profits and expediency must not have priority over our First Amendment birthright." Wake up, Mr. Yao. Pepsico is a for-profit corporation whose sole purpose is to make money by selling products like Pepsi. However nice the thought might be, the company does not exist to promote the free exchange of ideas or to give Madonna an artistic forum.

Yao, in fact, makes several references to "our First Amendment birthright," although he never defines the term. Instead, he uses the phrase "First Amendment" as a catch phrase behind which he can hide his real motives.

What are his real motives? To begin with, the "FA" in "FA Anti-Censorship Project" does not stand for "First Amendment." It stands for Fundamentalists Anonymous, an organization of which Richard Yao is a founding member, and which he has described as a "support system for people who have left or are leaving the fundamentalist/Pentecostal fold" and which seeks "to educate the public on the threat posed by the fundamentalist mindset to us as individuals and as a society." Yao himself is a graduate of the Yale Divinity School and a self-described former Baptist fundamentalist. His group is also known for its legal task force, which was formed to represent former fundamentalists who feel they were abused or ripped off by groups such as Jim Bakker's PTL.

The objectives of Fundamentalists Anonymous may well be laudable. People who have been misled by evangelists certainly can use a place to go for support and legal help. But, given his background, it's clear that Yao has a personal axe to grind with fundamentalists. Announcing FA's Pepsi boycott in April, Yao said: "Pepsi is no longer the choice of a new generation. Obviously, they want to be the choice of the fundamentalists." What offends Yao about Pepsi's decision is not the suppression of ideas, but rather the fact that the fundamentalists have won a round. Far from protecting free speech, what he really seeks is to minimize the clout of his philosophical opponents whose voices, this time, have been heard.

His arguments spring from the flawed premise that "self-censorship" is a particularly evil form of censorship. But "self-censorship" as Yao means the term is an oxymoron. Censorship requires the exercise of control over a publication by *someone else*. Any publication—the *New York Times*, the CRITIC, *Pravda*—constantly makes decisions about what to publish and what to leave out. To claim that the First Amendment forbids "self-censorship" is to deprive editors of their jobs. It is to require all publications to publish everything, and that is a proposal whose practicability I doubt.

I am an enthusiastic supporter of press freedoms and of getting the government out of everything it can be gotten out of, including regulation of the press. That is where the First Amendment, properly used, is so valuable. But since the government has nothing to do with the decisions behind the Pepsi ad or the *Playboy* ad, I'm perplexed by these efforts to make the Constitution an issue. While we may from time to time disagree with decisions editors or advertising managers make, ultimately those decisions are the province of no one but the people who are paying for the paper, ink and air time. When the government says we *have* to show Madonna on TV—well, then I'll start to worry. Ω

Robert Berry is a graduate student in Journalism.

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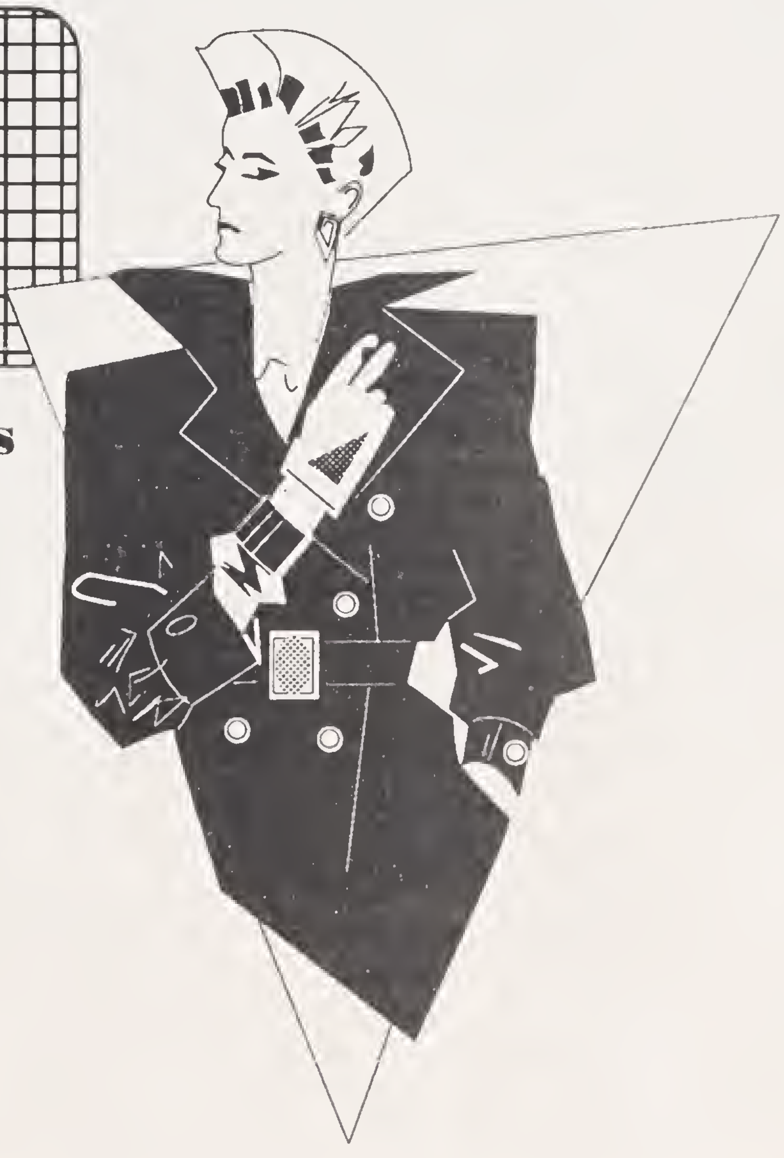

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Essays

Liberating South Africa Through the Free Market

ELLIOT FUS

For years there has been extensive controversy over South Africa's overt system of apartheid. Recently, the fight against apartheid has evolved into one of the most fashionable causes for college campus activists, coffee-break moralists, and other well-intentioned defenders of social consciousness. Widespread support for the eradication of the separationist establishment has propelled South Africa into the global eye of revulsion. The country has become a social leper colony regarding its intercontinental diplomatic and trade relations. Schools, churches, and corporations have zealously divested from the South African economy, and the motivation for this testament of disapproval is amply justified. South Africa is a racist state, and that is wrong, unjust, inappropriate and perhaps even immoral if that term is still relevant to anyone. Unfortunately, just motives are not synonymous with accurate understanding or effective practices.

BOOK REVIEW

So who will responsibly provide the baseline facts concerning apartheid and expel its popular myths? Probably not Tracy Chapman. Walter E. Williams, syndicated columnist and professor of economics at George Mason University fills the intellectual void. In his new book, *South Africa's War Against Capitalism*, Williams combines objective historical and legal scholarship with a sturdy economic thesis to relate his view of apartheid. He reveals:

> *The business pursuit of profits—which caused employers to be less ardent supporters of the white supremacist doctrine—has always been the enemy of white privilege. This is why South African white workers resorted to government. The political arena allows one to achieve privilege that would be impossible —or very costly— in the market arena because market forces have little respect for status attributes like race, sex, and nationality.*

We see apartheid as the antithesis of capitalism—whites attaining an economic edge over nonwhites by political manipulation, thus rejecting laissez faire competition.

South Africa's War Against Capitalism begins with an informative survey of South African culture. "The Evolution of Apartheid" presents the fundamentals of the nation's colonial history and ethnic diversity. "The South African Legal Structure" then provides an overview of their civil and constitutional law and also specifically describes major racial ordinances. These sections serve as a reliable source for fact, but more importantly they shatter certain prejudices and misconceptions about the country.

For instance, American conceptions of interracial separation are frequently obscured by the heritage of blacks in the United States. African-Americans have traditionally adopted the language, religion, and culture of whites. Generally, this is untrue of native Africans. Additionally, African-Americans are considered a solitary ethnic group. Consequently, when trying to assess the problem of apartheid, it is often reduced to "blacks vs. whites." The black population in South Africa, however, is subdivided into many heterogeneous cultural, ethnic and religious groups. This does not even mention the sizable portion of Asians who are also discriminated against by apartheid. So the sides represented in this issue are not as clear as many would think. Ultimately, it would be an appropriate analogy to view the relation of whites and nonwhites in South Africa as parallel to that of whites and American Indians in our country. But in examining the tragedy of human rights in American Indian history, we find ourselves without a moral precedent as a basis for our indignation.

Without our moral highchair, how are we to help change

South Africa? The conclusion is simple — support an unrestricted free market. This is also the only way South Africa's non-whites can help themselves. The bulk of Williams' book is dedicated to proving this theory.

Laissez faire must be the key to non-white freedom in South Africa, because it is the doctrine which policymakers fear most. Williams lays out the evidence. Apartheid laws have stripped non-white entrepreneurs of their farmland, exiled them from central business districts, and established "color bars" which restrict certain occupations to whites only. They have produced minimum wage and equal-pay-for-equal-work laws so non-whites may not underprice white labor. Williams surmises "the motivation behind South Africa's apartheid system is that group interests seek to use the coercive powers of the state to steer more wealth in their direction than would be indicated by market forces."

South Africa's War Against Capitalism does more than notify us of this fact though. It encourages and prophesies the triumph of free market values over apartheid. Williams explains that apartheid is a weak structure in the shadow of capitalism's strength. He epitomizes this truth with an incident from a past economic recession. In 1916, Prime Minister Louis Botha traveled the countryside urging white farmers to fire their black workers and hire poor whites. "The admonishment fell on deaf ears because... black workers were cheaper and more reliable" and "whites were unwilling to do *kaffirwerk* (the American translation would be *niggerwork*)." Obviously, with the absence of state interference, most racists will forget their prejudices when they hear the call of financial gain.

In light of Williams' analysis, Americans should reevaluate their strategies against apartheid. Feed the South African market! No embargo, stock divestment, or company withdrawal will liberate the nonwhite. These tactics deplete their market, therefore stealing the only hope for the oppressed. Embargoes and withdrawals take job opportunities away from nonwhites. Also, when American companies leave South Africa, they do not destroy their production assets. Their factories and plants are only sold to white South Africans at cut-rate prices, putting more power into the hands of apartheid supporters. Furthermore, when your school sells its stock in South African-based companies, they create no significant change in the company. These stocks are just bought by other less scrupulous investors. f additional support of these points is needed, Williams cites hat an absolute majority of South African blacks themselves ppose disinvestment and sanctions.

Finally, *South Africa's War Against Capitalism* promotes n effective stance against apartheid which is relavant to members of the right and left wings alike. His proposal for liberation rough the free market is an underrated concept which needs ore exposure in the activist community and media. Current oral sentiment is handcuffing the South African nonwhite by aking South African economic support seem like a sin. In ality, however, Williams reminds us that "whatever strengths market forces and weakens government will best serve the terests of South Africa's nonwhite population." Ω

liot is a sophomore majoring in journalism.

Choosing a School for Your Little Brother

DAVID HOOD

Thomas Sowell is a highly respected economist, scholar, and newspaper columnist known primarily for his work on the issues of race (*The Economics and Politics of Race*) and political theory (*A Conflict of Visions*). A Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, his scholarship is generally regarded as rigorous, thorough, and quite demanding for the reader. This makes it all the more interesting that his most recent book is geared primarily for high school students and their parents.

Choosing a College is a highly readable and imminently practical book, the purpose of which is to aid potential freshmen in the hunt for the perfect place to spend their next four years. In contrast to the large, statistic-filled tomes that one usually turns to for guidance, Sowell's contribution is more of a "how-to" book that asks a list of questions rather than gives a list of answers. Its major purpose is to prepare the reader for the college search, but Sowell also explores the current state of higher education. Therein lies the chief interest of the book for those not actively in the college hunt.

For example, one topic Sowell discusses as he contrasts different kinds of U.S. colleges and universities is the conflict between research and teaching. (This is a subject of considerable interest at UNC, where students were up in arms last spring when a renowned N.C. History teacher was denied tenure in favor of a researcher). Sowell points out that while many schools are known for their sports programs (Ohio State, U.C.L.A.) or their distinguished researchers (Stanford, Harvard) almost none are famous for their teaching prowess. This is a function of the way in which a professor rises in the ranks; a process where teaching plays almost no role at all, or may even play a negative role. At Harvard, for example, the cash prize for "Teacher of the Year" offered by the student body is referred to by some junior faculty as "travel money" since the powers-that-be infer that the exceptional teacher has been neglecting their research responsibilities.

True to form, though, Sowell dwells upon this problem for a reason. This time his point is to tell rising freshmen that they may wish to look at a smaller liberal arts school to get a quality education, instead of focusing all their attention on becoming an undergrad at Berkeley or Michigan. As he puts it, "World-class universities do not mean world-class teaching." This is due to extremely large classes, a high frequency of courses taught by graduate students, and more demands upon the time of full professors at reesearch institutions. Any undergraduate at UNC knows that this maxim applies here as well, where a large number of courses are taught by graduate students — who often have neither the time nor the inclination to be stellar teachers.

Sowell says that many students should look to smaller institutions like Oberlin, Davidson, or Occidental Colleges that may actually provide a better education for the average undergrad than the more prestigious or "nationally-ranked" schools. The evidence for this can be found in the percentage of students in a given college that actually go on to gain PhDs in their chosen fields. Most large universities, particularly state-supported ones, are not even in the top seventy in this category. Another example that Sowell uses is the University of California system, where the more prestigious schools like Berkeley and U.C.L.A. do far worse than the lesser-known member schools like UC-Irvine, UC-Santa Cruz, and UC-Davis. Too bad he didn't compile statistics for the UNC system. Perhaps he would have found Appalachian or UNC-Charlotte beating out Carolina and State!

Another big theme in the book is that students should attempt to match the institution to their ability to do the work. He gives the example of students who happen to get into an Ivy League school with less-than-average qualifications. These students may consider themselves lucky, but how will they feel when they consistently score at the bottom of their class?

Sowell uses this point to discuss the whole issue of minority admissions at top universities, and how affirmative action programs tend to harm those they were intended to help. He argues that college admissions officials, in their rush to get a color-conscious body count, often let in students who cannot do the work and who end up failing in college when they could have succeeded at less demanding institutions. At Berkeley, for example, the black student population has SAT scores that are certainly above average nationally but are not comparable to those of the student body as a whole. As a result, nearly three quarters of the black students fail to graduate, because the campus was simply unsuited to their level of high school preparation. Students who would have had no trouble excelling at one of the other UC-system campuses have been propelled, by lower admissions standards or federally-set "goals and timetables", into environments they cannot handle.

In pointing out this mismatch, Sowell is not engaging in racism or bigotry but arguing that SAT scores and other admissions criteria are truly related to expected college performance. Placing minority students at a campus where their SAT scores are much lower than the school average is hardly doing these students a favor — instead, this guarantees that many of those students will fail. By way of illustration, Sowell notes that in 1987 only 600 black students scored 1200 or above on the SAT. Given that many of the top schools in the country have SAT averages at that level or higher, Sowell posits that many of these campuses will be forced to let in blacks with lower scores to fulfill their arbitrary affirmative action goals simply due to the scarcity of blacks with higher scores. These students may not be able to keep up with their peers who went to higher-quality, better-funded secondary schools, and many will fail to graduate as a result. This is hardly the "step-up" that affirmative action is supposed to provide to disadvantaged students.

The alternative, according to Sowell, is that many of these mismatched students will be forced into less demanding fields of study that will be useless to them, assuming they graduate. This whole issue of "interdisciplinary studies," and majors that focus not upon a particular discipline but upon a geographic region or political perspective, is another topic of much discussion in his book. Sowell cautions against majoring in Women's Studies, Afro-American Studies, Peace Studies, and the like because such "disciplines" do not give their students a structured way of thinking like the traditional disciplines — physics or sociology, for example. He argues that these subjects could be covered better within the framework of a real discipline, where courses are more likely to be of educational rather than propagandistic value.

For the most part, Sowell's book deals with the nuts-and-bolts of the admissions process. He discusses application procedures, how to conduct campus visits, financial aid, and other matters. Throughout the book he cautions against reliance on college admissions officials, professional educators, and many guidance counselors, who may have agendas that have nothing to do with getting a particular student matched with the right school. This is good advice for students and their parents, for whom the aura and status of particular universities may obscure the kind of education they can really expect for their money. Overall, the book will do much to de-mystify the college search process, and should become an invaluable resource to high school students and their parents. Ω

Hood is a second year law student from Charlotte.

Ralph Nader: Consumer Advocate or Adversary?

ANTHONY WOODLIEF

Ralph Nader, long-time champion of American consumers, may just be hazardous to your health. Nader first gained national attention in the late 1960s and early 1970s with his book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, which attacked the automobile industry for what Nader claimed was gross neglect of the safety of passengers. Nader eventually testified before Congress on the safety of automobiles, and at the same time sued General Motors for sending private investigators to spy on him. In one fell swoop, Nader brought the auto industry to its knees and became a national hero. Since then, Nader has attacked a number of corporate giants and federal agencies, with the help of a national network of advocacy groups called Public Interest Research Groups, and their sister agency, Public Citizen.

Contrary to popular belief, however, Nader does not always help make cars safer. He supports legislation that would make cars lighter, and less protective. Furthermore, by encouraging a wave of consumer lawsuits, Nader's efforts have indirectly cost consumers an estimated $80 billion a year in higher product and insurance costs. Finally, research into Nader's efforts reveals that his ultimate goal is not the safety of the American consumer, but a restructuring of our economy and society.

Nader's fascination with the automobile industry did not come after careful research, indeed, he did not carefully research the automobile industry before writing *Unsafe at Any Speed.* Nader painted a picture of American highways wrought with carnage, depicting automobiles as steadily worsening deathtraps claiming more and more lives every year. The National Safety Council, however, which began compiling highway fatality statistics in 1913, reports that the highway death rate per 10,000 miles traveled had steadily declined from 23.8 in 1913 to 5.3 in 1960, when it leveled off, remaining around 5.3 until 1969. Furthermore, despite a massive increase in the number of automobiles and miles traveled, there were fewer *total* highway deaths in 1960 than in 1939.

Not only did Nader distort the dangers of driving, he ttacked specific models, which were relatively safe, and called hem deadly. Nader's favorite target, the Chevrolet Corvair, vas subjected to Congressional scrutiny in 1970 at Nader's ehest. Despite Nader's wild-eyed claims, three independent ngineers concluded after an expensive two-year study that the orvair was as safe as any comparable models on the market. ader got what he wanted, however, which was federal regulaion of specific safety features in automobiles. What followed vas the growth of "standard meeting" in the automobile indusy, as manufacturers worked to meet federal standards in order guard against liability, rather than to develop more effective afety equipment. Not surprisingly, Nader's decade of governent regulation of automobile safety standards marked the first me that highway deaths per 10,000 miles *rose*.

Even now, Nader supports an increase in the federal Corpote Automobile Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards, which will sult in more fuel-efficient, although lighter, cars. Research by e Brookings Institute, along with John Graham of Harvard's ennedy School of Government, reveals that these lighter cars e more deadly in crashes, because they don't offer as much otection for passengers. Although this data has been made ailable to Nader, he refuses to acknowledge it, citing the leged "greenhouse effect" as a legitimate reason to require gher CAFE standards. He is apparently willing to sacrifice a w lives here and there in the name of fuel efficiency and nimal reductions in carbon dioxide.

Nader's irresponsible accusations, coupled with his advoy of expensive and deadly regulations, is not surprising en one considers his motives. Far from feeling protective, der has a disdain for American consumers. He considers ir preoccupation with luxuries distasteful. Furthermore, der is out of touch with the consumers he claims to represent. e biographer, Charles McCarry, noted that Nader believed t Americans waste an inordinate amount of their time play- the Oriental game Mah-Jongg. A critic has remarked on this lity, saying that it is not surprising that "the nation's number one consumer advocate knows so little about the nation's consumers that he pictures a substantial number of them playing a game that went out of style at least a quarter of a century ago."

Growing up in Winsted, Connecticut, Nader developed small town, communitarian values. He simply wants to impose these values on an America run wild with corporate capitalism. Nader's vision is of a world of small towns, with consumer boards controlling the investment and production of corporations. As Nader said about his activism in a recent interview, "This is not just recalling cars. It is restructuring the economy." Nader's words and deeds demonstrate that he is not out to protect the consumer, but to use the consumer to further his own utopian vision of community. He is so committed to this vision that he is willing to sacrifice human freedom, choice, and life in the process. Ω

Woodlief is a commentator on STV's Campus Roundtable.

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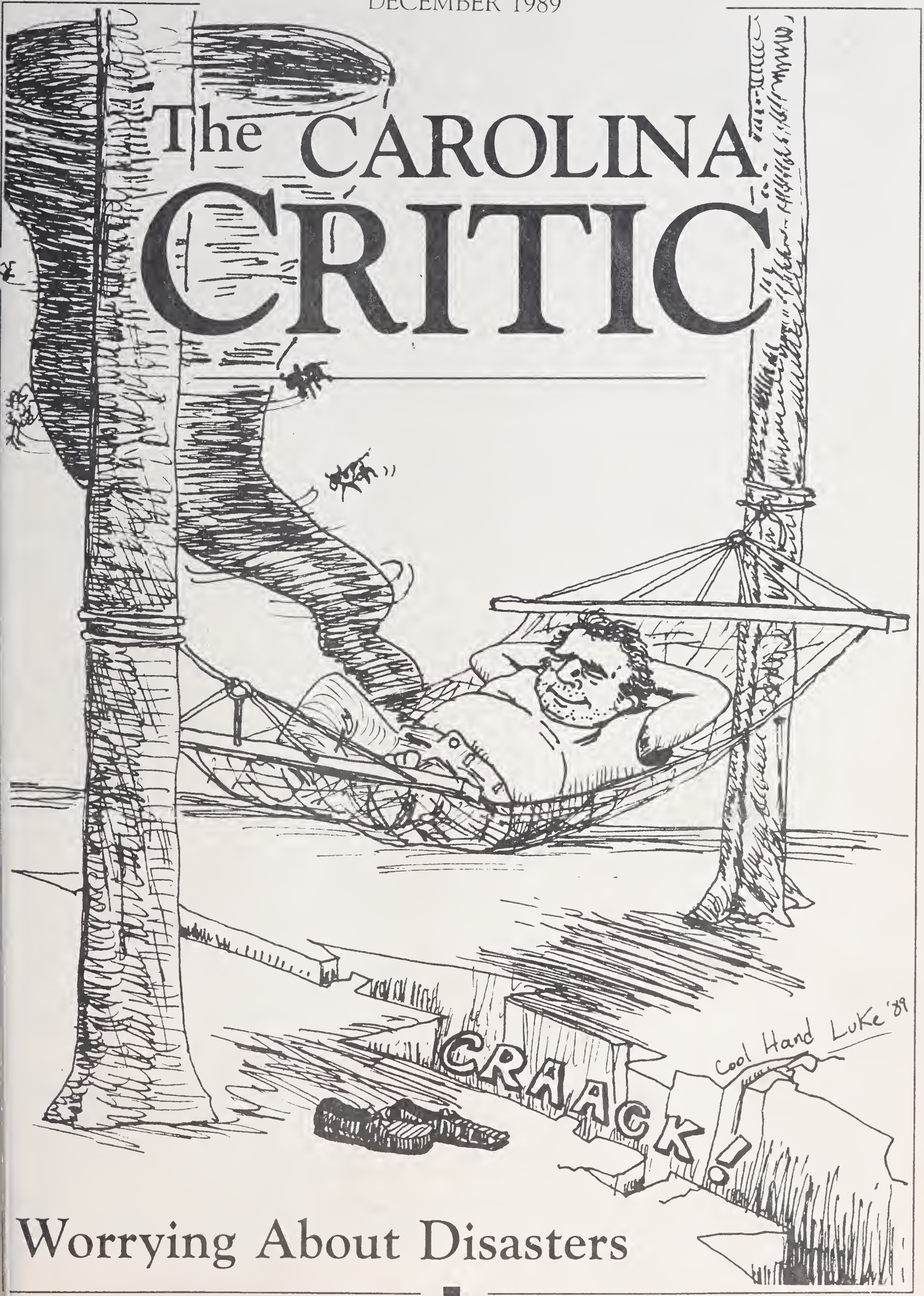
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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

The Critic is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, **letters to the editor**, and art are welcome. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. Editors are responsible for the content of the Critical Eye. Nixon is responsible for Watergate.

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IN THIS ISSUE

4 **The Critical Eye**
Excallant education, screwball Hatcher, oral sex crimes, and Dear Santa...
Clipboard
Critic Almanac

12 **Our Altered State:** *The Education Mess*
Peter Hans looks at N.C.'s public schools and finds it's time for a change.

13 **National Truss:** *Gun Control*
John Jaynes says happiness is a warm gun.

15 **Threshold:** *Two Perspectives on UNC's Environmental Conference*
Tony Woodlief holds his nose when most environmentalists speak, while Ganesh Gunasakaren worries about alienating America.

19 **Critic Focus:** *A Disasterous Relief Effort*
Maureen Kelley and Charlton Allen question the need for federal intervention.

23 **Minimum Wage**
Lee Newcomb gets angry at a Republican President.

24 **Essays:**
Elliot Fus says it's time to legalize drugs...Bob Lukefahr makes fun of Gorbachev...Woodlief wants to sumo wrestle with Bush over his China policy.

29 **The Politics of Abortion:**
Sharon Sentelle asks Republicans and Democrats about the abortion issue.

31 **In The Zoo:** *Free Speech? Humbug!*
Andrew Cohen calls student congress unprincipled and hypocritical.

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THE CRITICAL
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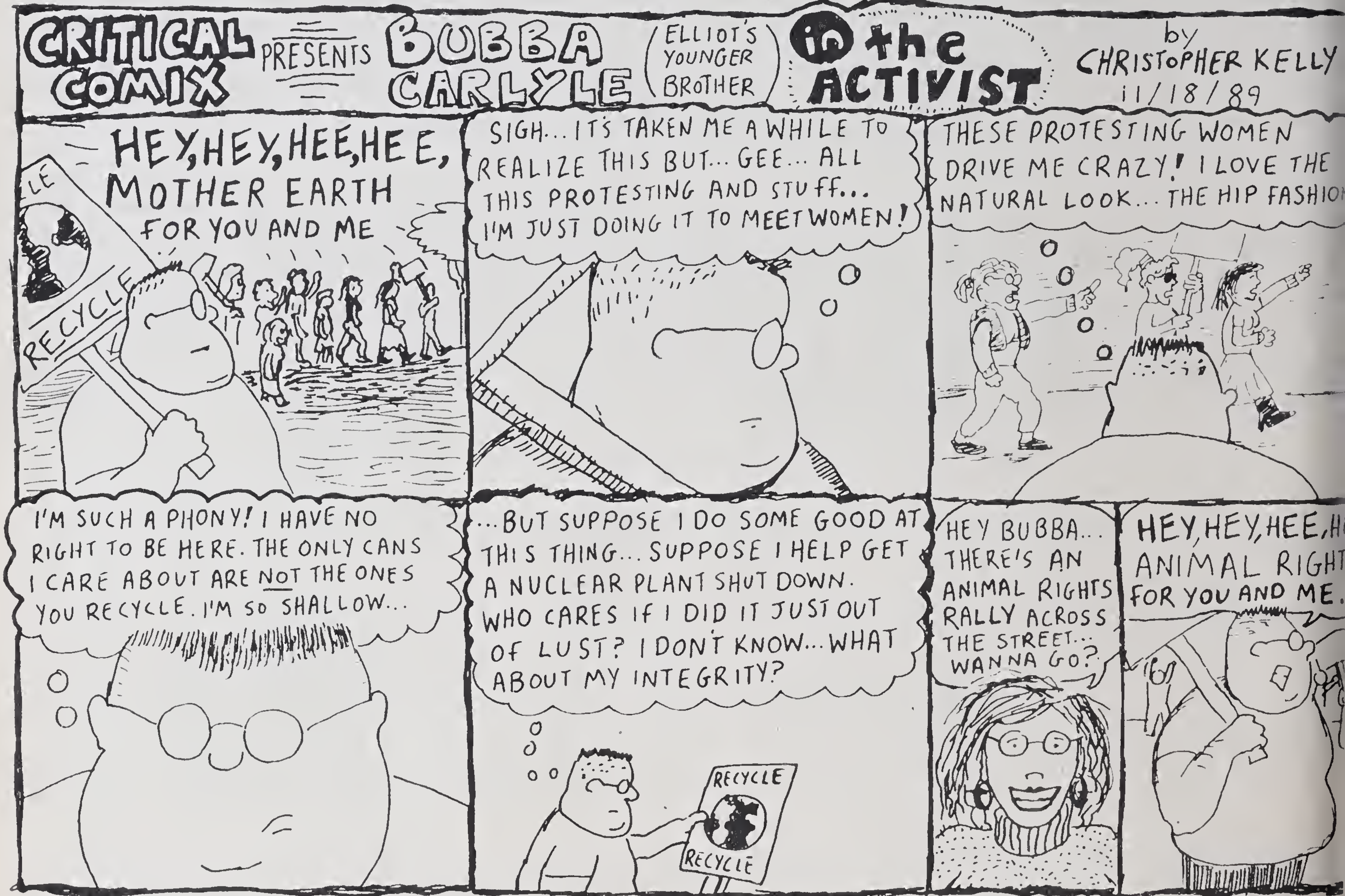
He Who Dies with the Most Toys Wins


CRITICAL COMIX PRESENTS BUBBA CARLYLE (ELLIOT'S YOUNGER BROTHER) in the ACTIVIST
by CHRISTOPHER KELLY 11/18/89
HEY, HEY, HEE, HEE, MOTHER EARTH FOR YOU AND ME
RECYCLE
SIGH... IT'S TAKEN ME A WHILE TO REALIZE THIS BUT... GEE... ALL THIS PROTESTING AND STUFF... I'M JUST DOING IT TO MEET WOMEN!
THESE PROTESTING WOMEN DRIVE ME CRAZY! I LOVE THE NATURAL LOOK... THE HIP FASHIO
I'M SUCH A PHONY! I HAVE NO RIGHT TO BE HERE. THE ONLY CANS I CARE ABOUT ARE NOT THE ONES YOU RECYCLE. I'M SO SHALLOW...
...BUT SUPPOSE I DO SOME GOOD AT THIS THING... SUPPOSE I HELP GET A NUCLEAR PLANT SHUT DOWN. WHO CARES IF I DID IT JUST OUT OF LUST? I DON'T KNOW... WHAT ABOUT MY INTEGRITY?
RECYCLE
RECYCLE
HEY BUBBA... THERE'S AN ANIMAL RIGHTS RALLY ACROSS THE STREET... WANNA GO?
HEY, HEY, HEE, H
ANIMAL RIGHT
FOR YOU AND ME.

➢According to *U.S. News and World Report*, 28 states accept insanity as legal grounds for divorce, while 31 accept impotence. Which means at least three states don't recognize the primary cause of insanity.

➢Well, the Soviets have finally admitted that the huge radar site at Krasnoyarsk is, in fact, a violation of the ABM treaty. Interesting, since as late as 1987 three Democratic congressmen from Kansas called it "not a violation of the ABM treaty at this time." Others who derided the Reagan administration for "overreacting" to the violation included the Union of Concerned Scientists, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Center for International Security and Arms Control, *ad nauseam*. All of which goes to prove what we've always maintained: many of the so-called independent policy analysts are better Soviet apologists than the Soviets themselves.

➢It's those pesky facts again... in spite of rhetoric to the contrary, the on-going economic recovery is not bypassing minorities. The real per capita income of black Americans rose twice as fast as the national average in 1988. The average married black couple now enjoys a median income of $30,390 a year. The average income of the poorest two-fifths of families has also risen by almost 10 percent in real terms since 1980. The rich get richer and the poor get, well, richer.

➢Much to our surprise, the Critic has wound up on the pages of a magazine called *factsheet five* which reviews hundreds of independent publications from throughout the world. While we find it a bit unusual to be reviewed by the same publication that writes about *The American Gay Atheist*, *Alien Mating Season*, and *Splatter Videos and Cult Classicks!*, we do appreciate the mention. Anyone interested in learning about the wonderful world of alternative journals can write Mike Gunderloy at 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY 12144-4502. Meanwhile, we will spend some time contemplating whether desktop publishing is really a good idea.

➢In an attempt to prove the P.T. Barnum maxim, "There's a sucker born every minute," Nissan's Infiniti car division has been advertising their new $35,000 cars by showing pictures of pastures, rusty old trucks, and rocks. Yeah, that's right — rocks. It kinda makes you warm and fuzzy all over, doesn't it? The ads are noticeably lacking in one important area, however. They don't have any pictures of the *cars*. Maybe that's because readers would notice a striking similarity to the $10,000 Honda Civic.

➢The $160 billion Savings and Loan fiasco proved what we've known all along about a regulated marketplace. Fat-cat S&L executives and their pet congressmen got rich for years when profits ran high, but when they started losing money, the American taxpayer was force-fed the bailout bill. Once again we see that when the government tries to regulate capitalism, they end up privatizing the gains and socializing the losses.

➢Much has been written recently criticizing former President Ronald Reagan for accepting $2 million from the Japanese for a couple of lectures. In the name of fairness, we feel obligated to point out a couple of things. First, of that hefty speaking fee, the IRS will collect about $700,000, which means that Reagan will do more to reduce the federal deficit than most congressmen. Second, that $2 million is coming from the Japanese, which helps balance our trade deficit to the tune of about 7000 Sony VCRs or 100 Toyota Celica GTs. Don't you wish Jimmy Carter was this productive?

➢A Tennessee legislator has proposed legislation that would levy a $1 fine on anyone convicted of assaulting a person burning an American flag. Now we dislike flag burning as much as the next right-wing reactionary rag, but limiting assault penalties to $1 is going a bit too far. Perhaps if the legislature would require the same penalty for assaulting congressmen…

➢N.C. State wrestler Thomas Daniel Best was convicted of assault last month after repeatedly kicking a fellow in the face outside a Raleigh home. Rumor has it that Best now plans to turn pro and will meet Jimmy Snuka in a Texas-style, no holds barred alligator-pit match.

➢In a related development, a man stormed into the primate cage at the Melbourne Zoo screaming "I've come to kill a gorilla!" He then beat on his chest with his fists and chased, punched, and kicked an adult gorilla named Betsy around the enclosure. Sadly, Australian authorities committed Tarzan to a mental institution. Maybe if UNC football coach Mack Brown offered him a scholarship we could start him at outside linebacker next year.

➢This month's "Where The Hell Have You Been?" award goes to Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D.-Az.) for noticing that "fraud, mismanagement and corruption pervade virtually all federal Indian programs." Denny's bright idea is to allow Indian tribes to apply for state and federal funds much the same way as local governments do. How 'bout we just abolish the United States' ugly little experiment in socialism, the Bureau of Indian Affairs? After all, as "Dead-Eye" DeConcini points out, of the BIA's $3.3 billion budget, "surprisingly little of these funds reach the Indian people."

➢During a recent stop in Chapel Hill, rapper Chuck D., of Public Enemy, shared his political philosophy with the folks at the Cat's Cradle. "We're not racist," Mr. D. averred, "we just want a real equal distribution of this land." This confirms that while all racists are idiots, not all idiots are racists.

➢The same U.S. Congress that blackmailed states into lowering speed limits and raising drinking ages is at it again. There is now a measure afoot which would deprive any state of Federal highway funds which does

CLIPBOARD

Sometimes a cigar is just a cigar. — Sigmund Freud.

Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe. — H.G. Wells.

You can display more emotion if you want. Rock back and forth in your seats. — Announced to the audience at a Moscow rock concert.

An economist is a fellow who can describe a thousand ways to make love but doesn't know any girls. — Roger Clawson

True, it's sad when someone is murdered. But at the same time, the victim's family should not wallow in self-pity. —convicted felon Willie Horton

It's better to say "I is rich" than "I am poor." — Aloysius Hawkins, Alabama's first black millionaire.

The greatest source of evil and danger to a world is indifference. The opposite of love is not hate but indifference. — Elie Wiesel.

Never steal anything so small that you'll have to go to an unpleasant city jail for it instead of a minimum security federal tennis prison. — P.J. O'Rourke.

■

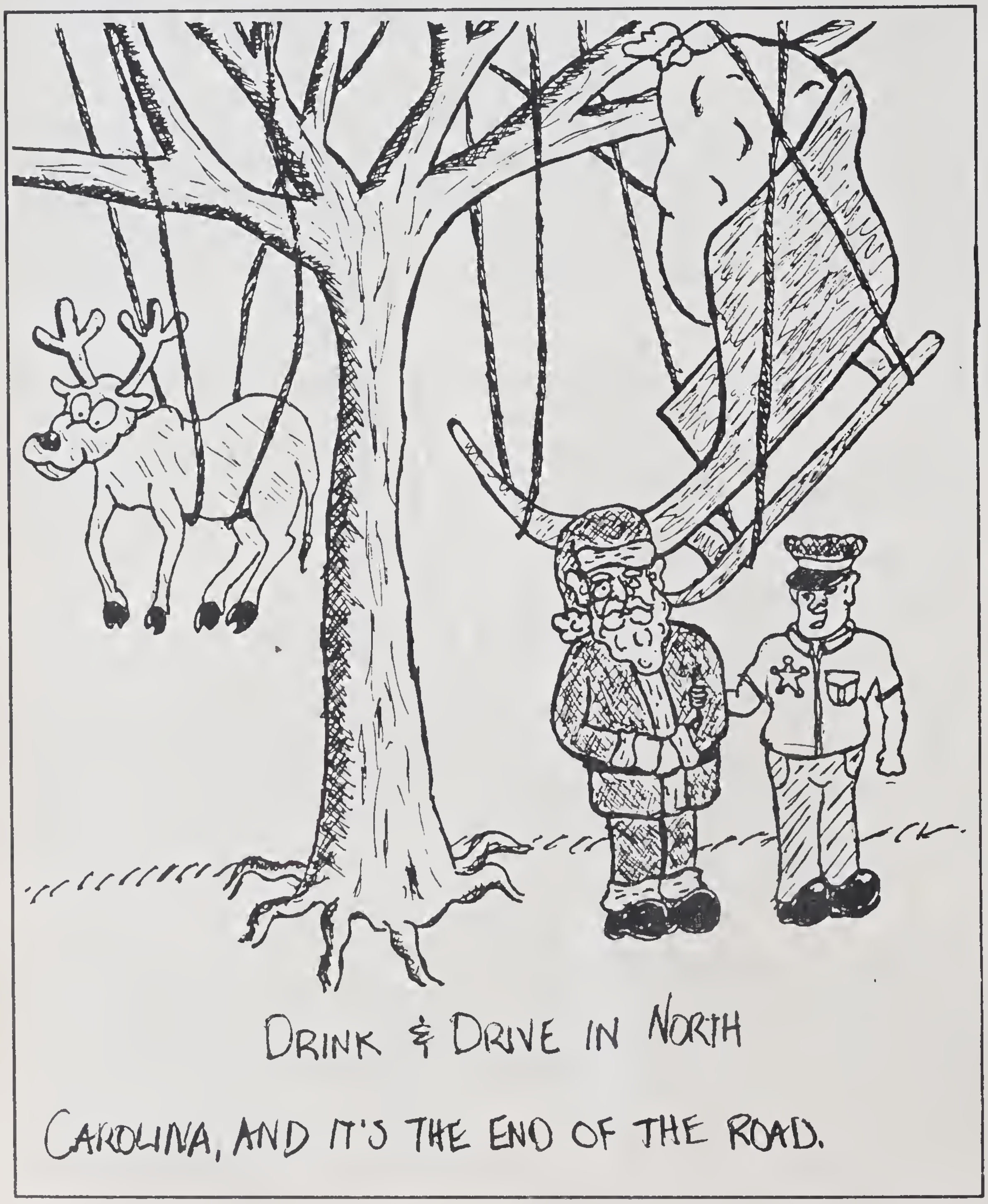
not pass both a mandatory seatbelt law for motorists and a mandatory helmet law for motorcyclists. The voters of Oregon have already defeated a mandatory seatbelt proposal. Now Oregon and other states may face a familiar dilemma. They must either knuckle under and pass the laws the Congress wants them to pass, regardless of what the voters or their elected representatives want; or they must cope with the loss of much of their highway funding, by raising taxes or cutting projects. Perhaps we should rewrite the Constitution to read the way the Congress sees it: powers not explicitly granted to the Feds or kept from the states are reserved to the states *until the Congress can figure out how to appropriate them.*

➢At last: the Congress finally passed a pay raise, hidden in something called the "Ethics in Government Act." The House gets 30 percent over three years, with no outside income allowed. The Senate, after defeating a 30 percent raise, settled for a 10 percent raise and will continue to permit some outside income. This means that House members will be paid more than Senators; one of the few times in history this has happened. Perhaps this has something to do with the 98+ percent reelection rate for the House. Also note that the great achievement of this bill is to replace outside income from people who want to hear politicians speak with income from unwilling taxpayers. This is "Ethics in Government" ???

➢Princeton historian Lawrence Stone recently concluded that there isn't much difference between Marxists and Democrats. Said Stone, "Some of my young colleagues call themselves neo-Marxists. I can't see much difference between their views and mine, and I call myself a liberal Democrat." Haven't we been trying to point this out all along?

➢People keep claiming that there has been a national resurgence of racism, and at last, we at the CRITIC are convinced. At a recent lecture in Chapel Hill given by syndicated columnist Walter Williams', a young lady told Prof. Williams, who is black, that he must not "be a brother" because he opposes sanctions against South Africa. When a man in the audience told her that she was being racist, she replied, "I don't mind being racist when I'm dealing with ignorant white people." *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose...*

➢At an "Excellence in Secondary Education" conference prompted by North Carolina's recent dismal performance on the SAT, the conference banner was mis-spelled, "Excallence in Secondary Education." To make matters worse, the person who made the error was a college graduate.


DRINK & DRIVE IN NORTH CAROLINA, AND IT'S THE END OF THE ROAD.

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You will pay half a million dollars in taxes over your lifetime. If you could simply keep this money in the bank, collecting interest YOU would earn the millions the government takes from you. Free markets will create unprecedented wealth and opportunity for people of all backgrounds. The public will support the abolition of taxes when they understand all the harm that government causes.

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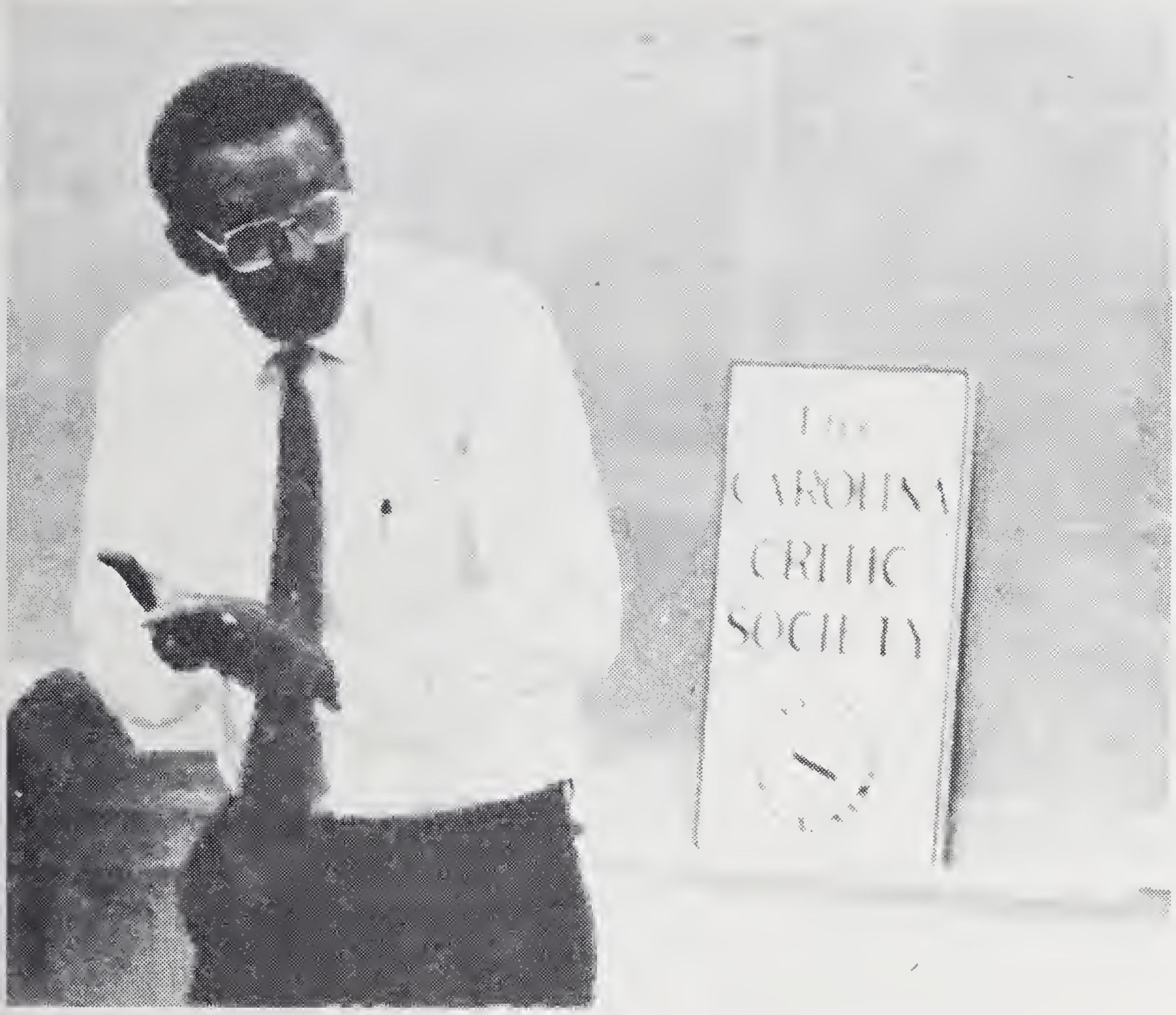

Professor Walter Williams delivering
a lecture at UNC -Chapel Hill

➢You may have already noticed that all cans and bottles of alcoholic beverages now come fully equipped with labels warning consumers of the potential health risks associated with drinking. Unfortunately, Congress has neglected to warn the American public about the following effects of excessive boozing:

1) Beer goggles — that nasty distortional effect that can make Roseanne Barr or J.R. Reid look sexy.
2) "The mouth" — the dangerous urge tell a linebacker's girlfriend that she should hang out with you instead of that weenie loser, while the 270 lb. weenie is standing right behind you.
3) Munchies — the incredible urge to pay $2 for a teenie little bag that holds about 2.5 potato chips. Also, the drive that makes you wait in line for 55 minutes in order to burn your mouth on a Hector's double cheeseburger on a pita lightly toasted with a flame-thrower.
4) Marriage.
5) Street pizza, or the "Technicolor yawn."
6) The Singing Voice From Hell — the unavoidable need among females to scream, "I love this song," at the beginning of EVERY tune.

➢Aren't monopolies wonderful? Sears Roebuck & Co. had lanned to put "mini post offices" in their Sears retail stores, taffed by Sears employees, as a convenience for their customrs. Even the Postal Service thought it was a good idea, since it ould save them money in labor costs. Unfortunately, the merican Postal Workers Union hated the idea and pressured e government to drop the plan. After all, not just *anyone* can stand at a counter and sell stamps.

➢The CIA reports that Soviet military spending has declined this year by 1.5 percent. The Pentagon is still searching for a way to prove that this will increase the Soviet military threat.

➢Indian activist and part-time hostage taker Eddie Hatcher will be defending himself in his upcoming trial for kidnapping. In a pretrial hearing Hatcher may have revealed part of his legal strategy when he became angry and threw a "small object" at the judge. Rumor has it that the Detroit Tigers want to recruit "Screwball" Hatcher.

➢Citizens for a Sound Economy reports that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach admitted that rent control was a failure. "The Americans couldn't destroy Hanoi, but we destroyed our city by very low rents. We realized it was stupid and that we must change our policy." It must be nice to live in a country where the government understands the free market.

➢Author/Actress Renée Taylor explained how her marriage with Joseph Bologna has lasted over 25 years without a major argument. "If we disagree about something, we look at our watches and say: 'I'm busy now so let's meet later, from maybe 3 to 3:20.'" Renee and Joe's system, however, is nothing new. The U.S. judicial system has used this procedure for years.

➢When Boston police eventually capture the man responsible for the shooting death of a pregnant woman, he may be surprised to discover that he is being charged with a double homicide. The district attorney's office claims that the death of Christopher Stuart — a fetus at the time of the incident, delivered prematurely after his mother's death — can be blamed on the shooting. Apparently, the question of when an unborn child's life begins depends on who is ending it.

➢William Fry was recently sentenced to a 10 year prison term after being convicted of breaking a 152-year-old North Carolina law by engaging in oral sex with his girlfriend. It is our opinion that what citizens do in the privacy of their own mouths is their own business.

➢Iranian radicals were disappointed at the turnout for a rally celebrating the 10 year anniversary of the storming of the U.S. embassy. The attendance for the "day of hatred for world arrogance led by the United States" was estimated at less then 15,000 people. Jeez, the Critic has more enemies than that!

➢An environmental activist at the recent Threshold conference boldly asserted that "if you educate yourself first, you can talk better about what you know." He had it all wrong, though. Just ask the leftists around campus. They've discovered that it's much easier to talk about what you know when you don't know what you're talking about.

➢Former *USA Today* editor John C. Quinn predicted that the major newspapers would cover the end of the world as follows:
The New York Times: "World Ends. Third World Countries Hardest Hit."
Washington Post: "World Ends. White House Ignored Early Warnings, Unnamed Sources Say."
USA Today: "We're Dead. State by State Demise page 8A. Final-final Sports Results page 10c."
To which we add...
The Daily Tar Heel: "World Ends While Bush Administration Fails to Act."
The Phoenix: "Pinball junkies, world's best hamburgers, great rap albums."
the catalyst: "End of world impacts environment."
The White and Blue: "The last time the world ended—a brief history."
The Critic: "World Ends. God proves beyond a doubt that socialism was doomed. Critic opens bureau in Heaven to push free-market reforms."

➢We must admit that recently acquitted activist Dale McKinley had a point when he said, "Political cases like activism don't belong in the honor court." Right. March the little ingrates off to district court on vandalism charges.

➢CIA Action Committee member Jerry Jones climbed the radio tower of WCHL in Chapel Hill last month to protest CIA recruiters coming to UNC. Dale McKinley, the ubiquitous non-leader of the CIAAC, proclaimed that, "The CIA has and continues to break US and international law." Shortly after Jerry Jones piously demanded that the CIA respect the rule of law, he was arrested for trespassing and destruction of private property.

➢Interestingly, Jerry Jones also said, "You guarantee making a fool of yourself when you become an activist. It can't be avoided." 'Nuff said.

➢Seen at the Duke-Carolina football game: our lovable mascot, Ramses, passed out under a bush during the first half. This was in dramatic contrast with the football team asleep on the field.

➢2 wins, 20 losses...

➢In an angry letter to the DTH editor, Curtis Hedgepeth scolded UNC football fans for showing their displeasure with the referee's call in favor of South Carolina, by throwing plastic cups on the field. He claims that he left the game early in order to show coach Mack Brown that all fans "aren't fair weather ones." Perhaps Curt is using a different definition of fair-weather then the rest of us. Fans who risk ejection to protest unfair treatment of their team cannot be considered fair-weather.

Defin-isms

COMMUNISM: You have two cows. The government takes both of them and gives you part of the milk.

SOCIALISM: You have two cows. The government takes one and gives it to your neighbor.

FASCISM: You have two cows. The government takes two cows and sells you the milk.

NAZISM: You have two cows. The government takes both of them and shoots you.

BUREAUCRACY: You have two cows. The government takes both of them, shoots one, milks the other, then pours the milk down the drain.

CAPITALISM: You have two cows. You sell one and buy a bull.

Warm, Sensitive Shrink— Are you tired of men with underactive minds and overactive libidos? Are you leery about meeting through the Personals? Then please write to this very successful psychiatrist. I'm 37, 6'1", 185 lbs., warm, sensitive, romantic and considered normal by most of my patients. I'd love to meet you if you are an emotionally mature, environmentally concerned woman who's willing to switch to gas water heating. Gas heats water for 1/2 the cost of electricity.

FROM FORBES, NOVEMBER 27, 1989

I LOVE MY COUNTRY BUT I FEAR MY GOVERNMENT

Freedom Isn't Free

T-Shirts — $8
Sweatshirts — $16
Bumperstickers — $2 each or 4 for $5
Also Available: • I ♥ Capitalism • Who is John Galt? • John Galt for President • Escape the fog: Objectivism • I Think: Therefore I can't be a Socialist •
Silk screened with top quality Materials
Sizes: M,L,XL Blue or Pink
Please add $2.50 postage and handling for T-shirts and sweatshirts; 50¢ for stickers
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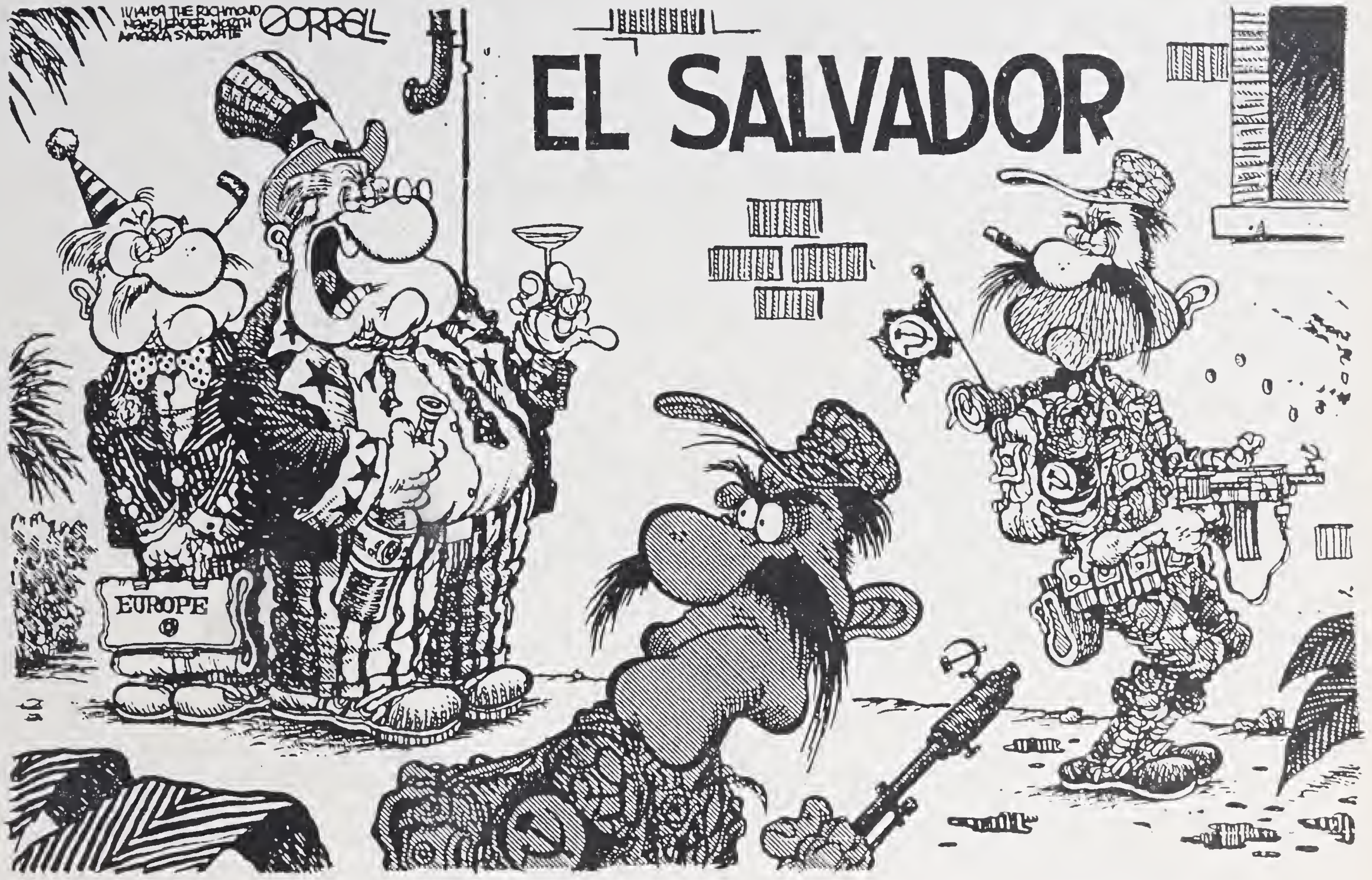

11/14/89 THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER NORTH AMERICA SYNDICATE
GORRELL
EL SALVADOR
EUROPE

"COULD YOU GUYS KEEP THE *NOISE* DOWN? . . . WE'RE TRYING TO CELEBRATE THE TOTAL COLLAPSE OF WORLD *COMMUNISM!"*

On the other hand, fans who get mad and leave when the going gets tough...

➢Those who complain that America is getting soft on crime would do well to consider the plight of inmates in a Washington prison, where routine dining fare includes "road kills." Drivers who nail wild game on the state's roads have the option of selling the meat (after inspection) to the prison. Let's hope Marriott doesn't get any bright ideas, or we could be in for "15-501 Night" at Lenoir.

➢In her recent DTH editorial lambasting the idea of using student meal cards in Franklin Street restaurants, Jennifer Wing explained her problem with the plan — it would give students a choice with their money. Wing writes, "How can students learn to budget money when Franklin Street bills are simply charged to an account paid for by their parents?" Since when is buying a bag of Fritos at Marriott prices a budgeting exercise? Wing goes on to assert that since Marriott is a national corporation, it will be unable to compete with "local independent businesses." Now there's a DTH headline: Multinational Corporation Driven to Bankruptcy by Hector's. Straighten up and fly right, Wing (literally), who cares if Marriott can't turn a profit without a guaranteed monopoly? The object of the meal card is to feed students. If college students can't be trusted to choose where they eat, we shouldn't let them vote or drive either.

➢DTH editorial writer Tammy Blackard enlightened us recently with her opinions on the minimum wage increase and capital gains tax reductions. Blackard, true to DTH form, upheld the wage increase as a triumph for the working poor. In doing so, she affirmed the rights of some to lose their jobs so that their peers might have artificially inflated wages. Blackard went on to denigrate capital-gains tax cuts as unnecessary tax breaks for the rich, upholding the principle that only the rich ought to have investments. Okay, DTH'ers, CRITIC Economics Lesson #42:

1) Minimum wage creates unemployment. Unemployment is bad.

2) Capital gains tax cuts foster economic growth. Growth is not unemployment. Growth raises wages. Growth is good.

Any questions?

➢The students at U. Buffalo recently celebrated Gay Rights Awareness Day. The Buffalo Gay & Lesbian Association picks an appropriate symbol by which the students can show their support of gay rights. This year's symbol: blue jeans. Sound familiar? Apparently, the denim clad gays then hopped the next flight south to see if they could pass On the Hill's dress code.

HO. HO. HO.
CRITIC

To: Santa Claus
From: Chris Kelly and Bob Lukefahr
Re: 1989 Christmas List

Well, the shopping malls have had Christmas decorations up for a month now, telling us that Christmas is just around the corner. We here at The Critic have been very good this year (contrary to what others may say). In fact, we decided to show our cheer and good will by requesting gifts for others on campus. Here's our list:

The Daily Tar Heel: A copy of Bartlett's Familiar Quotations so they can have some reasonably intelligent quotes next year. Also, please, please send them some tape recorders so they will get at least a few quotes right.
Gene Davis: An iron jock so he won't hurt himself as he walks on both sides of the fence at once. "But don't get me wrong...fences are good. I like fences. It's just that the good people of this state deserve protected politicians."
the catalyst: An editor. A staff. A publication deadline. Readers.
The Phoenix: Some pillow cases, so they can do something with all that fluff besides printing it.
Mack Brown: A football team.
The UNC Football Team: A coach.
The White and Blue: A quick and painless death.
College Republicans: Manners.
Young Democrats: Guts.
Yackety Yack: Dale McKinley. With him on the staff at least they'll get some attention.
On The Hill: A hundred back issues of the Lambda and an invitation to the lesbian lunch.
Marriott managers: Management Lessons from Taco Bell. The former has a campus monopoly and high prices and is still in the red. The latter thrives selling tacos for 59 cents. Go figure.
The Critic: Some friends.

Well, that about does it. Oh, if you have any leftover Nintendo games please send one to Dan Quayle, he looks so bored up there. Thanks and have a Merry Christmas.

C.K. & B.L.

P.S. In case you haven't noticed, Santa, thin is in. Even Oprah dropped 65 pounds.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Pounds of plastic produced each year: 57 billion

Number of the original 21 members of Margaret Thatcher's cabinet who still remain: 2

Increase in energy consumption during the last 5 years in the U.S.: 1.8%

In Korea: 11.2%

Percentage of elderly who still have their natural teeth: 65

Sales of family board games in 1988: $355 million

Percentage of people who claim that imported beer is a waste of money: 66

Offering needed for a personalized blessing from Pope John Paul II: $15

First time job seekers employed by McDonald's: 1 in 15

Percentage of McDonald's managers who are black: 17

Of McDonald's franchise owners: 31

Percentage of the nation's capital held in pension funds: 25

Percentage of elderly and their assets in the U.S.: 12, 40

Number of years there have been trade restrictions on Brazilian castor oil: 8

Cost for a liver transplant: $267,000

Number of species of termites: 1,800

Boxes of Pop-Tarts bought by Duke University students each year: 14,000

Millions of workers earning the minimum wage in 1981: 7.8

In 1988: 3.9

Percentage of workers earning less than $4.50 in 1981: 21

In 1988: 13

Number of the 1928 Socialist Party's 14 economic planks adopted by the U.S. Government: 13

Number of privately owned cars in China: 100

Number of alcoholic beverages an 8-12 year-old child can name: 5.2

Number of U.S. Presidents: 4.2

urces: *U.S. News & World Report* (11-6-89); *Money* (11-89); *Executive Alert* (11/12-89); *Saturday vening Post* (11/12-89); *The (Raleigh) News and Observer* (11-16-89); *Reason* (8/9-89, p.16); *Princeton ry* (9-89);

OUR ALTERED STATE / PETER HANS

North Carolina's Education Dilemma

North Carolina is undergoing a rapid series of social and economic changes. It is worthwhile to sit back and examine the direction these changes are taking, and their impact on the quality of life in North Carolina. Undeniably our state's greatest economic challenge will be formulating a comprehensive plan to improve the public school system. The system must be overhauled so that it will complement the state's continued potential for economic vitality.

Tremendous diversification has taken place in North Carolina's economy: Tobacco, textiles, and furniture remain the traditional pillars of the economy, but their dominant position has been replaced by a new emphasis on high technology and service-related industries. While this fact is obvious to any casual observer, it is sometimes surprising to see how pervasive this shift has become. As the U.S. tobacco market shrinks by 2 percent a year, and the government's anti-smoking campaign gains further momentum, tobacco will bring in only one fifth of North Carolina's farm income in 1989. The once invincible tobacco lobby in Washington has lost several legislative battles recently and the subsidy program comes closer to extinction each year. As tobacco's contribution to farm income has been quietly surpassed by poultry, eggs, and peanuts in recent years, telltale signs of the golden leaf's relative demise abound.

North Carolina's traditional industries did not require highly educated or skilled workers. As our state's economy broadened and diversified, however, there has been an ever-increasing need for the public school system to grow and change with the economy. Unfortunately, this educational foundation lagged behind North Carolina's economic and social transformations. Two months ago, when it was announced that North Carolina's students had the lowest average SAT scores in the nation, there was an immediate outcry of concern from our state's business and political leaders. But this deficiency did not develop overnight, and its consequences cannot be resolved immediately.

It is very encouraging, however, to see a corporate giant like RJ Reynolds donating $30 million over five years to improve education using creative and innovative methods. Programs like RJR's "Next Century Schools" are born as much of necessity as philanthropy. Business leaders realize that in a complicated workplace and sophisticated society, workers will have to be better educated if American industry is to remain competitive with countries like Japan and Korea, not to mention a unified European Economic Community.

In the short term, community colleges must retrain workers for new job opportunities, and the state should provide incentives for private initiatives tackling illiteracy. Politicians should concentrate on promoting home-grown small businesses rather than luring foreign companies to set up shop in North Carolina. Providing venture capital for in-state entrepreneurs could spur new investment and better-paying jobs. Large new factories and plants receive fanfare, but small businesses provide 85 percent of the jobs in North Carolina.

Educational failures ultimately affect the quality of life for many citizens. The nagging presence of poverty underlies the state's 3.2 percent jobless rate. Again the problem is a lack of education — many unskilled workers take low-paying service jobs. In a state where only 55 percent of the adult population has graduated from high school and where 25 percent of the citizenry is illiterate, it is not difficult to understand why large scale class differentiation exists. If our state's educational system isn't improved we will continue to leave many North Carolinians behind in a period of rapid advances.

This economic change and diversification has affected different regions of the state in different ways. North Carolina has long been changing from a rural, farm-based economy to an urban, technology and service based economy. As urban areas have reaped the benefits of diversification and growth, rural areas have suffered from a lack of resources. According to the N.C. Rural Economic Development Center's 1987 report, the ratio of rural to urban income per capita has fallen to 76.6 percent. This is not surprising when one considers the disparities in the state's funding of school districts, and the local supplements rich urban counties use to acquire teachers.

As rural areas ponder legal suits to correct this discrepency, once again inadequate educational facilities can be blamed.For example, rural Haywood County has been stricken by the news that its largest employer, the Champion Paper Company, will soon be forced to lay off 1,000 workers. When state officials began to recruit new industry for the county, they learned most businesses needed educational facilities that Haywood County couldn't provide.

The evidence demonstrates an unbreakable link between positive, rewarding economic development (which includes all citizens and geographic regions) and the quality of education in North Carolina. States without a strong public school system provide an environment for pure economic growth alone (as distinguished from economic development), with its associated low-paying, low-skilled employment. Those interested in making North Carolina a better place to live and work must search for ways to improve our state's educational foundation. Our future demands it. Ω

Peter's favorite beer is Coors.

NATIONAL TRUSS / JOHN JAYNES

Personal Disarmament

In this era of international disarmament treaties there is a common phrase: "mutual, balanced, and verifiable arms reductions." This near-cliché expresses the reasonable attitude that if such reductions are to make sense for *both* countries involved, there must be benefits to both and it must be hard to cheat. The extreme positions that weapons are evil and all countries should forswear them, or that each country has a sovereign right to arm itself as it pleases without treaty restrictions, are rarely heard. Or at least when heard they are rarely supported; witness the British Labour party's loss in the last election due to advocating unilateral disarmament.

Pistol, .38 caliber.
Century Magazine

Arms control is being advocated somewhere else these days: personal weaponry, specifically firearms. Here we often hear extremist points of view, or cries that "we must do something" with the "something" left wide open.

On the side of "gun control" we have statements like "I cannot understand why the citizens don't demand that the selling of guns be halted... every year 33,000 Americans die from gunshot wounds... There are about 130 million firearms of all kinds in the United States, and one-third of them are handguns... " or "A gun in the home is 18 times more likely to kill a household member as an intruder... twenty years from now, we'll see keeping guns in the home as just as foolish as lighting up a cigarette." Guns are "only good for killing" so they have no legitimate purpose, except possibly for hunting (if that's not shooting Bambi). Gun "control" is like pest control: the fewer the better.

On the other side, we have a National Rifle Association which is racing the ACLU to the Twilight Zone: it has defended the sale of plastic or ceramic handguns (undetectable by metal detectors), and Teflon-coated or uranium-cored *armor piercing* bullets. We hear cute slogans like "guns don't kill people, people do" and "you'll get my gun when you pry it from my cold dead fingers" and arguments that the U.S. Constitution gives people the right to own as many firearms as they want.

It's all supposed to be "obvious" one way or the other.

With around 30,000 gunshot deaths a year, the "gun problem" clearly deserves serious attention. If we could somehow snap our fingers and get rid of all guns in private hands, most of these deaths would not happen. This is seen by some as ample reason to outlaw all guns, or just handguns, or the latest craze, "assault rifles." If it will save lives, they say, let's do it.

It is equally true that if we could snap our fingers and get rid of all cars in private hands, most of the 50,000 or so annual highway deaths would not happen; but nobody makes this kind of a proposal with a straight face. (The number of guns and cars is roughly comparable.) Neither do we hear a national outcry to ban car ownership each time some demented individual decides to hit a crowd or a school bus at 50 miles per hour; but when someone else starts shooting down people with a gun, it's always "finally time to do something about guns."

With cars we hear about safety improvements like seat belts and antiskid braking systems, or debates over the greater fuel economy vs. greater risks of smaller cars. We do not hear vociferous groups trying to ban cars, or at least small cars; we do not hear competing groups trying to defend car ownership as an inalienable right.

And if we wish to look at guns as a public health risk... while we have a national cholesterol education project to try to get us to cut down on fats and red meat, and campaigns to get smokers to quit, we don't have a Cholesterol Control, Inc. lobbying to outlaw the sale of eggs and whole milk, or a horde of agitators trying to make tobacco growing illegal. Yet all these things follow from the same "if it kills lots of people, outlaw it" argument. Guns are simply not a uniquely dangerous threat.

What about the Constitutional question? The "right of the people to keep and bear arms" is often quoted — out of context. The Second Amendment says "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." This protects the ownership of weaponry connected with a militia, e.g. the National Guard, not just weaponry *per se*. Besides, I don't think anyone has yet argued that the "right to keep and eat butter" is a Constitutional right, but I *hope* that CRITIC readers will see a butter ban as pure science fiction (the story "Lipidleggin'", by F. Paul Wilson, to be precise).

None of these arguments makes the outcome "obvious." So let's talk about the advantages and disadvantages of gun ownership.

Some people simply have no use for guns, and so don't

Is an unarmed society even practicable?

We need only look to the north to see that it is. Canada has essentially no "gun problem." There is the usual stock of hunting rifles, but handguns are strictly regulated: they may be owned only by members of recognized gun clubs and may be outside the owners' homes only to go to and from the shooting ranges.

Imagine the opposite: a nation where everyone (at least every man) is required to undergo militia training, and to keep ready in his home a military rifle. Could such a country exist without destroying itself in an orgy of gunfire?

Sure. It's called Switzerland.

These examples illustrate the fact that it's possible to have no "gun problem" with or without guns. It's what the people want to do with their weapons, as well as what weapons are available, that determines the level of mayhem.

Suppose (most) everyone carried weapons and knew how to use them. Would this be a good place to live? If a thief demands money, the would-be victim and any bystanders could repel him easily; anyone who went nuts and tried to kill dozens of people would be quickly shot down instead. However, if people are hot-tempered, many will be killed in arguments and duels, and the careless defenders of a victim could easily hurt more people than the criminal. Again it's the people and their maturity that make the difference.

This is why we cannot achieve a gun-control nirvana merely by having Washington outlaw guns. The U.S. is not Canada and unarmed is not the same as disarmed. The unarmed don't want guns; the disarmed do, and will work hard to get them. Obviously many Americans want guns (why else do they buy them?) and a law won't necessarily change that. The United States is in the middle of an excruciatingly clear lesson on just how difficult it is to keep things — cocaine, marijuana, heroin, etc. — out of the hands of a populace forbidden to have them but still willing to pay *lots* of money to get them. This arms-control scheme is not balanced, not mutual, and probably not terribly verifiable either. It won't work unless most people don't want guns; *that* can't be legislated.

There is also the problem of side effects. If we outlaw a class of guns, what happens to them? They must all go *somewhere*. Without foresight by the government (perhaps buying the guns back) gun owners will be unloading their soon-to-be-illegal guns at bargain prices, probably transferring much of the gun supply into the hands of criminals at a profit for them and a loss for the law-abiding. Similarly, there was a move a few years ago to ban the sale of cheap, small-caliber "Saturday night special" handguns, until somebody realized that the effect of this law would be to disarm some criminals but ensure that the rest would carry larger, costlier, and far deadlier ones.

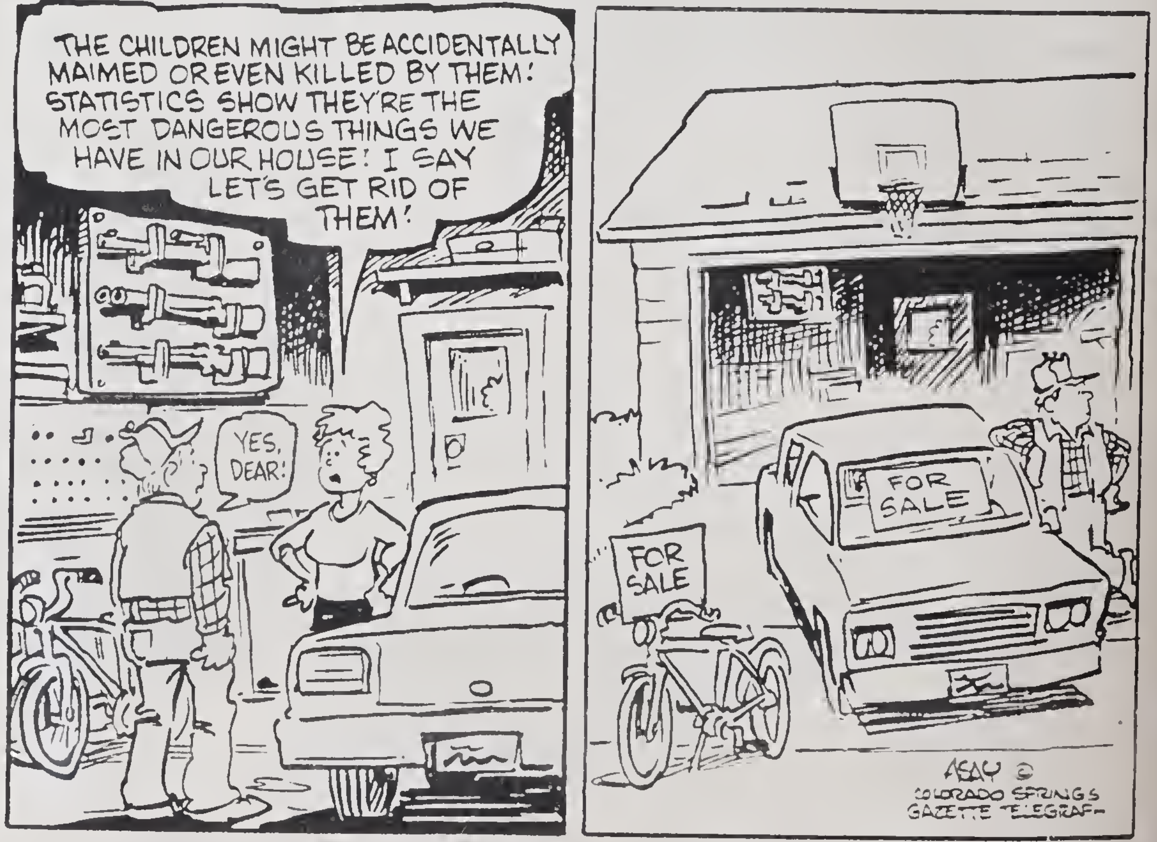
If what we really want is to reduce the number of gunshot deaths, or the number of Patrick Purdy-esque mass murder-suicides, we need to focus on that desire and figure out how best to attain it. If we are afraid of guns in the hands of the mentally incompetent, let us come up with a system that makes it hard to buy a gun if you have a history of mental problems — not assume that we are *all* incompetent. If we fear crimes of passion, let us set up waiting periods for gun purchases. To prevent accidents, require gun owners to take gun-safety courses. If we fear gun-armed criminals, pass laws with severe penalties for using guns in crime, and enforce current laws disarming many convicted criminals. If we are afraid of gun-toting vigilantes, pass laws with stiff penalties for hitting bystanders. And require those carrying guns on the streets to take shoot/don't shoot courses like those given to policemen or security guards, so they learn almost by reflex not to make mistakes. Each of these possibilities has advantages and disadvantages which must be discussed at length. But let us do so, perhaps reaching different solutions for different places, instead of reaching for the sledgehammer solution of simply outlawing the gun and hoping for the best. Let us be clever instead of smug and simplistic.

We must remember that today's surge in violence cannot be blamed on guns; they are merely the tools. The underlying desire to hurt or kill will not just go away, even if the guns do. And people are *very* good at finding ways to do what they want. (Example: go to a certain encyclopedia found in most libraries. Find there detailed formulas for making nitroglycerin, guncotton, mercury fulminate, and other explosives. Don't even *ask* how easy it is to make poison gases from common household products.)

Let us negotiate mutually beneficial arms-control treaties as sovereign individuals, bearing in mind practicality rather than rhetoric. Otherwise, the decisions will likely be made for us by extremists, with the only logic involved the base logic of political power.

And only the lobbyists will win. Ω

John doesn't need a gun since he drives a tank.


THE CHILDREN MIGHT BE ACCIDENTALLY MAIMED OR EVEN KILLED BY THEM! STATISTICS SHOW THEY'RE THE MOST DANGEROUS THINGS WE HAVE IN OUR HOUSE! I SAY LET'S GET RID OF THEM!
YES, DEAR!
FOR SALE
FOR SALE
ASAY © COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

Seeing the Forest Despite the Trees

Threshold Revisited

by Anthony Woodlief

"We are the powers that be." With this ominous note, UNC student Jimmy Langman set the tone for Threshold, a three day environmental action conference held in late October on the Chapel Hill campus. Threshold brought together over 1600 student environmental activists from across the country and around the globe, making it the largest such gathering to date. In the eyes of its orchestrators, Threshold signified a new wave of activism, a sixties-styled crusade in the name of the environment. In fact, Threshold represents the continuation of a decrepit and discredited national socialist agenda in the U.S., an infusion of the self-aggrandizing social justice/economic democracy movement with the fresh hot blood of environmentally concerned acolytes. According to keynote speaker Randy Hayes, Director of the Rainforest Action Network, Threshold signified the beginning of a "full-scale revamping of society's behavior," to be achieved by a militant wave of "ecological warriors."

Some of the more noted speakers at Threshold included Dr. Barry Commoner, John O'Connor of the National Toxics Campaign, David Brower, Chairman of the Earth Island Institute, biotechnology foe and greenhouse activist Jeremy Rifkin, and Denis Hayes, Chairman of Earth Day 1990. Conference participants received extensive training in "ecological warfare," attending workshops where they learned the meaning of "corporate responsibility," how to plan environmentally sound cities, how to use government to achieve their ends, and the importance of expanding the environmental movement to include left-wing and minority causes.

> **Threshold represents the infusion of the self-aggrandizing social justice/economic democracy movement with the fresh hot blood of environmentally concerned acolytes.**

A political focus permeated the conference as several speakers called for the formation of a new political party. Some urged environmentalists to take over the Democratic party. One speaker claimed Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition represented "the one hope we have." Although the speakers differed over how to institute change, all agreed that a radical restructuring of society with a focus not only on the environment, but on "social justice," is necessary. Barry Commoner declared profits the great evil that has destroyed the environment. He simultaneously called for taking investment decisions away from corporations, paying reparations to victims of colonialism, and forgiving Third World debt. Not to be outdone, John O'Connor claimed that multi-national corporations have "stolen democracy," and that "we as a nation must decide what to produce," because we "can no longer leave these decisions in private hands."

While condemning capitalism and the industrial revolution (labeled "The Great Big Binge"), these speakers urged students to accept socialism as the only means of saving the world. Barry Commoner was the most explicit, delivering a Marxist diatribe on the immorality of leaving production decisions in the hands of capitalists, and demanding that we question capitalism in America. "Look," Commoner said as his colleagues nodded in affirmation, "socialism is social control of the means of production. What I'm talking about is social control of the means of production." Amidst wild applause, he continued, "If the Russians can start talking about the free market, why can't we talk about socialism?"

Preoccupied with the idea of creating a new world order, "a new worldview," according to Jeremy Rifkin, and touting the environmental benefits of socialism, speakers pointedly ignored the atrocious environmental record of virtually every socialist country on the planet. David Brower went so far as to uphold one, Nicaragua, as an example of how U.S. environmental policies should operate. Interestingly enough, Soviet environmental groups fault the very central planning that Threshold's speakers advocated. They cite environmental disasters such as the deadening of the Aral Sea, the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown, and air so polluted that one third of Leningrad's inhabitants have respiratory diseases, as evidence of this failure. Unlike their U.S. counterparts, who appear willing to sacrifice individual freedom for a utopian vision, Soviet environmentalists recognize the folly of placing complete control of the environment in the hands of its greatest enemy—centralized government.

Fortunately, a number of the students were not mesmerized by the feverish enthusiasm of the speakers, as evidenced in student discussion groups, where reality and pragmatism occasionally triumphed over idealism. Students advocated buying portions of South American rain forest and keeping them in private mutual trust funds. They recognized the need to make paper recycling economical by stopping taxpayer-subsidized clearcutting of national forests, such as the Tongass in Alaska. As much as the stage was dominated by children of the sixties, along with those embittered by the failures of social planning, the discussion groups had students quick to see the failures of their predecessors, and unwilling to sacrifice the environment for socialism.

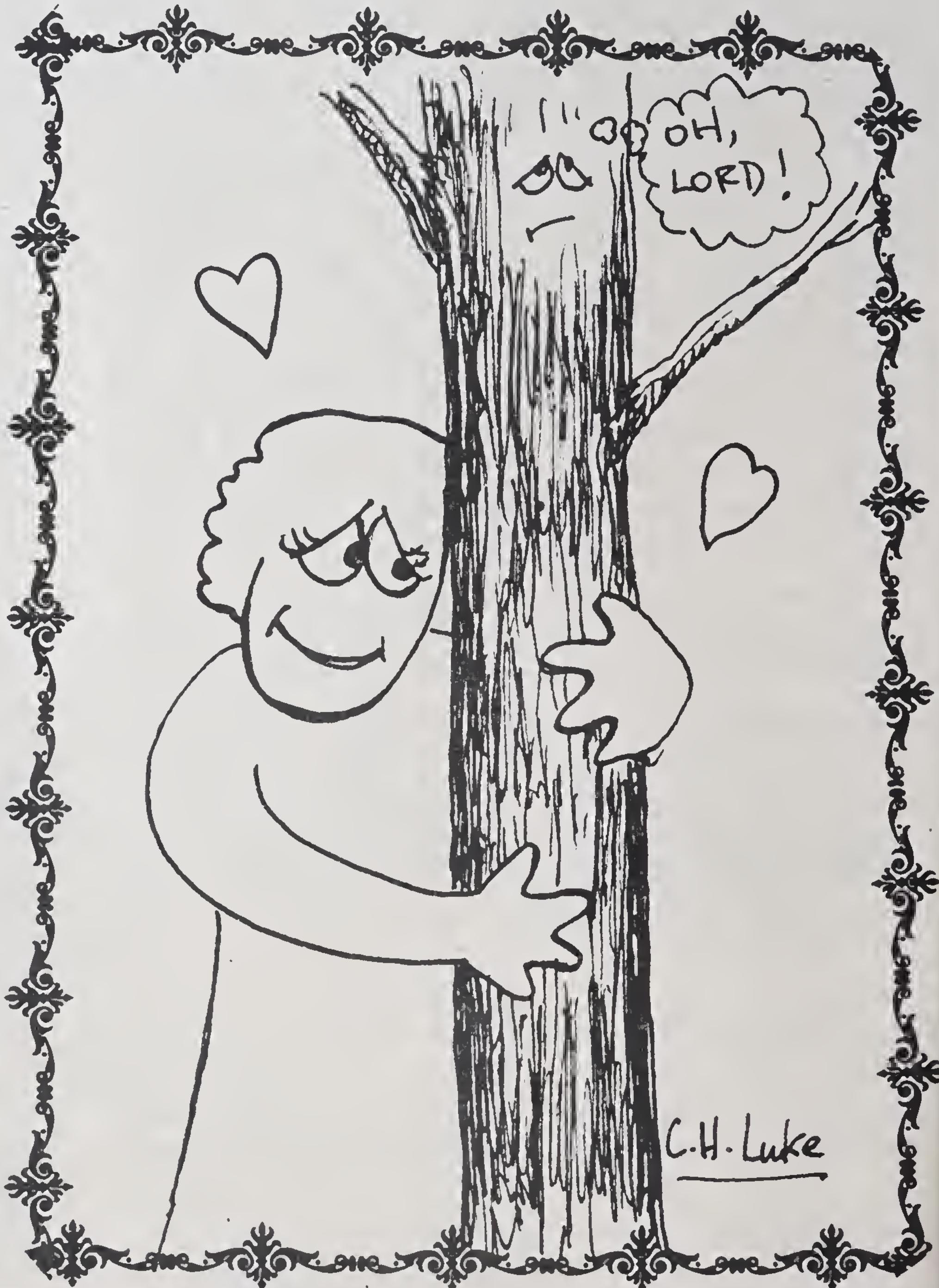
Still, these instances of pragmatism seemed all too often to be accidental rather than the result of consistently applied economic logic and moral principles. While students recognized the damage wreaked by U.S. government-subsidized cutting of national forests, for example, they still supported government control of larger tracts of land. While they recognized the hypocrisy involved in expecting the poor and unemployed to be enthusiastic about costly environmental programs, students applauded what Earth Day 1990 Director Denis Hayes labeled "the most expensive single undertaking that public policy has ever geared toward." Amidst haughty proclamations of democracy, students and speakers advocated complete abridgements of property rights and individual freedom.

Indeed, the only principle consistently applied at the conference was the notion that somehow nature has an intrinsic value beyond its value to man. A vast number of attendees seemed to view mankind as a blight upon the earth, as if humans are an artificial element in an otherwise stable environment. This view denies the incontrovertible fact that all value, by definition, can only be assigned by humans, who are able to perceive value. Environmentalists, who value pristine, untouched wilderness more than most, are simply attempting to elevate their values above others by labeling them "intrinsic." They retreat into the esoteric, metaphysical realm, referring to the "spirituality" of the environmental movement. Just as the Catholic Church for centuries justified poverty and ignorance under authoritarianism in the name of God, radical environmentalists would do the same in the name of the spirituality and intrinsic value of nature.

The political nature of Threshold is indicative of the environmental movement as a whole. Unfortunately, the unquestioning embrace with which this conference was met by the UNC Housing Department and Student Congress was equally indicative of the naivete of the public when it comes to the agendas of radical environmentalists. The UNC Housing Department sent letters to resident assistants, asking them to urge their residents to house conference attendants. The Student Congress, evidence to the contrary, decided that Threshold was not political, and gave student money to the event. The public in general is quick to accept anything that comes out of the mouth of anyone that calls himself an environmentalist.

It is indeed unfortunate that such an important cause has been delivered into the hands of radical socialists and pseudo-intellectuals. Many of the policies the environmental activists advocate are identical to those which have been steadily destroying our ecosphere for the last century. They are using the environmental movement as a vehicle to further their political agenda. But perhaps the most egregious wrong was committed not by the speakers at Threshold, but by the young men and women who attended the conference — they accepted much of what they heard without subjecting it to critical analysis. Indeed, many of them accepted it without thinking at all. Ω

Woodlief's mother reports that Tony hid during Thanksgiving break to avoid being the main course at Lenoir.



Reining in the Radicals

by
Ganesh Gunasekaran

The organizers of Threshold, the environmental conference held at UNC, posed the question, "Do we really want to get where we're going?" Contrary to what my friend and mentor Anthony Woodlief says, the precedent-setting conference did facilitate discussion on a variety of environmental problems facing the world, and helped explain why Americans must answer the question with a resounding NO. Although it was obscured by the excitement of a big media event with participants from around the nation, Threshold had its darker side as well. In part because of its success, Threshold illustrated a some of the challenges the environmental movement will face in the coming moths and years. The environmental movement must ask itself whether it wants to get where *it* is going. Tragically, the current answer to this question is "no" as well.

Since environmentalism has reemerged as a hot political topic, even President Bush has felt compelled to call himself an environmentalist. As it becomes harder and harder to ignore humanity's march toward "global ecological catastrophe," environmental groups like the Student Environmental Action Committee (SEAC) at UNC are growing rapidly. As the national environmental movement expands, it increasingly risks alienating the members of the American mainstream it must reach if it is to have any lasting impact. If the environmental movement cannot handle the transition it is undergoing effectively, it will be banished to the margins of political life.

Many hardworking and sincere student environmentalists attended Threshold and contributed to its success. A substantial number of other participants, however, seemed more interested in demonstrating a will to rebel than in preservation of the environment. This phenomenon is not unique to environmentalism. Any organization that challenges the status quo, be it CIAAC or the College Republicans, will attract individuals interested generally in "fighting the system" or "tearing down the power structure"—not to make way for a brave new world, but simply because it is fun. Further, as environmentalism becomes a glamorous issue, more and more of the marginally interested will become involved. The leaders of the movement are forced to try and draw from the enthusiasm of the radicals without losing control of the agenda and the movement. Even when constant vigilance is exercised, this is hard to do. It is even more difficult when the leaders of the movement hold the attitude of "the more the merrier."

This attitude endangers the prospects of serious environmental reform by alienating the American mainstream. In order to support a movement, people must be able to identify with those in the vanguard of/the core members of that movement. If leaders in the environmental movement cannot or choose not to restrain overzealous types who gleefully advocate "monkey-wrenching" bulldozers and other alleged instruments of corporate evil, the chance of increasing public identification with the movement may be lost.

The incorporation of professional activists—social soldiers-of-fortune, if you will—into the movement constitutes a second danger. These individuals, interested in activism rather than environmentalism, were present in full force at Threshold. Adept at using hackneyed slogans and catchphrases to generate mindless enthusiasm, they seemed utterly uninterested in serious discourse on the environment. The one speaker who tried to present moderate ways in which concerned students could raise the consciousness of people in the real world, including corporate decision-makers, was subjected to boos and at least one cry of "sell-out." Ironically, several speakers and participants compared this movement to the student movements of the 1960s. The movements from that era were undoubtedly interesting experiences. Activists from that era are still making a living on the lecture circuit today. Had they been effective in the pursuit of their declared agenda, however, the modern student environmental movement would not need to exist.

The political agenda that most of these activists push further complicates the issue. Most environmentalists who earn their livings on the lecture circuit advocate the radical transformation of American society into a socialist state.

Given the frustrating and seemingly overwhelming nature of environmental problems, socialism's appeal is easy to discern. High profile examples of corporate disregard for the environment abound; Exxon's handling of the Valdes' cleanup springs to mind. By blaming the world's environmental mess on large corporations, environmental activists can capture the moral high ground. Corporations are easy scapegoats for policies of the less environmentally conscious past. For example, Richard Grossman, ousted head of Greenpeace who spoke on campus as part of Human Rights Week, repeatedly indulged in "us against them" terminology when assessing blame for past policies. While discussing the switch from glass bottles to plastic bottles, Grossman rhetorically asked the audience, "Were you ever consulted? I wasn't."

The suggestion that corporations are completely divorced from the rest of society is horrendously inaccurate. Corporate executives may be unscrupulous and their actions may sometimes be distatseful, but they are inextricably linked to consum-

Bryan Donnell

ers. They must serve consumers' needs and supply their wants. In time, a corporation that fails to provide a product that people desire will suffer and be forced into bankruptcy.

The development of environmentally unsound policies can, therefore, be understood as an extension of consumers' choice. Some people frankly believe that "keeping the hot side hot and the cool side cool" in a McDLT justifies use of styrofoam boxes. Others do not understand that the production and use of styrofoam and plastics are considered environmentally hazardous by the overwhelming majority of ecological experts.

In either case, a shift to socialism would not curb environmentally destructive policies. Giving the people control of the means of production accomplishes nothing if the people are happy with the status quo. (Implied in the environmentalist/socialist position, of course, is a "dictatorship of the environmentalists," or a society ruled by "environmentalist kings." Good luck getting Barry Commoner to go on the record in favor of either on of those, though.) Since people have chosen to buy products that offer convenience rather than ecological safety, merely eliminating the corporate middleman who currently meet consumer demands would not accomplish anything. In other words, controlling means of production would probably accomplish little as long as people continue to prefer short term conveniences to a more enlightened, long term self-interest that stresses environmentally sound policies.

A socialist state would solve environmental ills if the majority of people was informed enough and concerned enough to change things. But if everyone was concerned and informed, market pressures within capitalism would force businesses to follow environmentally sound policies.

Central to the ultimate attainment of environmental goals is a raised environmental consciousness among American consumers. If the environmental movement refuses to reject the policies advocated by its most radical members, it will never be able to effectively appeal to a majority of Americans. The movement is in danger of alienating the very people who can make it a success. Should this happen there is little chance that any real progress will be made in creating a cleaner, safer world.

Do we really want to get where we're going? Most Americans will answer no if we are headed down the path of socialism. If, however, the movement focuses on creating a safe environment while retaining a a free-market economic system, it will have the wholehearted support of the silent majority. Ω

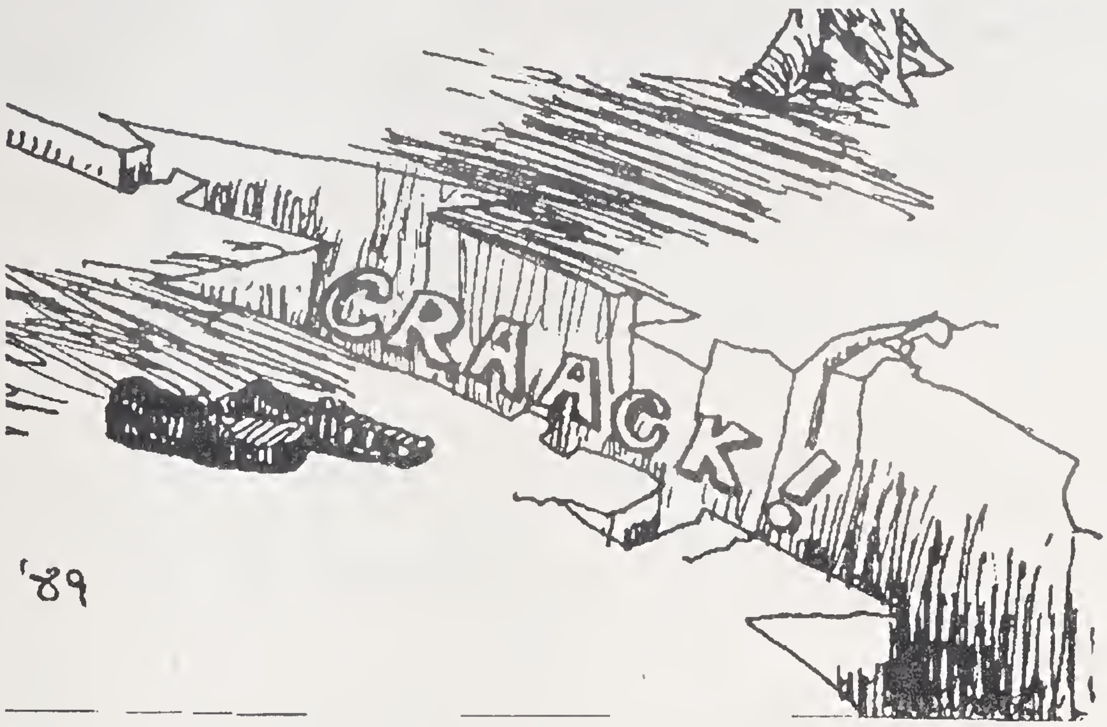
Ganesh will never again leave a computer disk with Jason unless he has a back-up.

Tearing Down the Safety Net

Why the Federal Government Should Not Provide Disaster Relief

by Charlton Allen

Last month the world watched as a violent earthquake disrupted what should have been a time of anticipation and joy for the San Francisco Bay area. The immense tragedy not only halted the World Series, but demonstrated the vulnerability of mortals to the whims of nature. Aside from the loss of life and property, the earthquake highlighted a second tragedy — the tragedy of a lesson unlearned. In spite of numerous warnings from scientists and public officials, most San Francisco residents neglected to buy earthquake insurance. Instead they relied on the federal and state governments to provide them with a safety net. In the future, the American people must take steps to prepare for natural disasters before they occur and not depend on an ever slothful federal government to insure their losses.



Even before there was an accurate estimate of the damage, members of Congress were proposing a $10 billion relief package. It is now believed that the total cost of the quake will be considerably less than the $10 billion mark. Fortunately, common sense had a moderating effect on political expediency, and Congress finally authorized only $3.45 billion for the Bay Area. Sadly, very little of this sum will actually reach the earthquake victims. Much of it will be lost in the bureaucratic black hole. Something must be done to improve the ineffective federal relief system. The solution is simple: return many of the domestic policy roles to state and local governments and the private sector.

The phenomenon of federal government involvement in disaster relief is a relatively new one. In 1953, while total natural disaster damage was $352 million, only $3.2 million in federal aid was authorized. By 1965, when damage was $2.721 billion, federal government relief was $2.739 billion — more than the total damages. The government routinely finances this relief without considering other sources like private insurance and charities. In the past, the solution has been to authorize more than the amount needed in the hope that money will eventually trickle down to the afflicted through the many layers of governmental bureaucracy. In an era of budgetary restraints, however, this is no longer possible. It is now time for the federal government to allow private insurance companies and private citizens to take a prominent role in disaster relief.

Supporters of continued federal relief use several points in an attempt to show that the private sector is not capable of handling a major disaster. Many claim that insurance agents are unwilling to provide earthquake insurance. Insurance companies do provide earthquake insurance at reasonable rates. A study of federal relief policy by Douglas Dacy and Howard Kunreuther states that in regions of the country in Zone 3 (those with the highest potential of a disastrous quake), annual rates typically are 12.5 cents for every $100 in property value. Thus for an earthquake endorsement for a value of $100,000, the annual charge would be $125. The average annual damage cost in a Zone 3 area is 10 cents for every $100 in property; therefore there is room for private sector profitability.

Despite these facts, private insurance is grossly underutilized. In the state of California, only 5% of properties insured against fires have an earthquake endorsement on their policy. Unfortunately, there is no real incentive for homeowners in high-risk areas to purchase this coverage. With large federal relief packages and also banks in California that do not require an earthquake endorsement to obtain a home mortgage (they do for fire insurance), the market for the endorsement is substantially smaller.

Additionally, many homeowners in high-risk areas have psychological reasons for not purchasing the endorsement. For example, after a quake there is no substantial increase in endorsement purchases. Why? Most Californians only expect one major quake in their lifetime; therefore they do not foresee a pressing need to pay the extra insurance rate. If federal relief was no longer available, a demand for an already available service would develop and insurance companies would attempt to meet it. Some argue that one quake could overextend an insurance agency. Yet such options as long term policies and a greater stress on earthquake insurance nationwide — large areas of the southeast and northeast are also in Zone 3 — would enhance an insurance agency's ability to pay.

Without federal relief, the most serious potential problem would concern individuals who received substantial damage but did not purchase earthquake insurance. For those who can afford the relatively inexpensive coverage they would, and should, suffer the consequences. If a person's house burns down and he does not have fire insurance, then he must bear the loss himself. It should not be different with earthquake insurance. For those who cannot afford appropriate insurance, state and local governments and private charities are best suited to provide relief in an effective and efficient manner. The efforts of companies such as Burger King and Domino's Pizza have demonstrated how charities can help those who cannot help themselves. Additionally, charities such as the Red Cross have proved remarkably capable of alleviating the damage caused by nature. Charitable contributions have a definite role in disaster relief; the wasteful federal bureaucracy should be kept out of the way.

The American people have a unique history of generosity and personal initiative. Our forefathers put their faith in the people's ability to take care of themselves with little or no governmental interference. Today should be no different. If someone is arrogant enough to risk not insuring his property, then why should millions of hard-working Americans who do buy insurance or choose to live elsewhere in the nation have to pay the price? If a person refuses the opportunity to protect himself at a reasonable rate then he should be considered a gambler who lost. The opportunity to buy insurance exists and responsible Americans will take it. After all government disaster relief in the much larger earthquake and fire of 1906 was primarily limited to preventing looting and rationing food. San Francisco made a remarkable recovery and with renewed emphasis in the private sector, it will again. Ω

Charlton is the fool who talked us into playing College Bowl.

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How Do You Spell Relief? P-R-I-V-A-T-E

by Maureen Kelley

Yet another battle has emerged between government and the individual. The issue is voluntarism. Americans have been branded self-indulgent, unsympathetic narcissists by their own leaders. Certain promi- natural disasters in its history.

On September 21, Hurricane Hugo's 135 mile per hour winds slammed into the coast of Charleston, South Carolina. Residents all over the Carolinas were stripped of lights, shelter, food and water. Trees were torn from the ground, ensnaring power lines. Streets became impassable and buildings were reduced to rubble. Entire islands simply disappeared and several lives were lost.

To compound the tragedy, nature soon delivered a second blow. On October 17th, Northern Californians experienced the most terrifying 15 seconds since the great quake of 1906. Game three of the World Series jolted to a halt as Candlestick Park was shaken to its core. A 50-foot section of the Bay Bridge dangled in the water, tossing motorists into the currents below. Buildings crumbled, pipelines broke, gas lines were severed. The Marina District was set ablaze, as were sections of Berkeley. The top level of Interstate 880 collapsed, entombing more than 200 people in their crushed cars.

The profound tragedy of these two events has tested individual communities beyond belief. Stories abound of heroic deeds and neighborly kindness. All in all, the events of this bicoastal recovery have shed favorable light on the strength of local voluntarism, while illuminating the fumbling inadequacies of government relief agencies.

In North Carolina, people from all walks of life participated n the relief effort. carried chain saws, water, soup and generaors. Grandmothers, storeowners, executives, firefighters. Strangers went to homes of the elderly, removing trees and branches which trapped them within their homes. Unknown neighbors materialized, saws in hand and cleared pathways to main roads and hospitals. With traffic lights down, one man parked his car, walked to a blocked intersection and proceeded to direct traffic. Another man died of a heart attack while trying to remove a tree from his neighbor's house.

Bartering ran rampant. New monetary units of exchange were created. The local economy was based on ice, water, candles, batteries, cold beer and Jack Daniels. Stores opened their doors and gave away perishable food items. Restaurants started up generators and served through the night. Even a makeshift animal hospital was spontaneously founded to house homeless squirrels. Individual compassion abounded on every level of the community.

In San Francisco, where circumstances were more dire, the same spirit of heroic voluntarism could be witnessed. Only minutes after collapse of Interstate 880, a nearby construction worker moved his forklift to the side of the freeway and lowered those persons stranded on the crumpled upper deck. People from the surrounding neighborhood brought ladders and sifted through rubble in search of survivors, performing CPR on anyone within reach. MD's from the Oakland area threw medical equipment in the back of an ambulance, arrived at the scene and rescued a six-year old from a car crushed by the collapse. Residents in the Marina District aided firefighters by forming a human chain, passing along buckets of bay water. But perhaps most ironic, was the fact that 3,000 miles away, Mayor Joe Riley Jr. of the still devastated Charleston area, was organizing South Carolina residents to form a California Disaster Relief Fund.

But where, during this recovery period were those certain members of the state who only months ago were claiming that voluntarism was dead? They were making strategically televised appearances at the various areas of devastation. Vice President Dan Quayle seized an invaluable photo opportunity and flew into San Francisco immediately after the quake for a brief hello. President Bush followed in his tracks and stayed long enough to take a press-accompanied stroll along the twisted remains of Interstate 880. Meanwhile, on the east coast, Charlotte's Mayor Sue Myrick still haggled with private clean-up agencies in an attempt to find the lowest bidder for a state-granted contract. But we must not forget the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Their swift and decisive action has rivaled that of even the quickest of sloths. Granted, Congress wasted no time in approving a combined total of $4.5 billion in emergency aid—Capitol Hill's largest disaster-relief package to date. They simply have had trouble with the distribution of such a sizeable sum of tax-money.

In Washington, bureaucrats are tripping over each other, ankles bound in red tape. In San Francisco and the Carolinas, nonprofit organizations and local volunteer groups have placed recovery efforts in motion. Groups such as the American Red Cross, the United Way, the Carolina Council of Churches and the Raleigh Baptist Association have served as the crux of the relief effort. The valiant actions of these organizations have brought renewed attention to the national service debate. The question has been raised once again. Who is capable of providing the most efficient and comprehensive relief effort, nonprofit organizations and private enterprise or government?

Nonprofit organizations and private corporations have played an increasingly successful role in the area of national relief efforts.

Nonprofits, before the 1980 Reagan administration relied on $45 billion in federal grants. They were soon forced out of this dependency with the signature cutbacks that came to mark the Reagan era. The response was twofold. Federal aid withdrawn, the nonprofit sector found itself in dire need of funding and began to actively solicit voluntary contributions. This was soon augmented by their advancing entrepreneurial spirit. The organizations expanded their efforts to include commercial ventures and financial investments. Interestingly, private contributions doubled in 1987, totaling more than $93 billion. Aided by this surge of successful commercialism and increased private donations the nation's nonprofit organizations have grown far beyond their period of precarious governmental dependency.

However, this bounding success has solicited cries of protest from the ever tax-burdened world of private enterprise. The entrepreneurial investments of the nonprofit groups have pitted them in direct competition with private business and nonprofit tax breaks have raised corporate hackles.

In attempt to remedy the strife, Congress has proposed legislation which will increase the tax burden of the nonprofit organizations. This would be an act of extreme economic ignorance.

The decreased restrictions on the nonprofit sector have already spurred unprecedented financial growth. Harnessing the expansionist activities of the nonprofit organizations would be a misguided attempt at remedy.

When the corporate and nonprofit sectors are performing in unison, the resulting productivity is astounding. Nonprofits have succeeded in areas where governmental social agencies have failed miserably, while small businesses and corporations have served as our nation's driving economic force.

A local economy based on ice, water, candles, batteries, cold beer, and Jack Daniels developed.

The solution to this collision between the private and nonprofit sectors does not lie in instigating further restrictions, but rather in reducing them. Why not appease the private sector by decreasing corporate taxation and increasing opportunities for tax deductible donations? Such an action would enhance the coffers of the nonprofit organizations by providing further incentive for voluntary private donations.

To unleash the productivity of the private sector and the voluntarist efficiency of the nonprofit organizations is to create an environment conducive to aiding a nation riddled by natural disaster.

Maureen is editor of the Charlotte bureau of the CRITIC who mentioned the homeless squirrel hospital in order to plug her new venture capital investment project.

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A High Minimum Wage Equals High Unemployment

LEE NEWCOMB

You would think that the men and women in Congress were hard-working students in college. Well, given recent events and a long-standing record of action, it is painfully evident that they slept though their introductory economics classes. For evidence, one need only look at the recent increase in the minimum wage.

Now, fundamental economics tells us that when you increase the price of something, the level of demand decreases. This rule is applicable to anything: apples, baseball bats, widgets, and labor.

Send in the liberals, crying about social justice, economic equality, and some abstract notion of *fairness*. "Raise the minimum wage!" they have cried almost every year since its inception. They called for this floor on the price of labor because they felt certain segments of the population were being exploited. The liberals invoked images of slavery in the Old South and rampant exploitation of the unskilled worker to justify their position. The government had to take some action, they said, to stop the plight of these miserable souls. Thus government intervention in the labor market was born.

The minimum wage prevents employers from paying their employees a "fair" wage as determined by the marketplace. In a truly free market, employers and employees engage in negotiation to determine the compensation for a certain job. The more an employee is valued, the higher his wage. Laborers who possess skills that the employer feels are worth the higher price are rewarded accordingly. Such workers usually have a higher degree of education or are willing to perform tasks that are considered dangerous or undesirable by the average person. Lower-paying jobs are determined by this process to be worth less than those that are compensated at a higher level. These tasks demand no great skill or knowledge. In short, anyone can do them. Following our economics lesson, this large supply results in a lower price. The minimum wage, however, perverts this process by imposing an artificial floor and distorting the labor market.

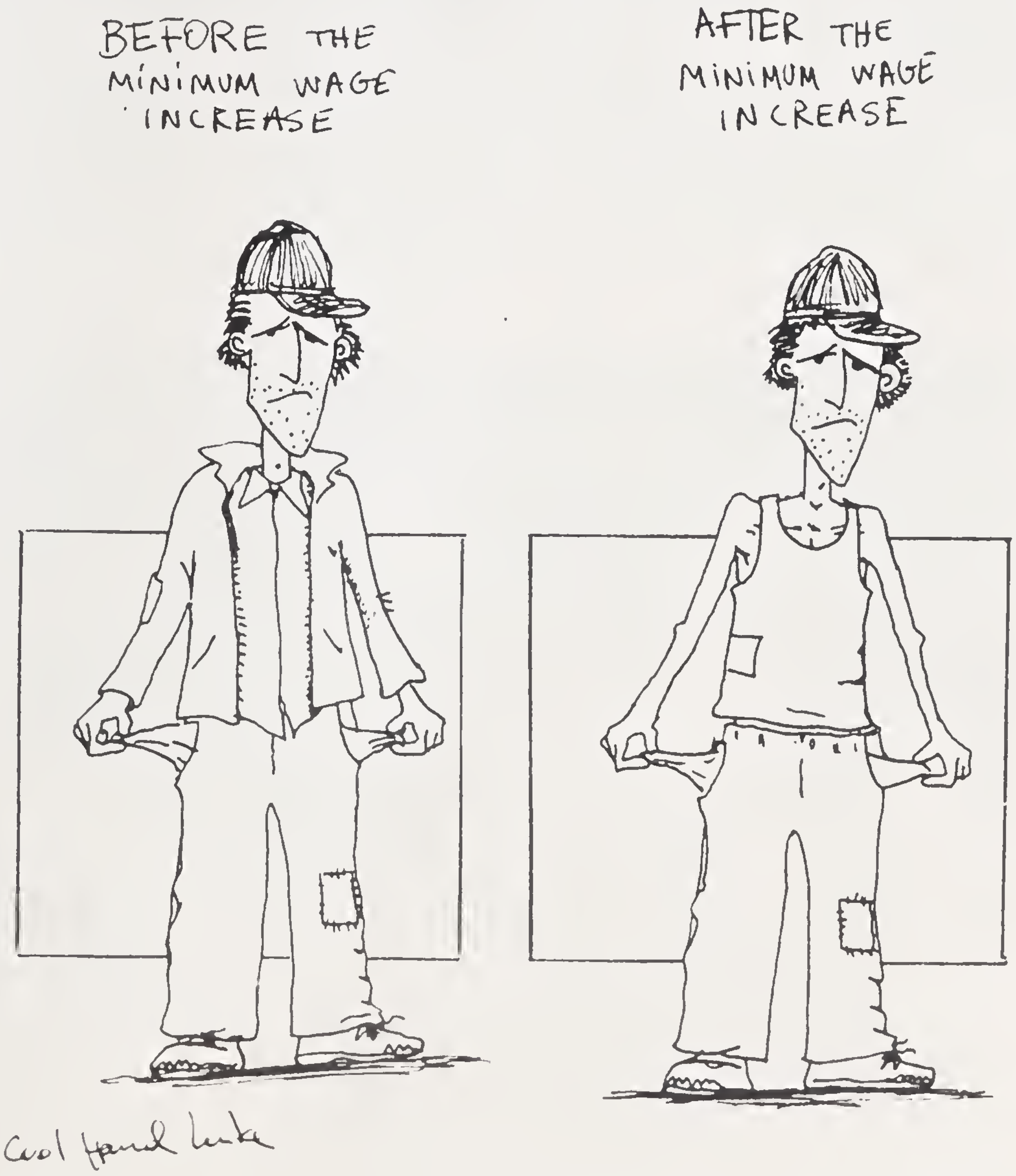
Employers are not going to hire an employee if the cost of his employment is greater than the income he generates. The floor imposed by the minimum wage prevents the "marginal worker" from being hired. If the market were allowed to function freely, producers would hire those marginal employees because they could be paid according to their productivity. They wouldn't earn a king's living, but they would at least have jobs.

A minimum wage increase will hurt not only the unskilled worker, but the entire nation. The increased cost of labor will force businesses to raise their prices. This will result in a general increase in prices, otherwise known as *inflation*. Within a matter of months, the gains in wages will be eroded to the same buying power that now exists.

There is also a greater risk inherent in this situation. The rising inflation rate could prompt Alan Greenspan and company, at the Federal Reserve, to raise the interest rate. The probability that this will occur is quite high, considering that he has announced a goal of zero-percent inflation. If these rate increases are the least bit too fast or the least bit too large, the economy will be catapulted into a recession. Obviously, this would help no one.

"The Great Society" envisioned a nation in which everyone receives a fair living and enjoys the full benefits of industrialization. The minimum wage does nothing to advance this goal. In reality it does the opposite. The minimum wage, touted as a provider of economic justice, is really the economic Gestapo.Ω

Lee's salary at the Critic is considerably less than $3.35.


BEFORE THE MINIMUM WAGE INCREASE
AFTER THE MINIMUM WAGE INCREASE
Cool Hand Luke

Essays

Surrender! The Time Has Come to End the War on Drugs

ELLIOT FUS

In the sixteenth century, authorities banned coffee in Egypt and burned existing supplies. Nevertheless, use spread rapidly. In 1736, the Gin Act failed to halt consumption in England. Between 1875 and 1914, 27 U.S. states and cities banned opium smoking. Its use increased sevenfold. The FDA halted LSD production in 1962. The following decade witnessed a massive wave of usage. In 1987, legal alcohol production decreased 50 percent in the Soviet Union. Moonshining increased 40 percent.

A few months ago, there was an incessant barrage of news stories about President Bush's "War on Drugs." Apparently the current administration presumed that it could improve the atrocious track record of prohibition. However, drug prohibition is again revealing its vulnerability, and now is an appropriate time to explain the ethical and practical reasons why it should be abolished. Not only does prohibition infringe upon the inherent rights of the individual, but it increases violent crime, disease, penal costs, and government corruption.

According to the philosophy of any nation which does not advocate either slavery or theocracy, each adult owns the title to their own body. They are free to treat it in any manner they desire, so long as doing so does not directly harm any other individual. If one desires to use a foreign substance self-destructively, one can do so. In opposition, the prohibitionist might propose that individual drug use does, in fact, harm the non-using population, and that prohibition protects these innocents. In reality, *legalization* will protect society from many of

the detrimental effects of prohibition.

The prohibitionist imagines the world of legalized drugs as a realm of squalor and chaos, characterized by once-obedient citizens now lulled into an inevitable circuit of addiction, crime, and death. When actually comparing the two scenarios, this better portrays our present situation. Countless cities are currently afflicted by murder and robbery committed to obtain illegal drugs. Legalization would solve this crisis. If history provides any insight, we need to look no further than the era of the Eighteenth Amendment. According to a recent Cato Institute Policy Analysis, both the rates of murder and armed assaults rose in 1920, remained high during Prohibition, and then declined for roughly a decade after 1933.

Drug use does not disappear when banned. The market is simply relinquished to violent criminals. Legalization reduces violent crime by providing respectable sources for purchase. No longer would innocuous citizens be channeled into organized crime through a necessity to contact professional criminals for drugs.

From bathtub gin to crack, prohibition has encouraged the creation of the more compact and concentrated, less controllable fix.

Contrary to the claims of prohibitionists, legalization would not injure public health. A mass surge in addiction seems unlikely. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, people who have tried cocaine are less likely to repeat use than those who have tried alcohol or tobacco. Given this information, addictophobes should hope that experimenters try cocaine instead of Jack Daniels or Marlboros.

To further refute the idea of an addiction surge, we may simply compare prohibition and non-prohibition addiction rates. For example, in 1985, 5.5 percent of American high school seniors used marijuana daily. In the Netherlands, where small amounts are legal, the rate was 0.5 percent. Also, when speculating on addiction, we must remember economic forces. Even under legalization, people would remain subject to their employers' private regulations. Consequently, most people who do not like getting fired would not come to work constantly stoned.

Undoubtedly, health improvements would occur with legalization. AIDS would be combatted by making clean needles egally available, eliminating the need for sharing and reducing he risk of infection. With legalization, education programs could teach appropriate dosage and administration methods. Poisonings would be eliminated by eradicating the often shabby or intentionally-impure products of unregulated pushers. The ynthesis of more potent and dangerous drugs would be simiarly hindered. From bathtub gin to crack, prohibition has ncouraged the creation of the more compact and concentrated, ess controllable fix.

Finally, the farcical role of government in drug legislation must be examined. Are drug enforcers really serious about waging their "war?" Of course not. Any genuine attempt to nforce these laws would require a police state predicated upon mass invasion of privacy, and submerged in a swirling vortex of arrests, trials, lawyers, sentences, probations, and numerous other sources of complication and red tape. Considering millions of Americans have been involved with illegal drugs at least once, the placement of all these people behind their rightful bars would be a mockery. Just on a practical basis, such a detention would be impossible due to its enormous cost.

So what ridiculously arbitrary standard do we use in deciding who to put away? Who gets caught? Who is evil? Unfortunately, it seems that police tend to arrest people for entirely different reasons. Targets are often chosen on the basis of cultural or political deviance. If that standard is not bad enough, it frequently leads to suspicion by stereotype — for instance, police pulling over cars because they are driven by long-haired youths.

Legalization would definitely erase many other problems afflicting government. Police and judicial corruption would be reduced. They would have no need to accept payoffs from drug dealers in return for their cooperation. Opportunities for entrapment and illegal surveillance or seizure would be erased. Also, the government's urge to unethically manipulate the media, at least in this instance, would be withdrawn. Currently, investigators may search the home of any potential target of suppression. The media will publicize it, and the suspect is slandered whether found guilty or not. Clearly, there is evidence that authorities are inappropriately utilizing drug law as a power device.

Ultimately, the unjust restrictions and abuses of drug laws outweigh any good intentions legislators may have. Certainly, it is possible to have very negative experiences with illegal drugs. However, the attempt to stop these misfortunes by restriction only deprives the adult American citizen of his fundamental rights and creates unnecessary harm and complication. Ω

Elliott is a sophomore Journalism major and was not using drugs when he wrote this ... really.

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Straddling the Fence: Half-Hearted Capitalism Won't Save the East

BOB LUKEFAHR

In the four years since Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, the Communist world has been in flux. With the notable exceptions of hard-line Stalinist governments like the one in Albania, nearly all the eastern European countries have been moving toward democratic and capitalist reforms. But unless the USSR is willing to abandon its commitment to the state controlled economy of socialism, all these so-called reforms will become little more than another argument against capitalism.

Evidence that socialism is an unqualified failure continues to mount. The November 20, 1989 issue of U.S. News and World Report contains some startling information about the extent of that failure. A full 28% of the Soviet population lives below the poverty line. More than 30 million Soviets drink water that is considered unsafe, 65% of the rural hospitals in the nation have no hot water, and 27% have no sewage. More than 26% of the available housing has no hot water, and 15% of the population do not have bathrooms. More than 15% of the urban population must share kitchen and bathroom facilities with their neighbors. A worker earning the average wage must spend more than two months salary for a pair of blue jeans and a pair of imported winter boots. A used car costs the equivalent of seven years salary. State controlled wage increases are outpacing increases in productivity by almost 400%, causing the value of the ruble to deteriorate even further. The list goes on ad nauseam…

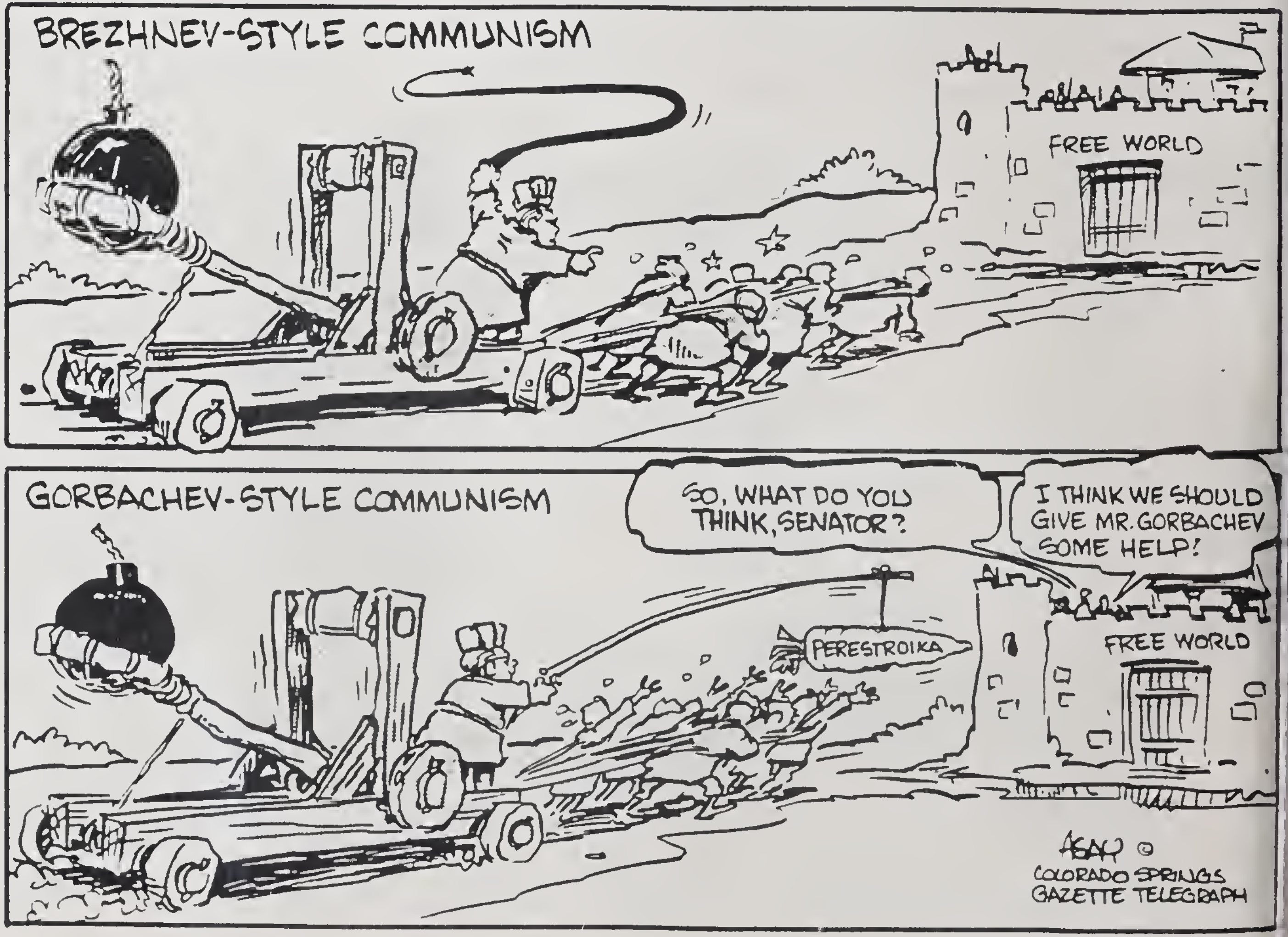
The farm economy is still reeling from Stalin's program of collectivization and the intellectually bankrupt system of central planning. Soviet economists estimate that a full one-fourth of all grain is lost before it ever gets to market. The state controlled pricing system requires farmers to sell 1 kilogram of meat for 2 rubles even though it costs 5 rubles to produce. Subsidies of agriculture are expected to reach $120 billion next year, yet production is still projected to fall 30% below the country's needs.

The one ray of hope comes from the limited private economy. While private farmland only constitutes 2% of the total, it accounts for 25% of the country's output. The illegal black market employs less than 10% of the work force, but accounts for one third of all consumer transactions. Unfortunately, by keeping the free market illegal, the Soviet government is driving up prices and fueling discontent. Entrepreneurs pay off local police to ignore their activities, and smugglers demand high wages for their hazardous occupation. As usual, it is the average consumer who suffers. If the market were the market allowed to operate legally, prices would plummet. The writing is on the wall.

We often hear pundits explain that the process set in motion by Gorbachev is unstoppable. If that were true we could all rest easier, but there is growing discontent among the Soviet populace as well as the leadership. The USSR continues to try to straddle the line between the ideologically correct and the efficient. If real reform, the kind which abandons Marxism-Leninism, does not occur, many Soviets will begin to believe the propaganda they have . They will say "we've tried market reforms and they did not work." That is the danger. Perhaps it is time for Gorbachev to "discover" a secret deathbed confession Lenin made applauding capitalism. Then he can be both ideologically correct and efficient. Absent such a shift, the marriage of socialism and freedom will be short lived. Combining the two is like trying to mix oil and water—it just won't world.

Ω

Bob once went two hours without talking about wine, women, or song. He was asleep at the time.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Chinese Cry for Freedom Isn't Heard By Bush Administration

ANTHONY WOODLIEF

One wonders if President Bush has any principles at all. This year we have witnessed pro-democracy demonstrations in China, which were brutally suppressed by its hard-line Marxist government. We have seen similar democratic movements in communist Eastern Europe, which has enjoyed greater success. The Bush Administration's response to these events, however, has been characterized by inertia. Admittedly, little can be done to encourage democracy in Eastern Europe until Poland, East Germany and others institute free market reforms that will make investment worthwhile. The Bush Administration's response to the June 4 Tiananmen murders, however, should make us question whether Eastern Europeans can expect any support from the U.S. if their governments decide to crack down.

As democracy rears its disruptive head worldwide, the Bush Administration is faced with the unpleasant task of living up to a decade of Republican rhetoric. And despite promising strides toward freedom in Eastern Europe, President Bush's chief concern seems to be finding a structure to replace the comfortable post-war European order. He seems more worried about the prevailing power paradigm than about democracy. His dealings with China in the past months exemplify how freedom has taken a backseat in U.S. foreign policy.

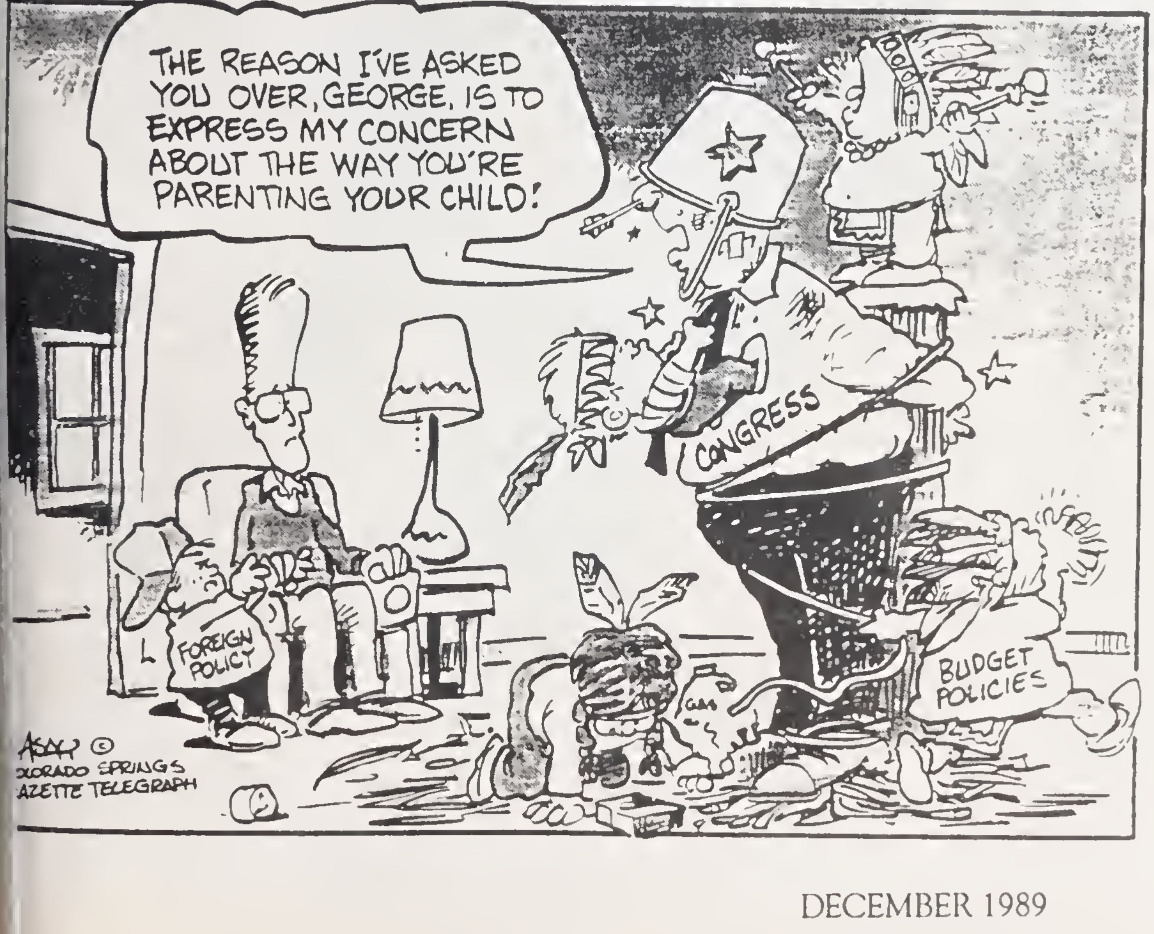
Bush's handling of the events preceding and following the Tiananmen massacre has been cowardly. As Chinese troops poured into Beijing, and tanks began to roll over students, there was little comment from the White House. When the Chinese dictatorship declared martial law two weeks before the massacre, Secretary of State James Baker said, "I don't think that we should in any way be seen to be somehow inciting to riot...I don't think it is in the best interests of the United States for us to see significant instability" in China.

Not only has Bush idly watched the mass-murder of freedom hungry youths, he has been anxious to "normalize" relations with China's rulers. He has countenanced a recent visit by former president Richard Nixon to China for just this purpose. Mr. Nixon told Chinese prime minister Li Peng that their ideological differences were "too great to permit a common understanding of this tragedy," in effect paving the way to finally gloss over the savagery of the regime in the interest of maintaining U.S. markets in China. Nixon may not understand murder when he sees it, but families of the students crushed under tank treads do—as does the American public.

Bush has also supported the efforts of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who recently followed on the heels of Nixon by visiting China and kowtowing before its dictators. Kissinger, ever the "realist," has been toadily croaking "U.S. national interests" since the unrest in China began. And true to form, the Bush Administration appears to be listening, as evidenced by the recent resumption of American aid to help the Chinese develop their F-8 fighter aircraft.

Meanwhile, the Chinese rulers are still executing people involved in the June uprising, and sending "committees" of old women through city apartments to ferret out other demonstrators. Additionally, the Chinese government has begun jamming BBC broadcasts to China, further evidence that the situation there is far from "normal," as the Bush Administration would have us believe.

This lickspittle approach to murderers and dictators is a far cry from how one would expect Bush, so fond of wrapping himself in the U.S. flag, to behave. It certainly doesn't bode well for the millions of optimistic pro-democracy demonstrator in Eastern Europe, should the Soviets resurrect the Brezhnev Doctrine. President Bush, and many U.S. Congressmen, would sooner passively sanction murder and oppression than risk valuable U.S. markets in these countries. They would sooner have others be slaves, so that certain industries may prosper, than apply diplomatic pressure on behalf of those seeking freedom. Indeed, U.S. technology transfers and tax-subsidized investments in regimes like China are nothing but bribery. They are payoffs for dictators to be cooperative, with the collateral being the lives and liberty of millions. This is shameful policy for a nation founded on principles of freedom. It is a tragic embarrassment that so many politicians are quick to condemn flag-burners, but are reluctant to chastise rulers who burn the crushed bodies of pro-democracy demonstrators under cover of darkness.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AZETTE TELEGRAPH

President Bush seems to fear the changing times as much as the communist governments whose powers are waning. For decades, U.S. foreign policy has been premised on us-against-them, East-West tension, with third world countries serving as safe, faraway battlegrounds. U.S. politicians have grown comfortable with this power structure, comfortable with millions laboring under communist oppression. Now, as this power structure begins to change, Washington bureaucrats are growing uneasy. They are more concerned with maintaining a stable, orderly system of rule, than with seeing people free. They are happier with a world that can be easily divided, half free, half enslaved, so long as each side stays within its boundaries. They welcome a world where rhetoric of freedom makes good campaign speeches, but not good foreign policy.

Certainly the U.S. shouldn't escalate chances of war, but does this mean the opposite is true, that we must pander to Marxist dictators, and subsidize their very existence? President Bush's desire for a neat little power structure to replace the existing one belies his discomfort with change, as does as his spineless approach to China. Foreign policy should be based at least in part on principle, on a belief in freedom, and a willingness to denounce those who would deny this freedom. In the face of a changing world, the U.S. should encourage democratic reforms, not fret over the fact that things are changing too quickly. If we do not, then we risk not only losing millions of people to another half-century of tyranny. We risk the respect and good will of those who ultimately do win freedom. Most importantly, we risk losing self-respect. Perhaps this doesn't mean much in Washington, but it should. Ω

Woodlief has been studying for his GRE, and we apologize for his gratuitous use of superfluous words.

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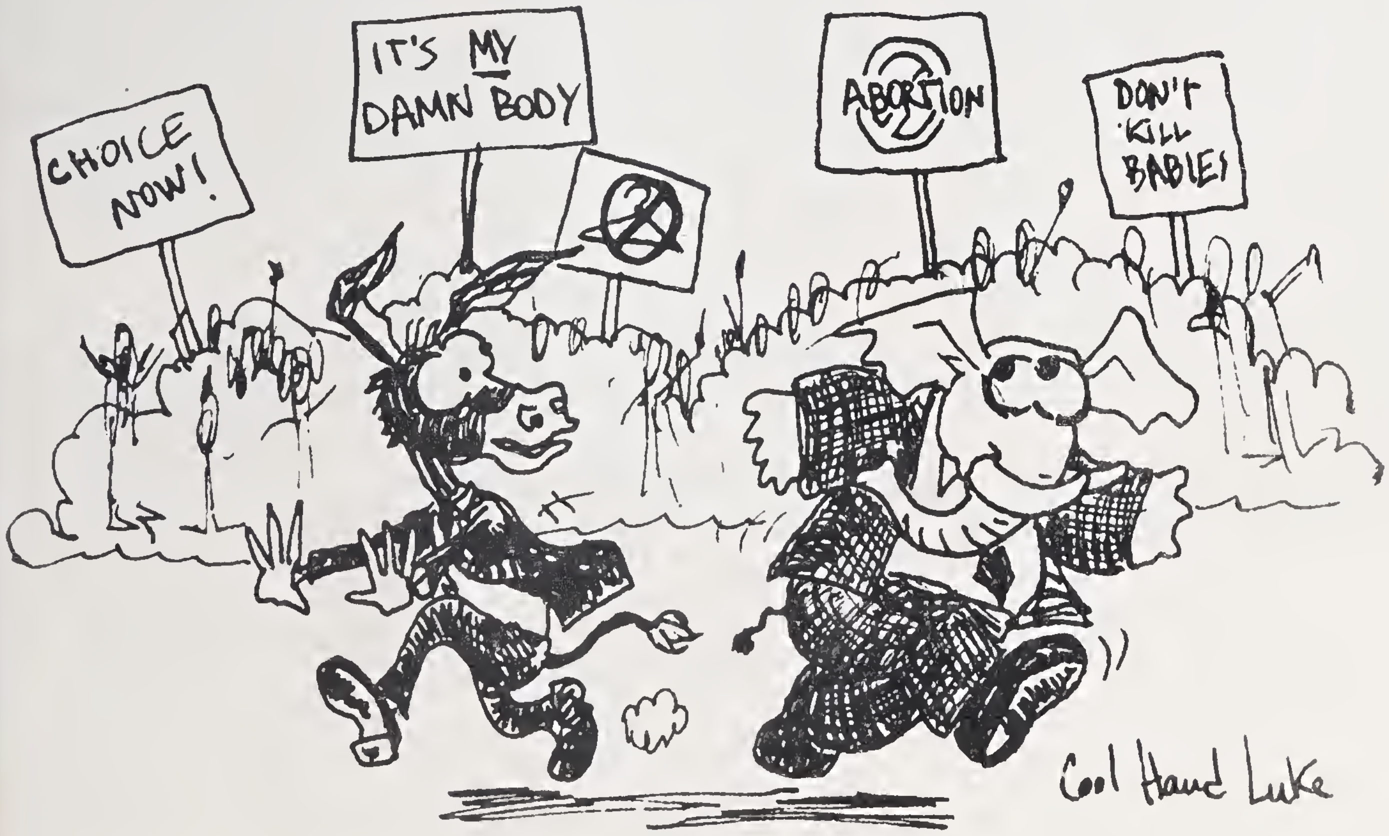
Abortion: Across the Great Divide

Debate will shape politics into the next decade

by Sharon Sentelle

With the 4,000 abortions that are performed each day in the United States adding up to a total of 22 million legal abortions between 1973 and 1988, abortion is understandably a heated issue in American politics. Both pro-choice advocates and pro-life advocates claim that the majority of Americans support their views. Both Republicans and Democrats claim to be representing mainstream America. How is organized politics dealing with the abortion issue?

Like the general population, our political parties are internally divided on abortion. Pro-life Democrats protested loudly when Laurence Davis, chairman of the North Carolina Democratic Party, suggested that his party should reevaluate its stand on abortion. Pro-choice Republicans blame the pro-life stance of the Republican Party for recent losses. At the same time, pro-life Democrats are becoming disillusioned with their party and hard-line pro-lifers say that the Republican Party doesn't take a strong enough stand against abortion. Neither party, however, seems ready to make drastic changes.



"I don't see the North Carolina Republican Party making any big changes in our abortion stance," said Tom Ballus, communications director for the North Carolina Republican Party. Quoting from the party's 1989 platform, Ballus said, "We oppose the funding of abortions by either the state or the federal governments. Positive alternatives to abortion should be a part of state government services to women and their unborn children... The unborn child has the right to life and personhood after conception. However, it is understood that there are special circumstances including rape, incest, non-viable conceptions, grossly malformed conceptions, and damage to the mother and/or child which warrant intervention."

The GOP is in the mainstream and the pro-choice advocates are the extremists, said Ballus. "The Republican Party clearly has a more moderate position than those who support abortion on demand under any circumstances," he said.

Durham pro-life writer Dennis Cuddy agreed. "If you have a Republican candidate who does not flip-flop, and is against abortion except for rape, incest, and threat to mother's life, that candidate will be representative of most Americans and would beat a pro-abortion Democratic candidate."

Cuddy said he thought Democrats might be more divided on the abortion issue than Republicans. "The Democratic Party is getting a lot of pressure from pro-abortion groups to be in favor of abortion on demand under any circumstances, and that view is just not supported by a majority of Americans."

D. K. Starr, director of the Virginia Democratic Caucus, disagreed. "The Republican Party is the divided party," Starr said. "Reagan had woven together a coalition of Yuppies, traditional Conservatives and the Religious Right. That coalition held together as long as the abortion issue was largely rhetorical. But after the Webster decision, the abortion issue ripped apart the carefully woven fabric of that coalition."

Ballus admitted that not all Republicans agree on abortion. "The Republican Party is big enough that there will be differences of opinion on issues," he said. "Abortion is no exception. The Democrats are in the same situation. There will be always be differences of opinion, especially on emotional issues, and abortion is a very emotional issue."

Ballus didn't think that abortion would split either party, though. "Most people who were upset enough to change parties because of the pro-life Republican stance or the pro-abortion Democratic stance have already done so by now," he said.

While Durham National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) organizer Holly Marrow said that the Democratic Party is the "party of choice," Ruth Ziegler, executive director of North Carolina's NARAL chapter, said that the pro-choice movement is not tied into either political party. "It's a bipartisan issue," she said.

Richard Hartney, executive director of N.C. Right to Life, agreed that it is not accurate to describe the abortion issue as being Republican or Democratic. "There are pro-lifers and pro-abortionists in each party," Hartney said. "Even though the Republican platform is pro-life and the Democratic platform is pro-choice, you can find pro-choice Republicans and pro-life Democrats without looking any farther than the North Carolina General Assembly.

> It is not accurate to describe the abortion issue as being Republican or Democratic.

"It is also incorrect to describe abortion as an issue of Conservatives vs. Liberals. While a pro-life stance is traditionally Conservative, I would argue that it ought to be a Liberal issue. Liberals usually try to bend over backwards to protect the rights of a minority group, yet in the case of abortion they are ignoring a whole class of humanity. I call that the great hypocrisy of the Liberal agenda."

Not only does everyone involved disagree on how to frame the abortion issue, they also disagree on who's winning the fight.

Pro-choice groups have become much more vocal and well-organized since the Webster decision, said Janet Colm, executive director of Orange County Planned Parenthood. "While we obviously haven't won every battle, I would say that we do have the momentum now," Colm said.

Cuddy disagreed. "When you look at issues such as parental consent and restrictions on abortion funding, I think you have to give at least a slight edge to pro-life," he said.

Pro-lifers are definitely doing more than just holding their own, Hartney said. "If you look at recent state elections and special elections to fill vacant Congressional seats, there have been more pro-life gains than pro-abortion gains," said Hartney. "If a candidate wins who is pro-choice, the media says that abortion was the key issue. But if a pro-life candidate wins, the media goes to great pains to minimize the importance of the abortion issue. For an example you can look at the August 22 election in Florida."

In this case, pro-life Republican Ros-Lehtinen's election received little or no attention as a pro-life victory, Hartney said. Lehtinen's vacated state senate seat was filled by another pro-life Republican, Lincoln Diaz-Balart. In the race for Diaz-Balart's seat in the state house of representatives, pro-life Republican Miguel de Grandy soundly defeated pro-choice John Walters, who campaigned as the "pro-choice candidate."

In Virginia, however, Republicans did not fare as well as they had hoped, (although they did have a net gain of four seats in the state legislature) and the pro-choice camp is more than willing to claim the victory.

"(Democratic gubernatorial candidate) Wilder's pro-abortion stance certainly didn't hurt him," Colm said, "and polls seem to indicate that it won him votes that he wouldn't have had otherwise."

One thing that makes the Virginia race difficult to analyze is that voters don't register by party in Virginia, Starr said. "You can't know for certain how many Republicans or Democrats there are in the state, so how can you analyze whether people are voting with their party or not?"

When analyzing the Virginia race, nearly everyone agreed that it is not only where a candidate stands on abortion that is important, but also how that stand is portrayed. "[Republican gubernatorial candidate] Coleman didn't lose the election because he's pro-life," Hartney said. "He just didn't run a smart campaign. He allowed his opponent to make the claims and to frame the issues. He appeared to be afraid of the abortion issue and that cost him pro-life votes."

Starr agreed that Coleman lost votes by waffling on the abortion issue. "Years ago, Coleman was pro-choice," Starr said. "But in the Republican primary, he portrayed himself as the most Conservative candidate. Then, in the general election, he suddenly became a moderate and tried to back off from his earlier statements. People just didn't trust him on the abortion issue."

What's next in the abortion battle?

"In my opinion, the question is whether or not we can keep abortion accessible," Colm said. "We have a president who can, and does, veto appropriations bills that provide abortion funding for victims of rape and incest. It's hard to say that we're winning when that happens. Right now we are just continuing to collect petitions and encourage people to contact their legislators."

Hartney said that the biggest problem facing pro-lifers right now is the media. "The media is trying to create the impression that it's unpopular to be pro-life," Hartney said. "That's just not so. Polls continue to indicate that over 65 percent of the people disagree with 95 percent of the abortions that are being performed. If at least 65 percent of the people agree with a position, how can it be labeled as extremist?"

Abortion is certainly a divisive issue, but one thing, at least, is certain. With three abortion cases before the Supreme Court this term, and legislators beginning to feel increased heat from all sides, abortion will continue to play a major role in American politics for some time to come. Ω

Sharon is the junior Journalism and Political Science major who, it is rumored, is Sharon Kebschull's favorite campus personality.

IN THE ZOO / ANDREW COHEN

Student Congress Defines Freedom

Something unusual happened in Student Congress on October 15. Someone showed evidence of a functioning mind. That someone, Jeffrey Beall (District 7), introduced "A Resolution to Promote Freedom of Speech." Jeff was concerned that rights could be violated if CIA interviews are hindered through any illegal acts of protest. The thought was not to focus on the morality of the CIA, but on whether it should be stopped from conducting interviews on campus.

After some amendments, the bill wound up being titled "A Resolution to Promote Freedom of Speech and Association." It upheld the freedom of individuals to consult with a potential future employer (i.e., the CIA). This was properly understood as an exercise of free association, free speech and free inquiry. It disapproved of any efforts to *unlawfully* restrict those freedoms. It also endorsed the right of individuals to express dissatisfaction with the CIA. Nowhere in the resolution was there any endorsement of the CIA. It merely recognized the rights of interested students to speak with the CIA as an exercise of free association, free speech and free inquiry.

The Student Congress believes in these basic rights. Sometimes. Or at least when the rights are exercised in ways they approve.

And this is what was so revealing about this resolution. It demonstrated the true priorities of Student Congress. Earlier that evening, Congress had showed its support for free speech by bailing out a party between two Greek groups. That party undoubtedly provided a forum for much constructive free speech. Earlier this month, they also had supported free association by subsidizing all the environmentalists who "associated" at the Threshold Conference. And we mustn't forget their commitment to free inquiry. Any inquiring mind may now pick up a copy of the New-and-Improved-with-$10,000-of-YOUR-money *Phoenix* newsweekly.

This resolution showed the importance of the *principle* of freedom. And as a special bonus, it was — FREE. Not a dime in student funds had to be spent for it. One only had to think in principle to vote for it. It did not cheer for the CIA. It only demonstrated support for basic rights.

Thinking in principle is, however, foreign to Student Congress. Take Todd Wyatt (District 4), for example. Todd was concerned that "anyone who believes in life on earth should not tolerate the words 'CIA' and 'freedom' on the same piece of paper." He went on to describe the CIA as "a tax-funded terrorist organization." This last statement may be true, but the comment was irrelevant. The point was whether some people may stop others in their exercise of their basic rights. But Todd apparently believed that our rights stop when we want to use them to associate with organizations he "feels" are bad. And many other representatives agreed with this "feeling." The resolution was defeated 6 to 10 with 4 abstentions.

If we look back in history, we see numerous examples of groups of people who passed laws and spent the money of others (we call these groups governments) who were always quick to cheer for the freedoms to do things they liked. Is freedom secured if these governments applaud only *particular freedoms*? A government might uphold the "right" to earn a certain wage or the right to have an abortion. (Student Congress has done both.) The true test of the legitimacy of a government, however, is whether it respects the freedom to do things of which it disapproves. So the question of legitimacy concerns whether a government will uphold not just particular freedoms, but FREEDOM — the principle — which thus means upholding all exercises of freedom. And this means supporting even those things that don't give the congress a warm, fuzzy feeling. Because if they don't do this, then they don't believe in freedom at all.

Perhaps the Student Congress should not be so bold as to claim to be the "defender of student's rights." It seems they only believe in rights they like.

And these people are the future leaders of America. God help us. Ω

It will never appear on Andrew Cohen's resumé that he was a Student Congress representative from district 7. Really.

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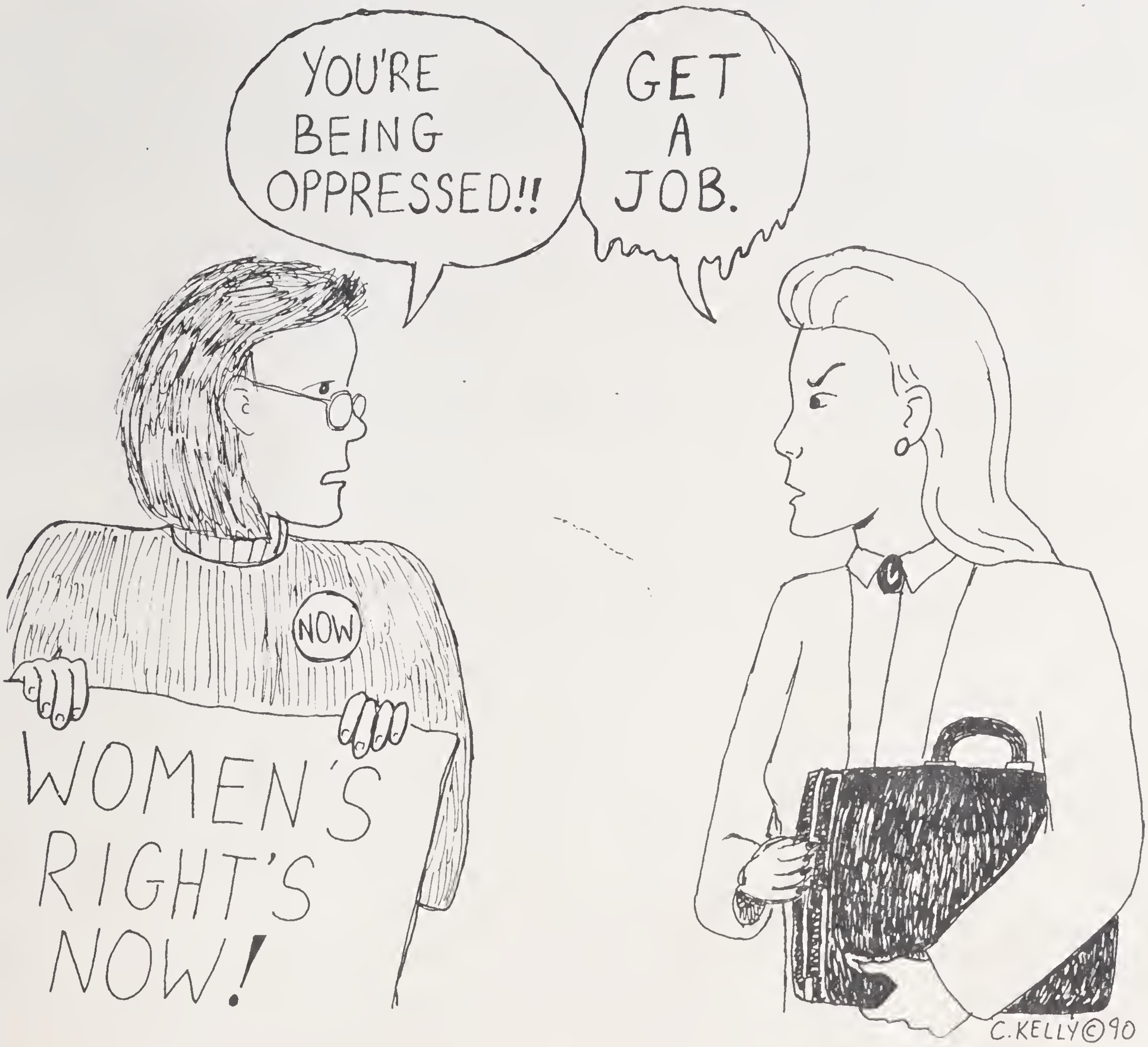
JANUARY 1990

The CAROLINA CRITIC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Is Feminism Dead?

The CAROLINA
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A Student Journal of News & Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

The Critic is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, social group or disease. Subscriptions are $20 per year, $10 for our Moms. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and art are welcome. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. Editors are responsible for the content of the Critical Eye. John Hood is responsible for life, the universe, and everything.

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IN THIS ISSUE

4 **The Critical Eye**
1990, Kennedy bashing, New Year's Resolutions, and Ten Initiatives...
Vietnamese Refugees
Drug Taxes
Clipboard
Critic Almanac

12 **The Critic Debate:** *Feminism in the 1990s*
Connie Smith and Joy Rhyne battle wits.

15 **Perspectives on the Panama Invasion**
Publisher Bob worries about the effects on the Nicaraguan election, while John Ellis gives three cheers for us.

18 **Perverting Medicine**
Who needs national health care? No one, says Maureen Kelley and Marcus Higi.

23 **The Channel One Controversy**
David Hood bemoans a lost opportunity to improve education.

25 **The World Stage:** *Chile*
Jason James notes the changing of the guard.

26 **The Dismal Science:** *Greed is Good*
Lee Newcomb defends Beemers, stock portfolios, and the art of the deal.

28 **Essays:**
Paul Daniels looks at liberation theology...Peter Hans calls for a return to our religious heritage...Elliot Fus discusses educational tax credits.

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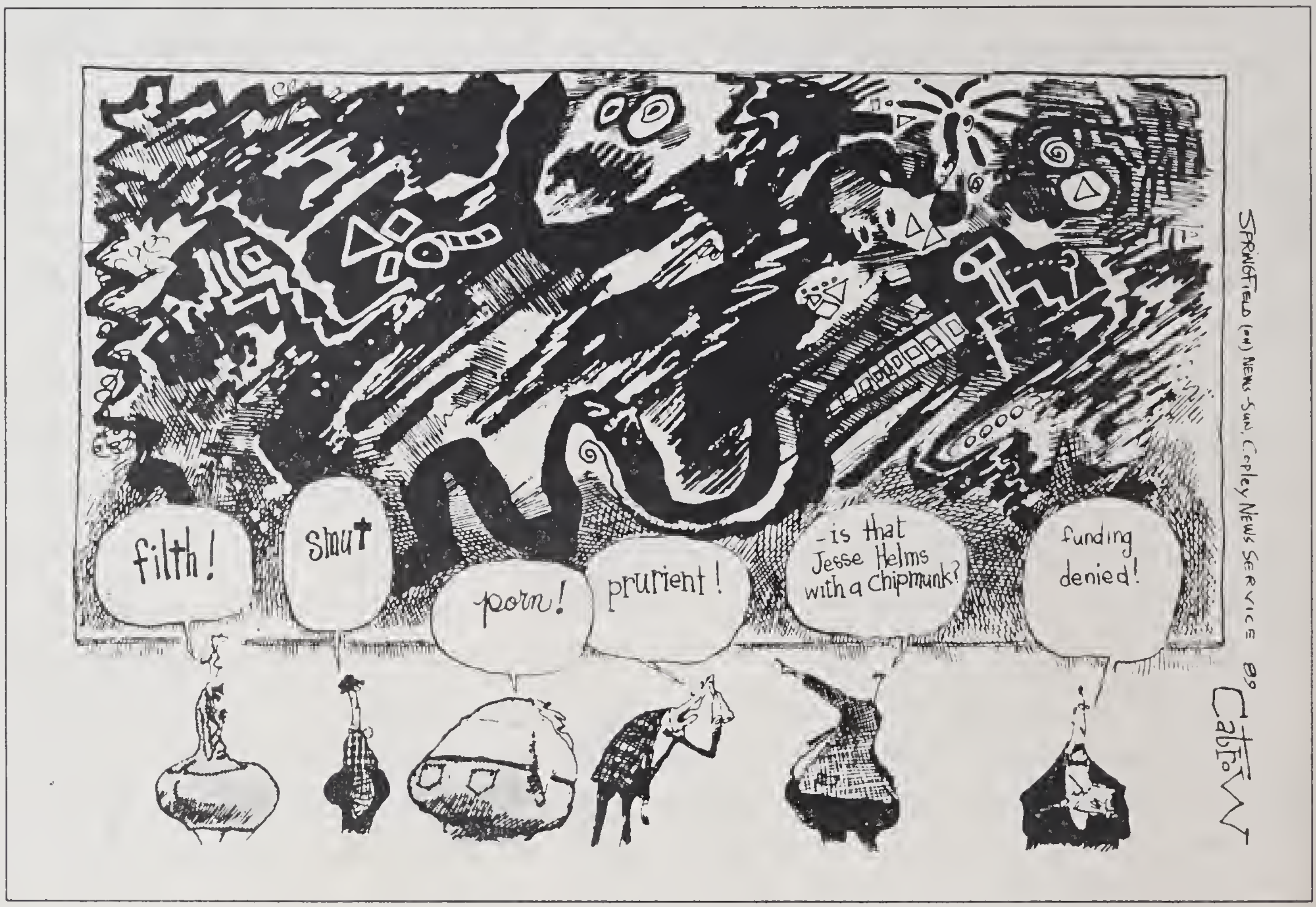
A monthly montage on matters magnificent and mundane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Catrow

➢It's 1990 and all's well in the world. The Berlin Wall is down, the Democrats haven't wrecked the economy (yet), and we haven't heard a peep from Barry Manilow in years...

➢In the annual Christmas issue of *National Review*, the editors included a recipe for fruitcake. And to think, some say there is no new conservative agenda...

➢A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry announced that the Brezhnev Doctrine, which authorizes the use of military force to prop up foreign communist governments against popular uprisings, is dead. Its replacement is the Sinatra Doctrine, based on the principle that all countries must develop political systems "their way."

➢OK, they're sure this time. A National Geographic Society report has concluded that Admiral Robert E. Peary really did reach the North Pole in 1909. This should end the eighty year old controversey over whether Peary had falsified his records. Now we can finally move on to more important matters—like whether Rosanne Barr really is the Sasquatch.

➢So far, no ethical reason has been found to explain why Senator Alan Cranston (D., Calif.) received a $1,000,000 campaign contribution from a prominent executive of the bankrupt Lincoln Savings and Loan. Given Cranston's chances for re-election, this investment may prove no better than that beachfront cabana Lincoln bought in Kansas last year.

➢As Poland lurches toward democracy and a free-market economy, some have chastised President Bush for not sending enough aid. Though it is curious that these individuals somehow know exactly how much money is needed, it remains true that simply pouring money into the Polish economy will do little good. Our experience with Latin American loans has taught us this. There is also the silly waste of Live-Aid money. The hugely successful rock concert was a dismal failure in its famine relief efforts. But some people never learn, and aid to Poland will be sent anyway. Perhaps it will be wasted like American grain shipments earlier this year that rotted on the dock. As the *Economist* writes, "Economies that are bad at producing things are usually bad at distributing them as well."

➢During the recent opposition uprisings in Czechoslovakia, the *New Republic* reports that more than thirty dissident groups formed. One of these was the Society for a Merrier Present, which staged mock police assaults on demonstrators using cucumbers and salami for truncheons. Their weapons were later used as snacks after a hard day of dissent.

➢Beanheadism, the mental disease, is a lot like AIDS—it seems to infect certain groups of people. This time it is infecting actresses. Meryl Streep demonstrated her affliction when she swooned before Congress over the Alar apple panic. The disease has now spread to Susan Dey, of *L.A. Law*. She recently complained that America's three million homeless are a disgrace in a nation of such vast wealth. When it was pointed out that several respectable researchers have determined much lower numbers, Dey gushed, "Of course, there are three million. You can see them." Fortunately for Suzie, beanheadism is not fatal. The only known cure is a monthly dose of the CRITIC. A full year's prescription is only $20.

➢When does going hungry cost money? When it is part of skyrocketing health care costs. A California man reports that a routine hospital visit required him going without food or liquid for twenty-four hours. In a twist of creative accounting, the hospital decided this was a "special diet" and charged $35 accordingly.

➢Here's a sign for Baltic protesters during Gorbachev visits: "People living in glasnosts shouldn't throw Estonians."

➢Leo Damore, author of *Senatorial Privelege*, a book about the Kennedy clan's efforts to cover up the Chappaquidick fiasco, learned firsthand exactly what the title of the book means. After a lengthy struggle with Kennedy apologists, Damore finally found a publisher. The book quickly became a bestseller, despite being completely ignored by the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and most of the liberal press eager to preserve the Kennedy mystique. But the *Boston Globe* takes the Tipper Gore Censorship Award. As his book rose into the top ten bestseller list, it seems that the *Globe* would finally have to recognize the book's existence. Instead, the list was simply shortened from ten to six and Senatorial Privelege was left off. It must be nice to be a Kennedy—rich, powerful, and unaccountable.

➢In the October/November/December issue of the *catalyst*, the editors exhorted their readers to send all unrecycleable trash to the CRITIC. Damn Leftists! Ever since, the office has been inundated with stacks of leftover *catalysts*.

➢According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, Deng Xioping had 109 officers and enlisted men of the People's Liberation Army executed for refusing to fire on the pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. Just a stark reminder that despite the capture of Noriega, little ugly men still abound in the halls of government.

APHORISMS

A critic is a legless man who teaches running.

—Channing Pollock

I only drink to make other people seem interesting.

—George Jean Nathan

The liberals can understand everything but people who don't understand them.

—Lenny Bruce

For certain people, after fifty, litigation takes the place of sex.

—Gore Vidal

A thing is not necessarily true because a man dies for it.

—Oscar Wilde

Woe to him inside a nonconformist clique who does not conform with nonconformity.

—Eric Hoffer

A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle

—Gloria Steinem

■

➢*National Review* reports that Prague's Higher School of Economics has closed an entire department devoted to the study of Marxist and Lenninist thought. Don't feel too bad for the displaced faculty though. The CRITIC's placement department has discovered that a huge unmet demand for Marxist professors exists right here in North Carolina. Please send resumés to:

Department of Political Science
Hamilton Hall 070A
CB#3265
UNC-Chapel Hill, 25799

➢In a recent contest sponsored by humorist Dave Barry of the *Miami Herald*, readers were asked to send in their solutions to the budget deficit. One of the finalists suggested selling Florida

Watching the Media

MediaWatch, an arm of the Media Research Center in Alexandria, Va., recently gave awards for the silliest things said in the U.S. media in 1989. No, these quotes did not come from the *Daily Tar Heel*:

Linda Ellerbee, an anchor for CNN Prime News, won the Award for the Silliest Analysis. Distressed over Vietnamese boat people trying to come to the U.S., Ellerbee said, "Why would any Vietnamese come to America after what America did for Vietnam? Don't they remember My Lai, napalm, Sylvester Stallone? Clearly they have no more sense over there, than say, Mexicans who keep trying to get into this country even though this country stole large parts of their country from them in the first place." Hopefully the prize for this award is a one-way ticket to Vietnam.

Ted Koppel received the Media Hero Award for his endorsement of Carl Bernstein's book *Loyalties*, proclaiming it "A testament to courage: the courage of some unabashed trade unionists and civil rights workers, Leftists and yes, American Communists, who fought for principles that we now take for granted." Not all of us support the "principles" of monopoly, discrimination, and elimination of private property and free speech, Ted.

The Award for the Most Inane Comparison goes to John Chancellor of NBC News, who said, "Thousands may have been gunned down in Beijing, but what about the millions of American kids whose lives are being ruined by an enormous failure of the country's educational system...We can and we should agonize about the dead students in Beijing, but we've got a much bigger problem here at home." Some people might disagree with you, John. Illiteracy can be overcome, murder can't.

Perhaps the worst of all, Bob Faw of CBS News received the Blame America First Award for his criticism of U.S. aid to Afghan rebels: "As rockets made in the U.S.A. keep falling here and flares to deflect those rockets keep burning small children, resentment towards the United States grows...For the Russians, Afghanistan may no longer be what Gorbachev called, 'a bleeding wound.' But for many here what is bleeding now is America's image." C'mon, whom do we really think the Afghans resent, the Soviets, who invaded their country, specializing in atrocities like mines shaped like toys with just enough explosives to blow the arms off children, or the U.S., which provided them with Stinger missiles against Soviet jets? Just goes to show that for the liberal media, propaganda in defense of socialism is no vice.

■

to the Japanese to pay off our debts. While this at first seemed like a wise idea, many soon realized that Japan would then become the most heavily armed nation on earth.

➢By now you've probably given up on most of your new year's resolutions, but we thought we would offer a few resolutions that you still have time to make:

Give more money to the Critic.
Recycle the *catalyst* before reading—if you can find one.
Do all homework in a timely fashion—except when it conflicts with your social schedule.
Convince your parents that grades are bourgeois.
Convince them that increasing your monthly allowance is not.
Wake up each day by noon, don't drink until after five.
Read all assignments, unless, of course, they have been made into movies or Cliff's Notes.
Realize that you really are here to improve your marketability, not to learn.
Read beyond the Critical Eye; our writers spend a lot of time on their articles.
Learn the difference between a conservative and a libertarian.

And now here are a few celebrity resolutions, as overheard by our diligent staff:

Dan Quayle: Play less Nintendo.
George Bush: Get those Critic guys to let me write another article.
Manuel Noriega: Get a new travel agent.
Mikhail Gorbachev: Use less rouge on my forehead.
Terry Sanford: Now let's see...I thought of one just a minute ago...
Spiderman: Hire Batman's agent.
Pepsi: Get the Pope in a commercial with Madonna.
Jesse Jackson: Less resolutions, more revolutions.
The cast of *thirtysomething*: Admit we're really fortysomething, and eat more oat bran.
New Kids on the Block: Rumble with Menudo.

➢Connie Eble, associate professor of English at UNC, noted in her recent book one of the many contributions the Critic has made to college life. *College Slang 101* notes how we have popularized the term trendinista, meaning wealthy collegiate leftists who dress fashionably while protesting against the oppressive white, male, capitalist society in which we live. We fear, however, that given the Sandinistas' recent activities, they may have lost many of their most ardent supporters here at Carolina. Perhaps a new name is in order.

➢Japan is resuming its economic aid program to Iran. Part of the deal involves training Iranian students in Japanese manufacturing methods. Let's hope this doesn't mean we'll be seeing joint ventures in the plastic explosive industry anytime soon.

A New Sin Tax

Attention drug dealers: Effective January 1, you are required to pay excise tax on your product. Senator Bob Shaw of Greensboro sponsored Senate Bill 699 titled, An Act to Impose an Excise Tax on Controlled Substances. The bill is aimed at further penalizing dealers beyond the scope of criminal proceedings. In exchange for payment of the tax, dealers receive a "proof of purchase" stamp. To date, there has been no revenue collected from assessment. Don Shirley, one of the coordinators of the project in Raleigh, notes that the department has sold 101 marijuana stamps, all to stamp collectors.

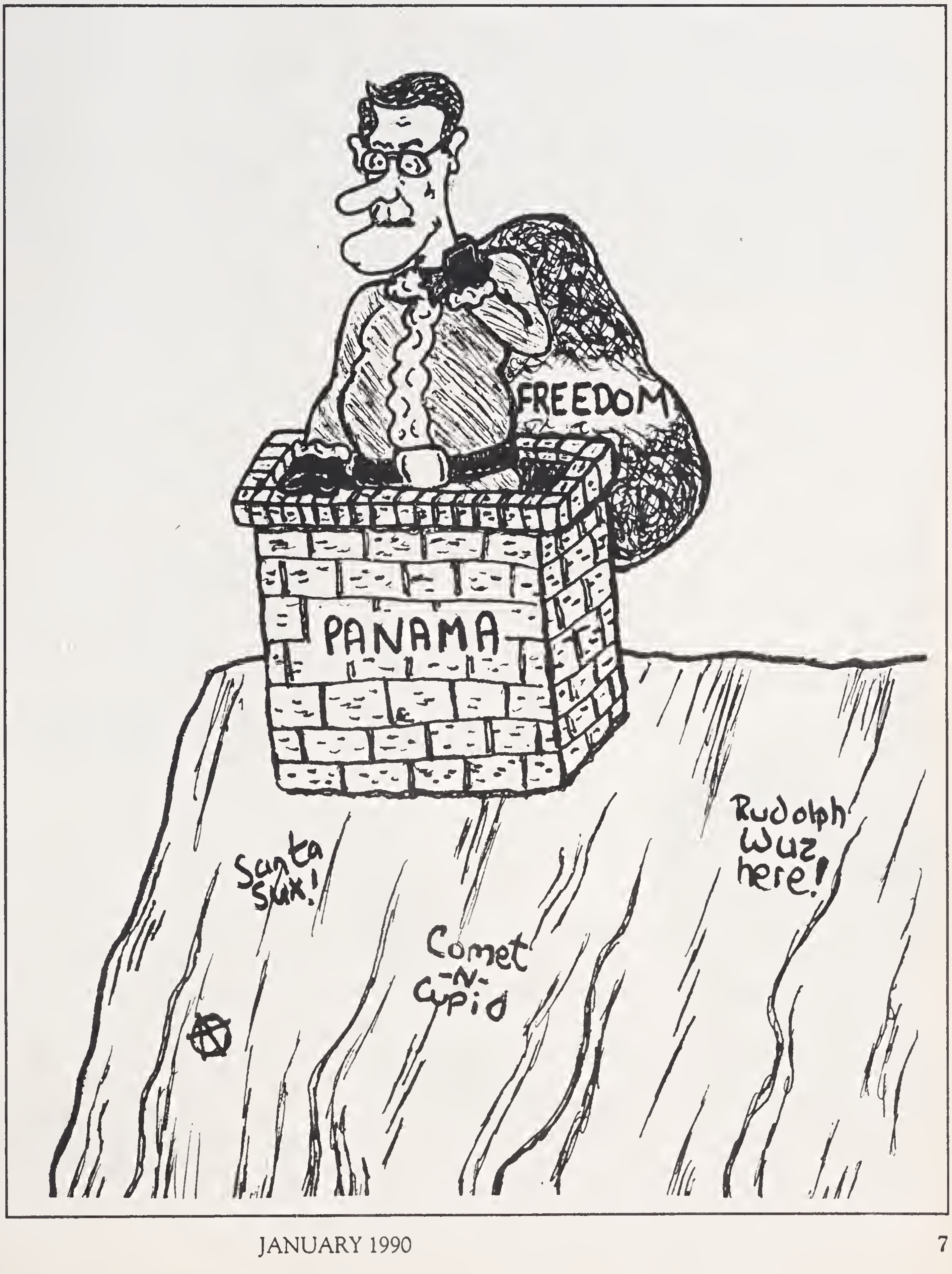
North Carolina has become the sixteenth state to have an excise tax on controlled substances. Some of the states include Arizona, California, Florida, North Dakota, and Rhode Island. In South Dakota, to acquire the appropriate stamps, the applicant had to reveal his identity. When criminal proceedings arose, however, the prosecution attempted to use the applications and corresponding serial numbers as evidence. The case was then thrown out due to the self-incrimination of the tax. The law was changed and in North Carolina no identification is needed with purchase of the stamp, thus "assuring" anonymity.

What we may see is a resurrection of the old moonshiner days when revenue agents were sent into the mountains to assess taxes on the still. Today, however, the mountain man with the shotgun is replaced by an drug dealer with a Mac-10 Ingram.

Remember the demise of Al Capone. When conventional law enforcement had failed, he went to jail on tax evasion. It is the intent of the legislature to create added financial penalties on drug dealers who are caught. More often than not, dealers with the proper resources can beat a drug rap in court or at worst go to jail for a while. A criminal record is not going to discourage anyone who engages in the extremely lucrative business of dealing drugs. It is the legislature's assertion that hitting dealers in the pocket will do far more damage.

Controlled substance taxpaid stamps can now be obtained in person or by mail from the North Carolina Department of Revenue, License and Excise Tax Division, 2 S. Salibury Street, Raleigh, N. C. 27640. Payment of tax due must accompany the application and must be by cash, certified check, or money order. Personal checks are not acceptable. Do not send cash. Unused tax paid stamps are not refundable.

—*Steven Johnson*



➢What's a self-respecting Communist to do these days? The *Morning Star*, a British Communist daily with a circulation of 23,000, recently suffered a setback when the Kremlin cut its subscription of 12,000 copies to 6,000. Apparently this drivel is too much even for dedicated Marxists. Now, if we can just get Gorbachev to subscribe to the CRITIC...

➢Speaking of Communist media, *Newsweek*, in a recent comparison of Mikhail Gorbachev to Ronald Reagan, gave Gorbachev a hearty thumbs up, while Reagan got a thumbs down. In addition, *Time* magazine gave Gorbachev Man of the Decade honors. Meanwhile, Ted Turner is expanding his Cable News Network broadcasting to Communist Vietnamese television, probably the best audience suited for some of CNN's editorializing. This bunch makes the DTH look conservative.

➢Affirmative action in the ivory tower? In a recent decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that university professors' opinions about colleagues seeking tenure was not confidential, opening the door for professors to be subject to the same politicized anti-discrimination environment they have called for so loudly in every profession but their own. In the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, "In principle there's something to be

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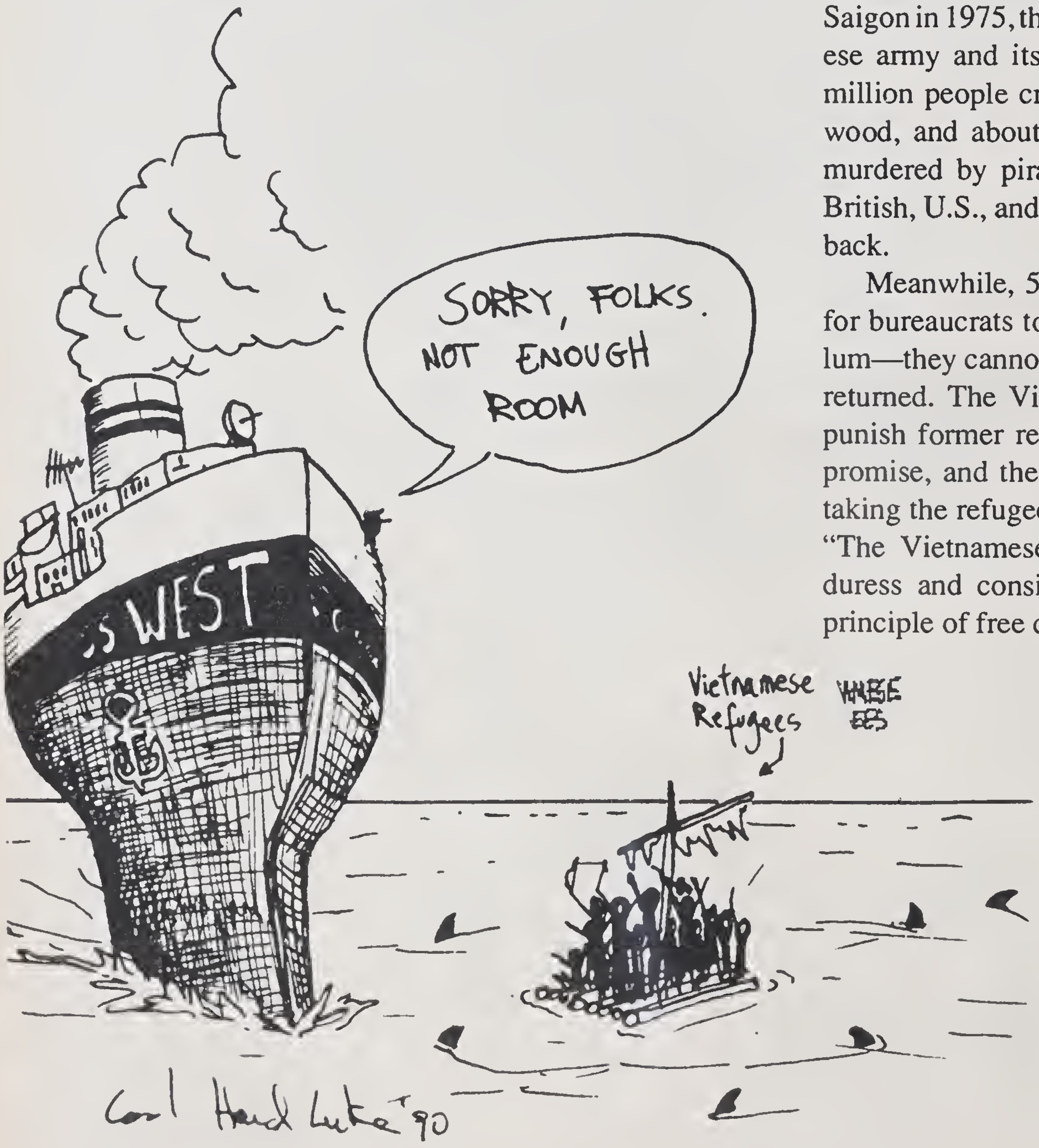
Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor...

Naah, Just Forget It

Hong Kong has a serious refugee problem—there are too many of them. Until recently, most were bound for the United States. But now, more than 57,000 Vietnamese immigrants in Hong Kong detention centers may soon be sent back as victims of a "mandatory repatriation" policy. The U.S. is closing its doors after 15 years of liberal immigration policies, and the refugees are in dire straits.

Many want to become citizens of Britain or Hong Kong, rather than be repatriated. But Britain is having a hard enough time dealing with Hong Kong residents eager to flee before the People's Republic of China assumes control in 1997. Hong Kong, on the other hand, has long discriminated against the Vietnamese. One resident accused the boat people of "obstreperous and loutish behavior...unbearable in a civilized society such as Hong Kong." In addition, despite a labor shortage, Hong Kongers frown on hiring the hard-working Vietnamese.



The promise of food, political freedom, and economic opportunity, however, has always been enough to make many Vietnamese risk everything to reach the West. After the fall of Saigon in 1975, there was a mass exodus, as the South Vietnamese army and its supporters fled for their lives. Nearly 1.2 million people crowded onto every boat or floating piece of wood, and about a half of these drowned, starved, or were murdered by pirates before reaching Hong Kong. Still, the British, U.S., and Hong Kong governments want to send them back.

Meanwhile, 57,000 Vietnamese wait in detention centers for bureaucrats to decide their fate. Most will be denied asylum—they cannot prove that they would be persecuted if they returned. The Vietnamese have promised that they will not punish former refugees, but there are few guarantees in the promise, and there is considerable Vietnamese resistence to taking the refugees back. According to a Vietnamese official, "The Vietnamese side rejects, as always, the return under duress and considers the best solution to be to assure the principle of free consent."

It is remarkable that Hong Kong residents, in the wake of the Beijing massacre, could clamor so loudly to be given passports to the West while denying the same to Vietnamese refugees. Ironically, the same excuses Hong Kong is using to deny the Vietnamese entrance will be used by Western countries in 1997 to deny Hong Kong residents emigration. Tragically, what goes around may come around.

—*Jason James*

said for using confidentiality to promote honest opinion, ensure excellence and care for the pride of disappointed colleagues. But America's university teachers have had a large role in creating the current political culture. Let the sun shine in."

➢Last December, a federal judge in Los Angeles sentenced a 22 year old to life in prison without parole for possession of 5.5 ounces of crack. This guy obviously picked the wrong crime. If he wanted to avoid doing that much time, he should have robbed, raped or killed someone.

➢The U.S. Postal Service, in its never-ending quest to provide us with the least service at the highest price, has announced plans to slow delivery of first-class mail. Postal Service officials justify their action with the observation that their customers prefer consistency over speed. Here's an idea, why not let UPS and Federal Express compete with the Postal Service in the delivery of first class mail, and then we can have service that is consistent and fast.

➢Speaking of sloppy mail service, Cato Institute analyst Jim Bovard points out that in 1764, then-Postmaster General Ben Franklin proclaimed a goal of two-day mail delivery between New York and Philadelphia. Now, Bovard notes, the Postal Service is striving for two-day mail delivery between New York City and neighboring Westchester County. If this slowing trend continues, the Postal Service may soon take longer than the UNC campus mail service.

➢With record low temperatures in the Northeastern U.S. last December, fuel and oil suppliers faced a dizzying demand for heating oil that drove prices up by more than 60 cents a gallon in some areas, forcing dealers to ration supplies. Meanwhile, tons of fuel oil sat on docks in other parts of the U.S., not shipped because the U.S. Maritime Administration wouldn't allow foreign tankers to deliver them. This ocurred despite urgent pleas from suppliers, and even the governor of Vermont. A 65 year old law prohibits foreign ships from carrying cargo between U.S. ports without a waiver from the Maritime Administration. Limiting these permits drives up prices for domestic shipping interests. According to the Wall Street Journal, only 150 waivers have been granted in

CLIPBOARD

We have a political system called "democracy" (from the ancient Greek words "demo," meaning "men," and "cracy," meaning "wearing blue suits") under which we, The People, do not personally govern the nation because we have to work—Syndicated columnist Dave Barry

What is called a slum here would be very comfortable housing in my country— Soviet Politboro member Boris Yeltsin, after driving through Harlem

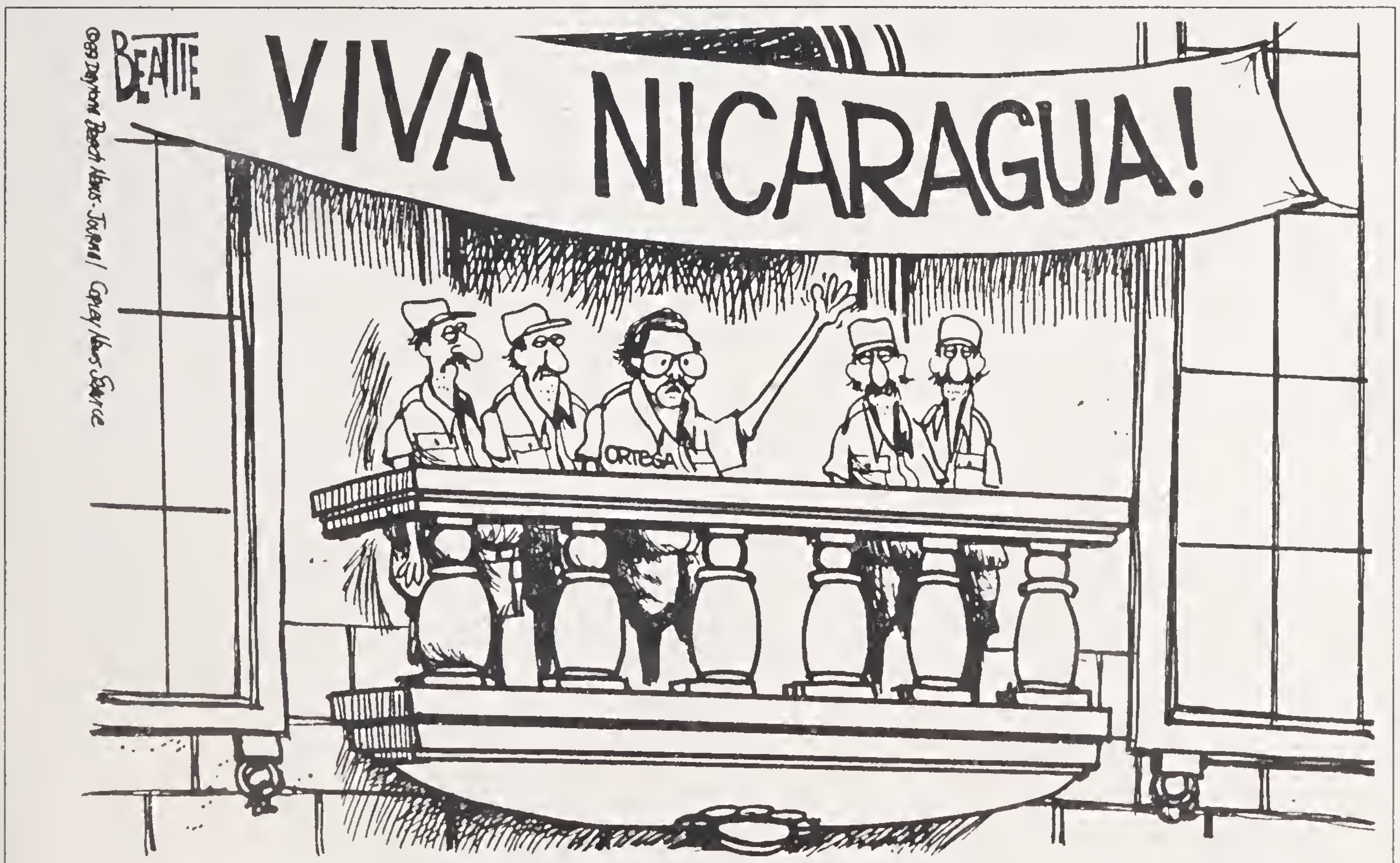
If you're gonna kill tens of millions to promote a better tomorrow, you should have to be pretty damn certain about that better tomorrow being something fairly stupendous. The global scoreboard reveals that communmism went 0-for-the-world—Thomas J. Hazlett, economics and public policy professor at UC-Davis in *Reason*

Marriage is a great institution, but I'm not ready for an institution yet—Mae West

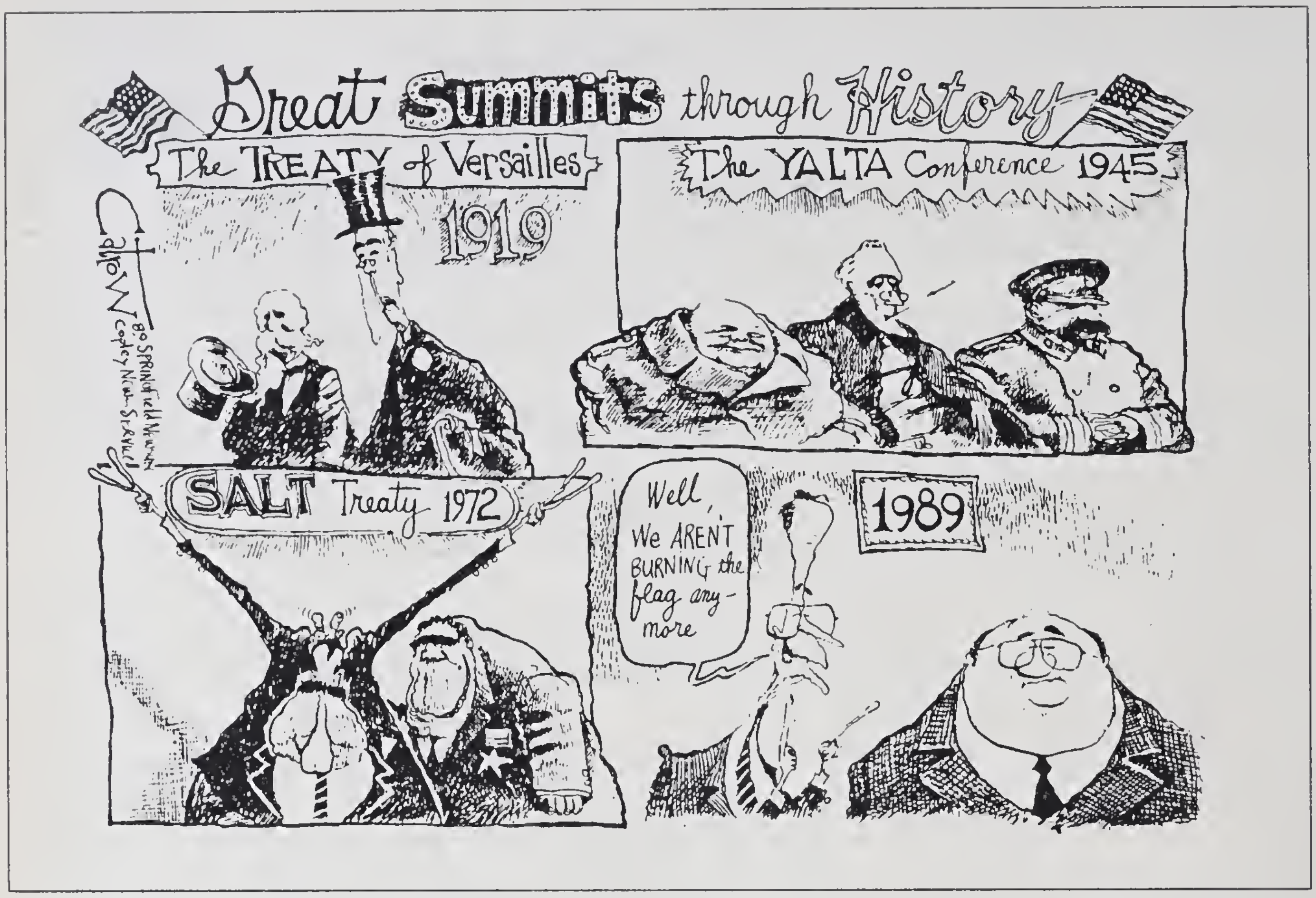
Now, more than ever before, the people are responsible for the character of their Congress. If that body be ignorant, reckless, and corrupt, it is because the people tolerate ignorance, recklessness, and corruption. If it be intelligent, brave, and poor, it is because the people demand those high qualities to represent them in the national legislature—James A. Garfield, 1877

How many crooks are in the U.S. Senate? The correct answer is: at least six, and no more than 100—R.W. Bradford in *Liberty* magazine

■


BEATTIE
©89 Dayton Beach News-Journal / Copley News Service
VIVA NICARAGUA!
ORTEGA

"Hyperinflation... chronic shortages... a never-ending war. What else can I do for my country?"


Great Summits through History
The TREATY of Versailles
1919
The YALTA Conference 1945
SALT Treaty 1972
1989
Well, We AREN'T BURNING the flag any-more

over 35 years.

In response to outrage over his agency's refusal to allow the much-needed fuel to be transported, Howard Norseth, director of the Office of Domestic Shipping, replied that if the states needed extra fuel they could have imported it. Now, that will certainly help domestic interests, won't it? Norseth further dazzled us with his economic ignorance by speculating that angry suppliers weren't really concerned about their freezing customers, they just wanted "to line their pockets." That's the beauty of the free market, the greedier you are, the more you work for others. Too bad we can't say the same thing for unimportant little mindless bureaucrats like Mr. Norseth, who would rather let people freeze than relinquish his department's authority.

➢So much for the the "Massachusetts Miracle" conjured up last year by the liberal media and Michael Dukakis' campaign advisors. With spending over 40 percent above inflation during the 1980s, Massachusetts' bond rating recently dropped lower than any state in the country. All this when Massachusetts has few high unemployment industries, and an educated workforce. Last year, the CRITIC noted that given these fortunate characteristics, not even a liberal Democrat like Dukakis could mess up Massachusetts. Guess we were wrong.

➢Bad news for free market opponents who want to whip up an irrational frenzy over an illusionary avalanche of hostile takeover bids for U.S. companies—the facts are out. Left-wing politicians have for the past couple of years warned of impending doom, painting an image of a U.S. economy made unproductive and uncompetitive as a result of hostile takeovers. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, columnist Eric Patel notes that since 1983 only 2.5% of all aquisitions made or attempted in the U.S. were hostile takeovers. Furthermore, Patel points out that almost 95% of companies targeted by raiders ranked low on key performance measures, indicating that they were poorly managed and inefficient. In fact, the average company targeted for takeover had a return on equity 45% below other firms in its industry, and growth rates a whopping 73% below competitors. This shows how takeovers, far from being damaging to the economy, are a means of making companies more efficient, by forcing managers to either perform or be replaced. Nothing like the free market to weed out those who don't want to work. Now, if only the Post Office was subject to leveraged buyouts...

➢Not content to rewrite the news, television mogul, humanist, and self-proclaimed philanderer Ted Turner has taken it upon himself to rewrite the Bible. Turner believes that like every other moral standard imposed upon us by Christianity (that "religion for losers," as he calls it), the Ten Commandments are outdated. So, being one of the enlightened elect, Turner has decided to create for us a revised set of rules on how this world should be run, simultaneously sparing us a life of idle worship and spirituality. Turner justifies replacing the Biblical Prohibitives with his "Ten Voluntary Initiatives" by claiming, "When Moses went up on the mountain, there were no nuclear weapons. There was no problem with the ozone layer, or these other problems." For the edification of the humanists and environmentalists in our audience, we present our favorite from Turner's rendition of the God and Moses original:

> I love and respect planet Earth and all living things thereon, especially my fellow species, mankind.
>
> I promise to have no more than two children, or no more than my nation suggests.
>
> I pledge to use as little non-renewable resources as possible.
>
> I promise to contribute to those less fortunate than myself to help them become self-sufficient and enjoy the benefits of a decent life including clean air and water, adequate food, health care, housing, education and individual rights.
>
> I support the United Nations in its efforts to collectively improve the conditions of the planet.

We eagerly await the Vatican's decision on canonization.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Estimated losses of U.S. Forest Service programs in the last 10 years: $31 billion

Estimated consumer savings since airline deregulation in 1978: $100 billion

New estimate for the cost of the savings & loan bailout: $250-500 billion

Estimated increase in health care costs if methanol was used in cars: $50 million

Percentage of lake acidity caused by acid rain: 20

Percentage caused by soil: 80

Growth of elephant population in the 1980s in Zimbabwe, where ivory sales are legal: 43%

In Kenya, where ivory sales are outlawed: -70%

Price of a Dinka slave in Sudan in 1988: $90

Price today: $15

Number of production workers who don't show up at Saab factories each day: 1 in 4

Percentage of Nicaraguans who say that life has gotten better under the Sandinistas: 24

Percentage who say that life was better under Somoza: 61

Number of 2,372 AIDS cases in Britain caught through normal sex: 1

Current cost for mummification: $35,000

Bald eagles killed by Valdez accident: 151

Rise in teenage violence in the last 5 years: 9%

Daily plant intake of a sea cow: 100 pounds

Ben & Jerry's annual profit: $3 million

Percentage of homeless who abuse drugs in 1988: 34

In 1989: 44

Pounds of debris per mile of shoreline in North Carolina: 650

In Georgia: 4,000

Estimated loss on Howard the Duck: $24.1 million

Sources: *Executive Alert* (11-12/89); *Executive Alert* (1-2/90); *The Economist* (1-6-90); *The Economist* (12-23-89); *National Review* (1-22-90); *Discover* (1/90); *Good Housekeeping* (11/89); *National Wildlife* (1/90); *Mother Jones* (1/90); *U.S. News & World Report* (1/15/90);

—compiled by Jason James and Elliot Fus

FEMINISM: A

YES

Connie Smith

Like many seniors, I am frequently asked what I am going to do after I graduate. When I say that I'm a math major I usually am interrupted with, "Oh, you must plan on teaching." After I reply, "No, actually I am considering pursuing a career in computer science and hope to get a Masters in Computer Engineering," I am met with a look of disbelief.

Unlike some women, this response does not bother me. Regardless of such attitudes, I was free to choose my major and have found a great deal of encouragement and support in my search for a job.

I should probably thank the radical feminists of the sixties and seventies for the ease I have had in choosing my career. The movement, in at least some of its phases, asked that women be judged by the same standards as men. Eventually, this gave women a freedom of choice which had not been theirs previously. It eliminated laws that infringed upon the individual rights of females. With this done, however, it is time that feminists see that their movement is no longer necessary.

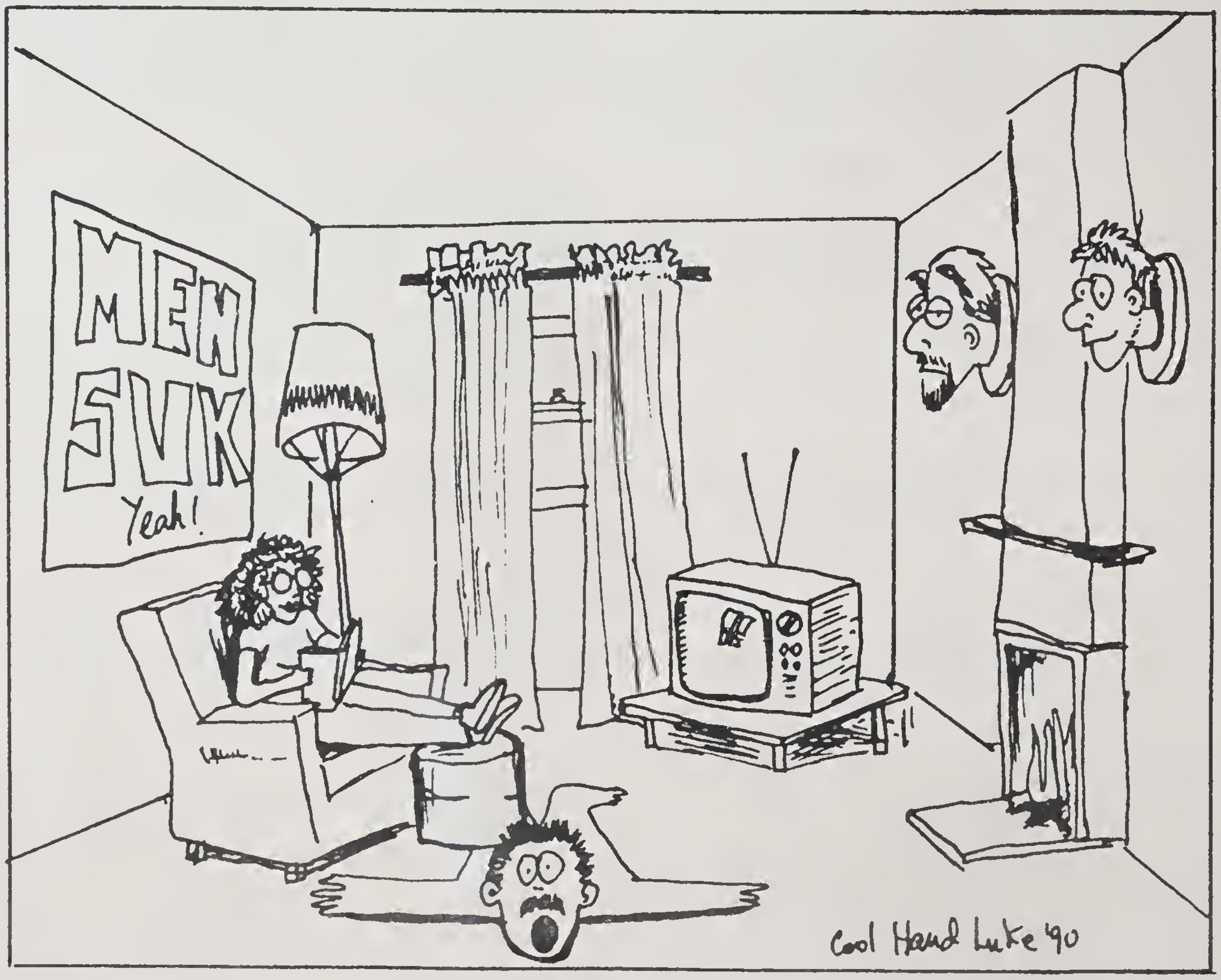
Yet today's feminists think differently. The remaining hardcore feminists want nothing less than to reshape the way we think and are willing to use the government as their tool. Presently, they are pushing a silly scheme known as pay equity. Pay equity demands that women receive top pay whether or not they enter high-paying fields.

For example, feminists view the fact that electricians are paid more than librarians as a form of discrimination. They then conclude that the government should step in to insure "equitable" salaries. But if there are no legal obstacles which prevent women from becoming electricians, what exactly is the problem?

Obviously feminists cannot accept the principle of individual liberty. Rather than have women judged on individual merit, feminists argue that because you are born with certain reproductive organs, laws should be passed guaranteeing you a certain income.

Today's feminists must realize that laws are not going to change attitudes towards women. Time, and the market, will do more than any feminist's ravings. There are still many living who were raised on *Ozzie and Harriet*. Some of these people resisted and now detest the feminist movement. These are the preachers of "a women's place is in the home." Soon these people will die and hopefully take their adversaries with them.

Please see RELIC *p.14*



Movement for Yesterday?

NO

Joy Rhyne

The 1990s have arrived and a new decade, with an endless array of opportunities, has begun. Though the global political situation offers visions of widespread democratic reforms, the world is still filled with numerous examples of blatant inequality. Even in the United States, where the Bill of Rights guarantees basic freedoms to all citizens, certain inherent inequalities linger. American women must deal with these disparities every day. Yet, according to a recent article in *Time* magazine, a majority of American women do not call themselves feminists.

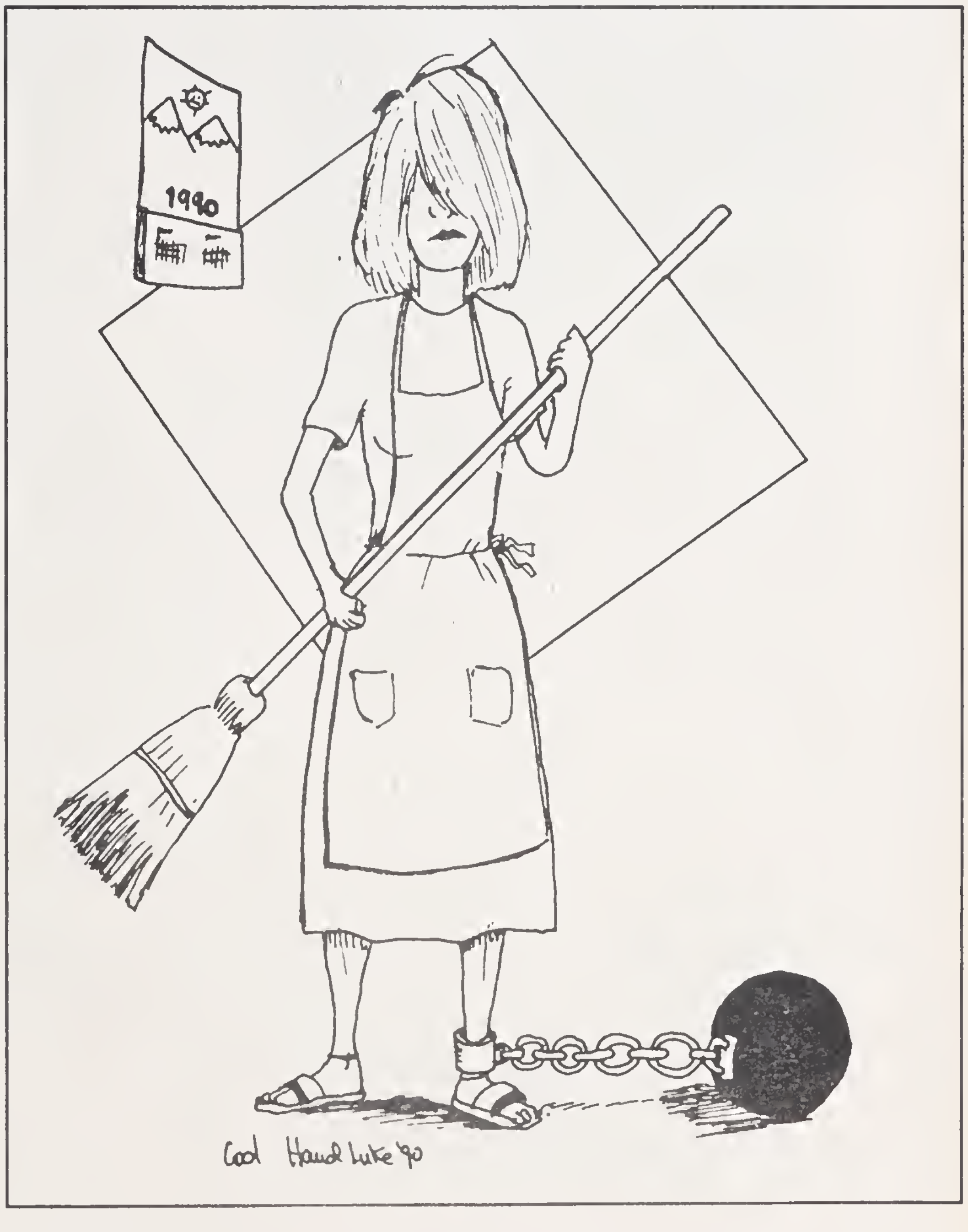
Many people question the relevance of feminism in modern society. The media suggests that there is no longer a need for the Women's Movement, because most women feel that society has become egalitarian. This, of course, is no surprise, since the media is an agent of the patriarchal hierarchy that is so pervasive in our society. Molly Yard, president of the National Organization for Women, claims that rumors of the demise of the Women's Movement are unfounded and the result of a myth promoted by a media consisting primarily of white men. Feminism is not dead. Indeed it is more necessary than ever as we enter the 1990s.

Clearly, women have advanced since the feminist movement began, but their success has been limited to status accomplishments. Status accomplishments are those that obviously indicate some progress, but tend to acquiesce the movement and cause it to lose sight of its long-term goals. This is exactly the situation the feminist movement is struggling to overcome. The American political arena offers a good example. In 1984, Geraldine Ferraro became the first female Vice Presidential nominee. However, Ferraro's nomination did little to advance women's roles in politics. It was merely a desperate attempt by the Democrats to win votes. Despite this token advancement, women are vastly underrepresented in all aspects of American politics. The media has only exacerbated the problem, by sensationalizing these small accomplishments. For women to achieve a real level of equality, a restructuring of our culture must occur.

Opponents of "cultural feminism" argue that if women are really equal to men, then they should be able to compete without any government interference. These people feel that the free market can solve problems of equal rights. They believe that the best man (or woman) for a particular job will get it. Though such beliefs are quite comforting, they are far from realistic. As long as the hierarchy remains intact, women will not have the same opportunities as men. Many corporations refuse to advance women to executive positions if they express a desire to have children. These women are qualified for advancement, but they are being judged on entirely irrelevant criteria.

Society has been very successful in passing off cultural feminism as a radical idea that has no logical application in the "real world." Feminists have often been accused of being lesbians or "bitches" because their militant rhetoric specifically names the white male as the enemy. However, the feminists of the 1990s need not be as militant as those of the 1970s. In a 1970 article, "Goodbye To All That," Robin Morgan completely rejected

Please see ALIVE *p. 14*



FEMINISM: A Relic of the Past

Continued from p. 12

Also, the coming generation will include more people who were raised in environments where the woman was provider as well as mother. This change will do more to encourage young girls to aspire to "traditionally male" jobs than a thousand Molly Yard temper tantrums.

Above all, the market will work to change the attitudes of those who discriminate against women. Labor shortages will occur in the next decade—especially in those areas which were primarily male dominated. These include engineering, computer science, and many types of skilled labor. Companies will find themselves without sufficient numbers of workers, or be forced to reject some of their best applicants if they continue to discriminate.

One of the market's recent responses to the increase of women in the workforce has been to offer staggered hours and extended leave for women with small children. The feminist response to this has been to deride it as "mommy tracking." This is only fitting considering the hostility many feminists seem to have towards motherhood and homemakers. Evidently, feminists have lost touch with the average American woman who looks forward to raising a family and being a part of her child's life.

Feminists also do not to seem to grasp most women's views about sex. Granted, no woman likes to be thought of as solely a sex object; but looking at articles in popular women's magazines makes it clear that women very much like to be considered sexually attractive by men. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, during the height of the feminist movement, these same magazines suggested that perhaps relationships with men might be unnecessary. Compare that with today's articles on "How to Flirt." The differences between then and now seem to be that women are much more secure and confident about their role in society and no longer view men as the enemy.

It is sad that feminists continue to see men as a threat when the real enemy is legislation that stifles individual freedom. For example, there are laws which prohibit working at home—preventing women from staying at home with their children while they work. The feminist movement could better justify its existence if it were working to repeal these laws. Instead, much of its energy is spent fighting changes in abortion laws in the mistaken belief that if feminists don't do it no one else will. Many women, whether feminists or not, won't tolerate laws which make abortion illegal. The 1990 elections will make this clear.

What the feminists have lost sight of is that women are individuals. They have a wide range of hopes and aspirations. Feminism's original goal was to give women as many options and choices as men have. With this goal essentially achieved, feminists who would use the state to reshape society should see their job as done. Ω

Connie could never be a feminist; she loves men too much.

FEMINISM: Alive and Well

Continued from p. 13

men and claimed that women must say "goodbye" to all aspects of society as it currently existed. She wrote, "The hell with the simplistic notion that automatic freedom for women—or non-white peoples—will come about ZAP! with the advent of a socialist revolution. Bulls—. Two evils pre-date capitalism and have been clearly able to survive and post-date socialism: sexism and racism." Though labeled a radical, Morgan's militant rhetoric opened people's eyes. While alienating many, Morgan was able to make the feminist movement, as a whole, appear mainstream. As a result of the status accomplishments of the feminist movement, such a militant approach does not seem necessary in the 1990s. This is not to suggest, however, that feminist ideals should not be pursued. Instead, an egalitarian ethic should become an integral part of modern society.

Opponents of the feminist movement often claim that the majority of women in the United States do not support the movement. That claim is misleading, at best. Most women do support the basic egalitarian beliefs of the movement, and are likely to disagree only over the degree and means of liberation. However, many women resist the label of "feminist" because of its pejorative connotations. Too many women have been misguided by the negative images of feminism that the press and other opponents have created to stop the groundswell of support. After all, it was much easier for the patriarchy to try to kill feminism than to make the necessary cultural changes. Most women, as well as most men, probably agree that feminism has facilitated some long-awaited reforms. Unfortunately, change is often a slow moving process. Twenty years after the Women's Movement began, we are only beginning to see its fruits.

As the 1990s begin, it is easy for people to claim that feminism is no longer necessary. However, the struggle is just beginning. Recent Supreme Court decisions, such as the Webster ruling which threatens access to abortion, should serve as a catalyst to unite women in defense of their rights. It will be up to these women to decide the path feminism will take in the 1990s. Feminism is not dead, and even though it may appear to be "going out of style," the basic ethic will prevail. The term "feminist" is not derogatory. Instead, feminism is simply a manifestation of the American desire for equality. Ω

Joy is a sophomore speech and political science major from Hickory, NC.

‘Just Cause’ was Just Bad Timing

by Bob Lukefahr

On December 24th, it was announced that ousted Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega had given up the fight and was begging the Vatican for asylum. A short while later, the Bush administration declared victory and heralded the news as a triumph for democracy. Well, good for us. But before we forget Central America and turn to other problems, we ought to pause and think about the long term effects of operation “Just Cause.” Instead of bringing democracy to a troubled region, the invasion of Panama may bolster support for Central America’s most repressive regime—the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

On February 25th, the Nicaraguan people are scheduled to participate in what promises to be the first free elections in that country since the Sandinistas seized power in 1979. During the last ten years, the people of Nicaragua have become disillusioned with Daniel Ortega’s communist dream and now seem ready for a change. A poll conducted in June 1989 for the *Miami Herald* and *La Prensa* showed that opposition candidate Violetta Chamarro was favored by 46 percent of the respondents rating while only 28 percent of those surveyed said that they would favor six more years of Sandinista rule. Unfortunately, these attitudes are now likely to shift dramatically as the spectre of Yankee imperialism looms larger than ever.

Ortega and company have been trying for more than ten years to convince the people of Nicaragua that the United States poses a grave threat to their country’s sovereignty. The Sandinistas maintain it is only because the government has remained vigilant that Nicaragua is not just another banana republic. The threat of an American invasion has been used to justify a series of otherwise distasteful policies including the maintenance of the largest army in Central America, a vicious crackdown on dissent, and close ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Lately, it seems that the Nicaraguan people no longer believe Ortega’s rhetoric. Widespread opposition to the Sandinista policy of conscription has become commonplace, several anti-government demonstrations have broken out, and people are demanding the kind of consumer goods only the free market can provide. In short, people no longer believe they need the Sandinistas to protect them from the American leviathan. Unfortunately, operation “Just Cause” may change all that.

To understand the depth of the anti-American sentiment in Nicaragua, one must recall recent history. It was the U.S. that installed the hated Somoza regime in the early part of this century. The installation of Panamanian President Endara by the U.S. will strike most Nicaraguans as uncomfortably similar. Until the Panama operation, warnings about an impending U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would have sounded more like political posturing than realistic analysis. Now the possibility will seem all too real. The very people who, just a few months ago, were expressing disgust with the communist government in Managua, will likely head to the polls in February bent on electing a strong, anti-American candidate. They will probably choose Ortega.

This may be the most lasting and tragic effect of operation “Just Cause.” While America has rid Central America of one petty dictator, it may have entrenched a much more dangerous regime in Nicaragua. The final irony of the U.S. invasion of Panama is that George Bush may have done what ten years of Sandinista propaganda could not—convince the people of Nicaragua that they need Daniel Ortega at the helm. Ω

With the Panama invasion and the fall of the Berlin Wall, Bob decided to stop taking Russian and study Spanish instead.

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Restoring Democracy to Panama

by John Ellis

Wednesday, December 20,1989 President Bush launched the biggest U.S. military maneuver since the Vietnam Conflict—"Operation Just Cause." The United States invaded Panama with over 20,000 troops, successfully restoring democracy and liberating the Panamanian people from the evil clutches of General Manuel Noriega. Even so, those people who prefer a more relaxed military posture see the invasion as immoral. They claim that the affairs of Panama should be handled by the Panamanians alone. However, the reasons for the invasion and the conditions in Panama during Noriega's rule, demonstrate that "Operation Just Cause" brought salvation to the people of Panama, as well as to the United States.

A major purpose of the invasion was to protect the lives of Americans stationed in Panama. The weekend before the invasion a U.S. naval officer and his wife were tortured by Noriega's protégés. During the previous year, the Department of Defense had documented over 200 cases in which Americans were harassed by the Noriega government. President Bush had little choice but to assume that these incidents would continue.

Of course, some people (mostly obscure Democratic congressmen and former officials of the Carter Administration) claim that there have always been Americans terrorized in lands all over the globe. To them, Panama is not a special case. Evidently, these people were at home playing with their Nintendos on Friday, December 15, when Noriega declared that Panama was in a state of war with the United States. One can hardly claim that Panama was minding its own business.

With good reason, the capture of Noriega was a primary objective of "Operation Just Cause." It is a forgone conclusion that he is a drug trafficker who used and abused Panama and its people for his own personal gain while pumping drugs into United States' citizens. Contrary to what the opponents of the invasion claim, Bush had the right to order the capture of a wanted man residing in another land, even if he is its political leader. If we accept that our legal system is based on a universal system of justice, then is it not universally applicable?

Protection of the Panama Canal was also one of the major objectives of the operation. The canal is owned by our nation, not Panama, and built for the purpose of transportation, not drug running. As such, it is in our interest to protect the canal, both in the name of national security and the war against drugs.

The few people who have criticized the invasion have done so because they feel that Panama should decide for itself what it wants. Well, here is a hot news flash: Panama did decide what it wanted last May when it elected Guillermo Endara as President of the nation. Noriega, however, proceeded to steal the election and ordered his so-called "Dignity Battalions" to attack Endara and his running mates.

Critics also oppose the invasion because innocent people were killed. In President Bush's words, "Every life is precious" and it is disheartening when even one American or one Panamanian is sacrificed. We must realize, though, that in any military conflict there are always lives lost. Furthermore, the invasion was planned to insure the fewest casualties possible. Also, when you take into account the number of people that Noriega killed in Panama coupled with the hundreds of people he indirectly killed in America through his drug trafficking policy, it is clear that Bush should not be branded as a murderer for implementing "Operation Just Cause." If Noriega were allowed to continue his reign, he would have killed more innocent people in the long run.

The opponents of the invasion claim that President Bush has violated treaties, such as our promise under the charter of the Organization of American States (OAS) not to invade a nation in this hemisphere. However, in this situation, Bush repeatedly tried to get assistance from the OAS but, like the United Nations, it has become an organization that seems to cater to the whims of people like Manuel Noriega and Daniel Ortega. Given the lack of OAS cooperation in mediating the Panamanian situation, and the dismal outlook for democracy in Panama as long as Noriega maintained power, Bush had little choice.

With the invasion of Panama, President Bush has taken our foreign policy into a new era. According to Drug Czar William Bennett, the capture of Noriega proves that the United States is serious about the drug war. It has provided hope that Central America, as well as the United States, can be saved from senseless drug crimes. In addition, Bush is implementing a unique stage in the invasion of Panama by sending special teams to that country in order to rebuild its economy and insure its transition to a peaceful, democratic society. So, our President has shown that the United States is not a nation that just polices the globe for selfish, material gain. On the contrary, he has proved that America can be defined as a nation that cares about the lives of people abroad and the future of democracy.

Of course, it is not proper to criticize those who oppose the operation without learning how the Panamanians themselves feel. According to one opinion poll, 92% of the Panamanian people support President Bush's action. True, it is not always good to rely on polls, so perhaps the best way to summarize how the Panamanians feel is by reading a slogan that appeared on the t-shirts of several Panamanians after the capture of Noriega: "'Operation Just Cause:' Not an Invasion—a Gift!" Ω

John Ellis is a freshman journalism major from Murfreesboro, NC.

Since it's better to be critical than to be criticized...

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PERVERTING MEDICINE

Maureen Kelley

THE JOY OF HEART SURGE
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As the people of Eastern Europe cast off the shackles of socialism, we in the United States seem to be trying them on for size. We applaud the crumbling of a wall which once enslaved a nation, but permit the erection of a wall that will enslave a profession.

The field of medicine is on the brink of being socialized. Only the indignation of physicians has prevented our nation from implementing a national health plan. The doctors' stance, however, is weakening for lack of support. Physicians are being bombarded from all sides with claims on their knowledge, skills, time, and money. Their product, health care, is being claimed as a right. They are blamed for skyrocketing medical costs. As a result, government regulation is being applied to nearly all areas of their expertise.

The government's goals have been to reduce the costs of health care and to increase its accessibility. While it is difficult to argue against such laudable aims, one need simply examine previous attempts at socialized medicine to realize that it does not achieve the desired goals.

POLAND: THE AGE OF LEECHES

The nationalized health care system in Poland has been acclaimed for reducing medical expenditures to only 5 percent of the GNP. Yet, the country still ranks last in the Eastern Bloc in number of hospital beds and suffers from severe shortages of drugs and basic medical equipment. Three quarters of the few available beds are located in facilities built before World War II. The average wait for these luxurious accommodations can range from several weeks to several months. In the hospital laboratories, administrators typically spend the day calling around the country in search of scarce medicines, such as surgical antibiotics. In the internal medicine department of the Wolskiej Hospital (Warsaw), they have only two thermometers for a ward of 60 beds. In Bialystok, an experienced general practitioner working in a state clinic is paid 29,800 zlotys, or $73.00 a month. Comparatively, a sewer worker earns $78.00. In Poland, the physicians and their product are controlled and distributed by the state.

> **Patients must typically wait up to six weeks for elective and "emergency" orthopedic surgery...**

CANADA: TAKE OFF, EH!

Michael Walker of *Reason* magazine recently uncovered some disparaging facts about the result of governmental control of health care. According to investigative studies, Canada's socialized health care system is plagued by waiting lists and equipment shortages. Patients must typically wait up to six weeks for elective and "emergency" orthopedic surgery, six to ten months for hip replacement, two months for cataract removal, and up to a year for coronary bypass surgery. Similar shortages also hold up vital radiological procedures.

Patients must wait two months for a CAT scan, two-and-a-half months for a mammogram, three months for a bone scan and three to four months for a myelogram. Such lengthy delays negate the purpose of preventive medicine. In the case of mammography, the arrest of a malignancy in its primary stage is imperative for a woman's survival. The two to three month wait can mean the difference between a curing surgical procedure versus a lifetime battle with radiation treatment, repetitive surgery, extensive hospitalization and ultimately death. This is the system which the U.S. health care planners wish to emulate. The most frightening fact is that they have already started.

BACK IN THE USA: BETTY CROCKER CARE

In Salem, Oregon, the Health Services Commission is busy formulating a "health-treatment priority list." Their purpose is to reduce the cost of state funded medical care by preventing treatment that is deemed "excessive." Their task is to rank thousands of medical procedures on a list, prioritized from the "most critical" and "effective" to the least. The result will be a mathematical measure encompassing every procedure from a splint for a broken finger to a heart transplant. The calculations are based on cost, reduction of pain, increased mobility of the patient and increase in "well years" of the patient's life.

Who exactly performs these prophetic calculations? The commission is made up of physicians, nurses, hospital administrators and ordinary citizens. This committee employs its "collective wisdom," allocating a point system to all procedures in the medical field. Such a point system is the debate of recent litigation. A mother is currently suing the state of Oregon for the death of her 5 year old son, who died of leukemia because his case did not rank high enough on the scale for him to have a bone-marrow transplant. Such is the result of decisions being made irrespective of the individual patients and physicians involved. This is what doctors, who have studied and trained for years, are calling "cookbook medicine."

In California, Orange County's Indigent Medical Services Program is presenting similar bureaucratic obstacles. Standard guidelines have been set up for patient screening procedures. The patients are required to submit extensive financial documentation and wait seven to eight weeks for state financial approval, regardless of the severity of illness. This obviously impedes the indigent patient's access to services—the very problem which organizations like IMS are supposed to alleviate.

In the People's Republic of Massachusetts, Senator Edward Kennedy is attempting to deal with the underinsured by mandating that employers provide health benefits. These mandatory benefits essentially allow the politicians to tax the private sector without openly admitting it. Because the average

U.S. corporation is already paying $1 for health benefits for every $2 of operating profits, it is likely that both large and small businesses will close. Government mandate will not change the fact that some companies simply cannot afford to offer comprehensive health care benefits.

Yet another example of socialized medicine in the U.S. can be seen in the structure of the Health Maintenance Organizations. The HMOs offer "package deals" to employers and individual subscribers for set yearly fees. This fixed, up front payment puts physicians at financial risk for a potentially unlimited amount of service. As a result, the quality of care in HMOs does not match that of fee-for-service practice. The physician is penalized for providing services which extend beyond coverage of the set fee, and rewarded with a bonus of excess funds if his services cost less than the fee.

A similar dilemma occurs with many hospitals. In another attempt to restrict costs, the government has placed ceilings on the amount which can be charged and collected by the physicians. The hospital is paid a set amount per patient, based on diagnosis. This fee has no relation to actual procedures performed or days spent in the hospital. If the hospital receives more than the actual costs it makes a profit. If it receives less, it loses money. The resulting incentive is to get rid of patients, "quicker and sicker."

Most hospitals in the United States are losing money. There were 80 closings last year alone. The only way for the hospitals to stay open is to cover costs by cutting down on the quality and quantity of services, or shift their costs to paying patients. So in attempts to lower the medical costs, the government has actually increased costs for a different group of patients. In fact, 30 percent of the hospital costs charged to private patients are due to this cost shifting. It is, in effect, another hidden tax.

BUREACRACY: THE COST CULPRIT

All of the described socialist programs were implemented with the aim of lowering cost and increasing the accessibility of medical care. The facts show that the governmental "remedy" has achieved just the opposite. The highest rate of increase in U.S. medical costs, 5.9 percent to 7.4 percent of GNP, occurred during the five year period after the Medicare and Medicaid programs were introduced. A full 35 percent of these costs can be attributed to the programs' bureaucratic administration. According to the *Economist*, in 1987, that percentage amounts to approximately $717.50 per person in paper shuffling.

These costs raise the administrative overhead of private practices, managed groups and hospitals. The expense is then

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Paying for Life

Give Doctors the Respect They Deserve

by Marcus Higi

In the face of rising health care costs, there have been increasing calls for greater government control of medicine. In response to these calls, policy appears to be shifting towards more federal regulation of medical costs and procedures.

As an aspiring physician, I face nine to thirteen years of training: four years of medical school, a one year internship, four years of residency and two to four years specializing. I can expect a medical school debt between $20,000 and $100,000. As a doctor, I will work from 60 to 100 hours a week. The fact is, physicians must make many personal sacrifices while catering to social expectations and professional obligations. Litigation, outside control, and interference have placed further demands on the profession. It is unreasonable to expect that physicians must bear the full brunt of growing health care costs.

The reality is that the cost of quality medical care will continue to spiral upward. Malpractice, government programs, public expectations, and the cost of high technology all contribute to rising costs.

The high price of malpractice insurance and mandatory coverage requirements has made it economically unfeasible for some doctors to practice. When a doctor makes a mistake or cannot deliver a perfect baby, patients often bring enormous lawsuits against him. Even if there is no evidence of negligence, and all procedures were properly followed, juries find doctors responsible for events out of their control. When insurance companies must pay awards of hundreds of thousands of dollars for "unreasonable suffering," in addition to compensation for lost wages, it is not surprising that costs are rising. Some state legislatures have resorted to capping awards, which only encourage plaintiffs to sue to the limit. Often, when doctors testify against their peers in negligence cases, they can be counter-sued by the defendant for damages. This clearly discourages physicians from going after their negligent peers. The courts do little to protect physicians from civil suits, and malpractice premiums rise. Since patient charges are fixed, doctors must absorb the difference in costs.

The government also adds to rising medical costs. Since Medicare and Medicaid coverage for services are fixed, and patients often cannot cover the remainder of the physicians' fees, professionals must absorb the difference. Hence these programs encourage doctors to recommend other expensive and often unnecessary procedures to compensate for lost income. There is a lack of incentives for physicians to rely on their ultimately tacked on to the price of the procedures offered, where it falls on the shoulders of the patient and the insurance companies. Insurance companies then respond with higher premiums and limitation of coverage. In cases where ceilings are placed on the price of services, the expense must be absorbed by the physicians, hospitals and taxpayers.

Other costs result from the increased instance of medical litigation. Malpractice has come to mean "malcompliance-to-regulation." There are rules to adhere to and forms to fill out. (Medical documentation is probably the real cause of deforestation.) The physician must answer to "peer review committees," "quality assurance teams" and groups such as the "utilization review." These federally mandated review boards were spawned by the myth that health care is a right. This implies the right to perfection. Such a claim obligates the physicians to practice defensive medicine, performing otherwise unnecessary procedures. The tremendous costs of these extra procedures are, again, passed on the patient and the insurance companies. As a result, malpractice insurance premiums for physicians and hospitals have skyrocketed. In some states, obstetricians and neurosurgeons pay $100,000 to $200,000 in yearly premiums. In fact, 30 percent of the nation's total medical bill can be attributed to liability expense.

As if these cost increases were not enough, patients are being faced with shortages in the provision of medical services. The reason again can be tied to government intervention. Government is the largest third party payer, footing over 50 percent of our nation's medical bill. This means that more than half of the patients attaining care are doing so under the illusion that such care is free. Under state and federal subsidy, the patient is not required to pay a co-payment as with most private insurance companies. They never even see the bill. It is picked up by the taxpayer. This carte blanche treatment of medical care requires little or no financial responsibility on part of the consumer. "Needs" become infinite, demand for service escalates beyond supply, and waiting lists are soon formed.

THE PATIENT

How has the partial socialization of medicine harmed the patient? First, it has contributed to the cost of medical services by prompting increased administrative costs, increased insurance premiums, and increased litigation due in part to excessive bureaucratic restrictions. Secondly, it has decreased accessibility by creating shortages and by crippling employers and private insurance companies to the point where they can no longer afford to cover patients. Finally, socialized medicine has di-

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good judgement and give quality patient care.

Society places many demands on the health care system. Ideally people want high quality care, perfect judgment, convenience, and access to high technology—all at a low cost. Fulfillment of all these expectations is obviously unrealistic. While it is not unreasonable to expect high quality care, one must also expect to pay for the benefits of high technology, medical expertise and scientific knowledge. High tech diagnosis by CAT scans and MRI (magnetic resonance imaging) are expensive, and the costs of surgical procedures and organ transplants can be astronomical. The best possible care demands tremendous resources.

The question is how much can one reasonably expect to get from a socialized plan, in which the government would dictate physician salaries, length of hospital stays, clinic hours and staffing, and the cost of services. In its extreme, physicians would be 9- to-5 professionals employed by the state working at various public clinics, much like our own Student Health Service. An ever expanding bureaucracy would be required to oversee such a system. As federal and state employees, doctors could not be sued and the state would be held accountable. In a fixed salary system, there would be little incentive for doctors to work long hours, give their best effort and judgement, or be efficient. Hence the quality of health care in a socialized system would inevitably go down, breeding inefficiency and little incentive for excellence.

Reforming the health care system is not a question of settling for social darwinism or mass low quality care. We have many options to consider. Health care costs could be significantly reduced by removing the threat of massive litigation and high malpractice premiums. Physicians who testify against their peers must be protected against countersuits. Also, laws need to be changed to weed out incompetent and negligent doctors who move practices from one state to another after losing their license. One proposal is to establish a health information network. Information about a physician's credentials and record, competitive pricing of various procedures and other health care costs would be made available to consumers via computer terminals at hospitals, libraries, work, or home. Perhaps some competition and free-enterprise among health care professionals and hospitals should be encouraged.

In rural areas short of doctors, the National Institute of Health sponsors an elite scholarship program, which covers the costs of medical school in exchange for a commitment by the physician to devote six years to government service. Such programs could be expanded to give the poor access to health care while simultaneously paying for the education of future physicians. Young doctors could devote their time to the needy, without worrying about a huge debt and the threat of litigation.

Society cannot simply blame health care professionals for high costs. We cannot expect them to bear the burden of affordable health care if we truly desire to reform the system. Society must deal with the causes and not the symptoms of rising costs. There must be incentives for doctors to do the best they can. It is not a question of greed, but of compensation for years of training and of respect for a profession that demands great dedication and commitment. Ω

Marcus is a senior biology major from Anchorage, Alaska.

luted the quality of medical care. The emphasized duty of the physician is to policy and protocol rather than to individual patient care.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN

The ultimate victim of socialized medicine is the physician. In *Atlas Shrugged*, Ayn Rand writes, "In all the discussions that proceeded the enslavement of medicine, men discussed everything—except the desires of the doctors. Men considered only the 'welfare' of the patients, with no thought for those who were to provide it." Medical care is not a natural resource, to be distributed by committee or government. It is the product of the doctor's mind, a mind tuned by years of study and practice, a mind which will refuse to function if enslaved. To say that one has a right to health care is to stake a claim on the mind of the doctor. No person can possess "the right to enslave." Yet, that is precisely the right granted to government in socialized medicine.

THE FREE MARKET

The economic and philosophical failures of socialism are becoming increasingly evident in our world. Why then, do so many politicians, intellectuals, businessmen, patients, and doctors seek socialist means for improving the quality of health care in America? The medical profession is a business. Individual physicians offer a service needed by patients. They are traders. The physician offers the product of his expertise and skill in exchange for a returned value. Therefore, it would seem that the optimal functioning of this relationship would occur in the free market.

Competition between physicians, hospitals and insurance companies would bring down the costs of medical services. Incentives would increase to produce cost-saving technology. Allowing fee-for-service practice would enable hospitals and groups to run at a profit, using increased revenue to expand their level of service. The decrease in cost, would increase the effectiveness of the "health dollars" spent by the patient. Individual consumer choice would be preserved. Financial burdens on employers and taxpayers would be alleviated. The doctor-patient relationship, sabotaged by compulsory schemes, would be restored.

The free market is not perfect, but it has the power to bring about the best attainable results for both the patient and physician. Most importantly, it is the only system that will secure the physician's right to his mind and work and protect him from the enslavement of socialized medicine. Ω

Maureen is a Junior at UNC-Charlotte and still likes to play doctor on occasion.

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Turning Off Channel One

by David Hood

By most accounts, secondary education in North Carolina is in terrible shape. Adding to the nationwide tendency of high school students not to know their own state's capital or even where North America is, North Carolina's students also bomb their SATs worse than students anywhere else. One would think the state Board of Education would be willing to experiment with different teaching strategies, new curricula, or bold partnerships with private companies willing to help out.

Not so.

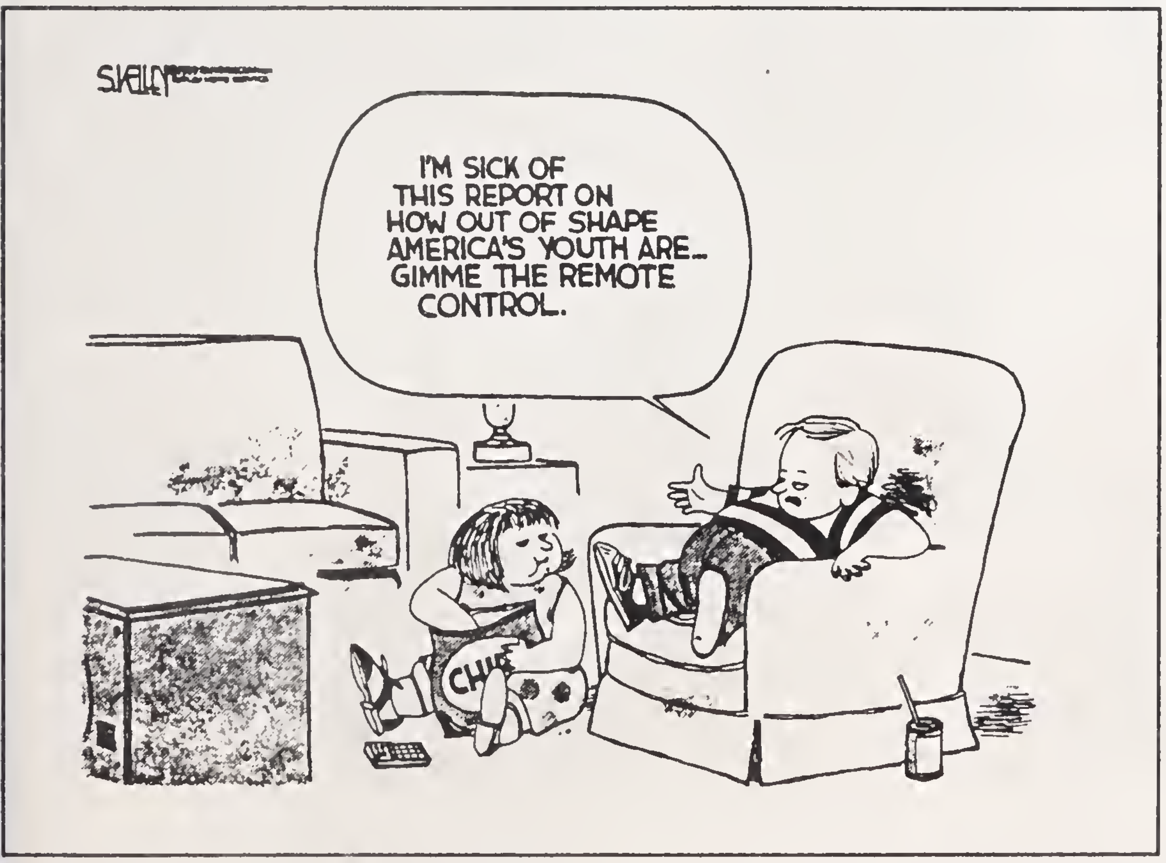
Board chairman Howard H. Haworth has said he wants to ban the showing of "Channel One", a 12-minute television news program marketed by Knoxville, Tennessee based Whittle Communications. In exchange for having students watch the broadcast, Whittle offers video equipment for Channel One to the host school for its unrestricted use during the 3-year contract period. The goal, of course, is for students to learn basic geography and follow current events through a news program designed especially to catch their attention.

> One man's ugly commercialism is another's beautiful, if functional, art.

Critics are angered that the 12-minute broadcast will include 2 minutes of commercials. You know, those 15 or 30-second spots on the tube that save television from being on the public dole. Haworth and others object to the "commercialization" of the school, saying high school students should not be exposed to such capitalistic pollution of the educational process. After all, Coca Cola Co., LA Gear, and other teen market advertisers would be privy to a vast captive audience and, heaven forbid, might even increase their profit margins.

Action by the Board of Education to prevent schools from trying Channel One (83 North Carolina schools have already signed up) would be undesirable for several reasons, not the least of which is that schools would miss out on the use of all that TV equipment. Media technology has earned a major position in the arsenal of schools over the past two decades, and if administrators didn't think they needed the equipment they wouldn't have signed up.

A bigger problem is that Haworth's premise is simply wrong. Advertising is not simply crass commercialism to be avoided like the bubonic plague; it is the major American institution that gives consumers information vital to decisions they will make in the marketplace. While there are some academics who contend that ads are a waste of time and money, economists of the Austrian School and others argue that advertising fills a critical role in the "open-universe" economy that exists in the real world. Actors do not have access to perfect information, so commercials help market processes to work efficiently by transmitting info about product lines, prices, clearance sales, etc. In the jargon of economics, this lowers transaction costs for both producer and consumer, as using the existing media for this job precludes expensive self-promotion by advertisers or self-education efforts by buyers. To criticize commercials for being anti-educational is ironic as the actual effect of "commercialization" is to educate the viewer.


SKELLY
I'M SICK OF THIS REPORT ON HOW OUT OF SHAPE AMERICA'S YOUTH ARE... GIMME THE REMOTE CONTROL.
CHI

What danger is there in having students watch two minutes of ads during school hours? It can take that long to read the ads in any given copy of a high school newspaper, or to peruse commerical-laden magazines such as *Newsweek* or *U.S. News and World Report.* Also, given the number of TV commercials students generally watch at home, the negative impact of 4-5 more ads would be negligible.

But perhaps Haworth thinks commercials brainwash their viewers into becoming mindless drones of Big Business companies who advertise. There are some ivory tower anti-capitalists who make just that argument. If you ask any advertising professor in Howell Hall, though, you will find that recent evidence suggests that commercials have less impact on purchaser decisions than advertisers believe. Commercials are simply one more input source for a young mind—along with teachers, peers, parents, and others. And if commercials in any way implant the idea that private buying and selling activity (i.e. capitalism) is a good idea then I say viva Madison Avenue!

Critics of the commercialism in Channel One are clearly chasing shadows when they try to point to tangible harms to student viewers. aesthetic, rather than educational concerns, probably lie behind their resistance. Some people just dislike commercials, for whatever reason. But should the Board of Education be empowered to dictate to schools what aesthetic values should be adopted statewide? One man's ugly commercialism is another's beautiful, if functional, art.

This brings me to the third reason to resist Board action in this area: the benefits of diversity. Faced with a substandard educational system that produces students unable to compete on standardized tests, North Carolina should experiment with a less centralized system. This is the major flaw in the state's Basic Education Plan. Since the educational establishment has failed to educate our kids, we should listen to suggestions from anyone who will offer them. The need for diversity in education has prompted nationwide calls for parental choice in school selection and decentralization of policy making to local school officials. Members of the Board of Education should hear the will of the people and stop trying to micromanage our schools.

Local school administrators, teachers, and parents should be given the widest possible latitude in formulating policies for their own school districts. Control must be returned to people on the front lines of education in North Carolina. Channel One, if desired by individual principals, could be just the right solution to the dreadful ignorance about world affairs exhibited by our high school students. We will never know, however, unless schools are free to try it for themselves.

The power of choice could be extended further, of course, and probably should be. Parents should be able to choose which high school to send their kids to, so that market forces would be brought to bear against bad teachers and bad schools. Teachers themselves, in cooperation with the administrators of their respective schools, should be free to develop curricula more relevant to the needs of their students. The Basic Education Plan, which mandates that all students need and will get teaching in all the same subject areas, should be scrapped immediately. While we are waiting for these and other reforms to reduce central bureaucratic control over education, Haworth and his band at least should stop finding new ways to meddle in what should be essentially local decision making. Ω

What can we say about David that hasn't already been said?

The CAROLINA
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CRITIC

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THE WORLD STAGE / JASON JAMES

The Changing of the Guard

Chile Returns to Democracy

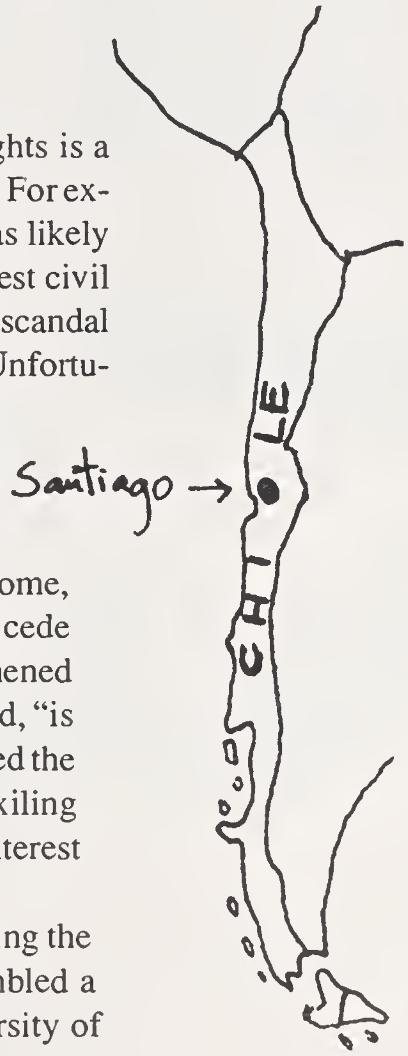
Democracy can be a fragile thing indeed. In many Third World countries, freedom and liberty are often victims of the military *coup du jour*. "Elections" are held and unpopular dictators are mysteriously reelected by whopping majorities. For 150 years, however, Chile was the Latin American exception—a country where democracy and the rule of law triumphed. In 1973, this all changed. A military coup led by Augusto Pinochet overthrew the freely elected government of Salvador Allende. Now, with the election of President Patricio Aylwin, Chile has once again become a democracy.

Chile's democratic tradition has made it a unique fish in the Latin American sea of dictatorial feudalism. Democracy thrived, in part, because of the early Spanish colonists. Unlike many of its neighbors, Chile had few natural resources to exploit, so Europeans who settled there were more intent on building a life than exploiting the locals. In 1829, businessman Diego Portales established the rule of law for all of Chile's citizens, something most Latin American peasants didn't enjoy.

The product of this emphasis on individual rights is a populace that supports their system of government. For example, Chileans are more than twenty-five times as likely to pay their taxes as Argentineans. Even the smallest civil rights abuses cause tension. In 1968, a national scandal erupted when "a prisoner's ears had been boxed." Unfortunately, the democratic system had its vulnerabilities.

When the Marxist Allende was overthrown by Pinochet, there was widespread support for a military coup many believed would be benign. Some, including Aylwin, believed that the military would cede power within six months. Instead, Pinochet strengthened his grip on power. "Traditional democracy," he said, "is no longer able to face an adversary that has destroyed the state." Pinochet then began killing, torturing, and exiling his enemies. He outlawed Chile's traditional interest groups, banning all their meetings.

But life under Pinochet was not all bad. One thing the general did understand was money, and he assembled a team of civilian economists, trained at the University of Chicago, to clean up after the socialists. And clean up they did. They reduced tariffs to a flat 10 percent, secured property rights, and privatized state owned industries. They slashed government spending and cut income taxes. These "radical" changes brought results. Chile now enjoys a growth rate of more than 5.5 percent, and one of the lowest inflation rates in the region. Export revenues have more than quadrupled in the last 15 years.



Of course, it is not very easy to forget that all this economic prosperity came at the expense of social freedom. When Chileans were given a chance to vote Pinochet out of office in 1988, they readily did so. In 1989, another vote was cast, this time to choose Pinochet's successor, and the results were hardly surprising. Aylwin, running on a platform of free-market economics, some redistribution of wealth, and a return to political freedoms, soundly defeated his Pinochet-supported opponent, Hernan Büchi. Aylwin borrowed the economic policies that allowed Chile to thrive, while adding the civil and political rights enjoyed in most western countries.

Now that he's won the election, Aylwin still has to deal with Pinochet, who remains commander-in-chief of the army and controls the secret police. He will not allow his generals to be arrested. "If one of my men is touched, the rule of law ends," he said. Aylwin does have some tools to deal with Pinochet, however. He already has a modicum ofarmy suppor, which hopefully would prevent another military coup. He also has the support of many of the right wing parties. Aylwin's free-market policies endear him to them, and have allowed him to build a government from a 17 party coalition.

Another component of the Aylwin machine is Alejandro Foxley, a pragmatic economist who "believes in the market...but will use fiscal measures to expand things like expenditures on health and education," according to Peter Hakim of the Inter-American Dialogue. This emphasis on social programs will create problems as it solves others. Businesses are likely to be disgruntled with the higher taxes they will probably face, and may move to the greener pastures of an opening Eastern Europe.

The growth of industry has long been a source of strength in the Chilean economy. The 1990s should bring greater prosperity if the Aylwin government maintains the free market policies used in the last 15 years. Aylwin has promised few economic miracles for his people, and they in turn expect a move towards an egalitarian social policy. Chile once again leads Latin America in the quest for political democracy. Hopefully, they will not be deterred. Ω

Jason read another book. We just thought you'd like to know.

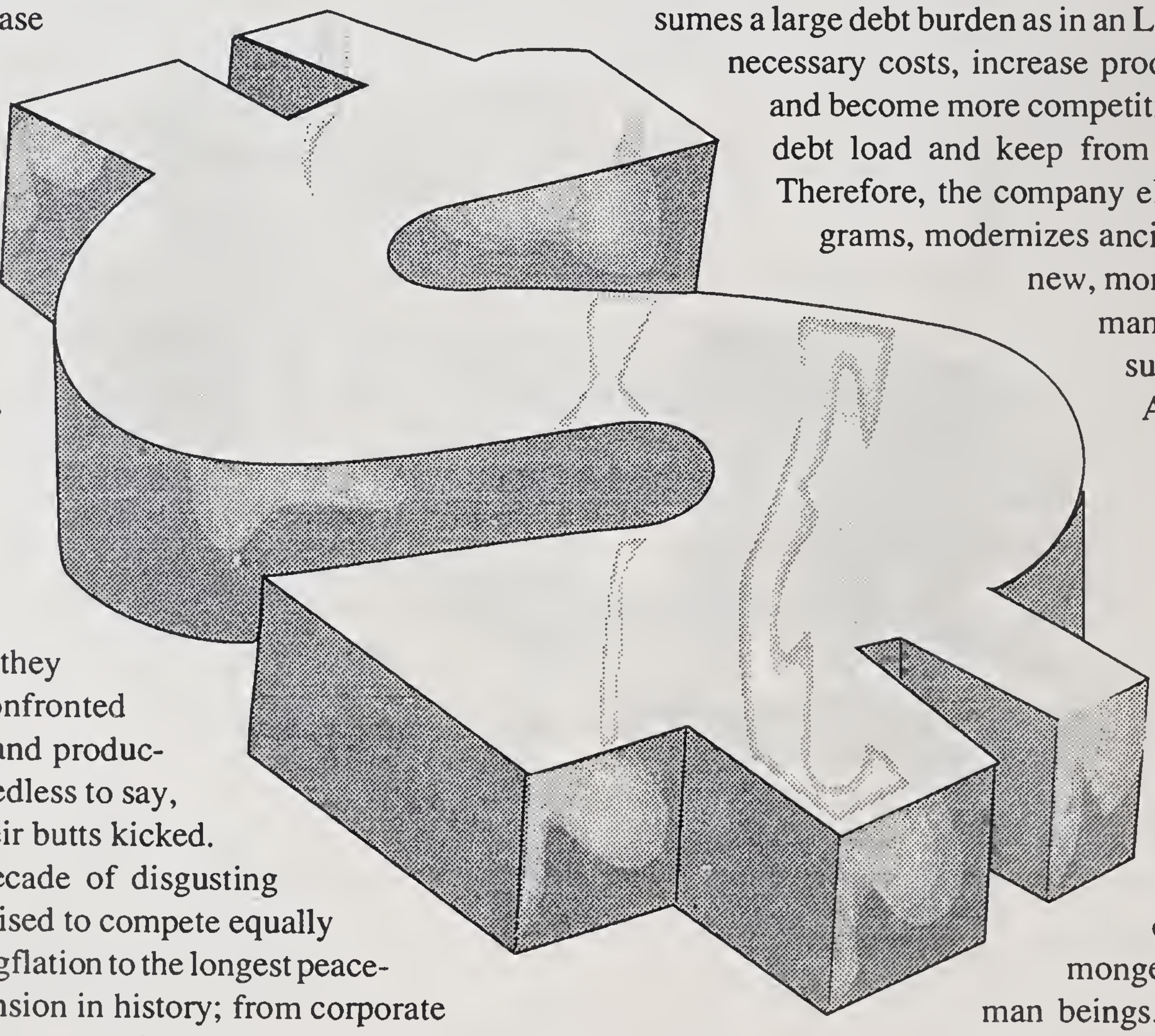
THE DISMAL SCIENCE / LEE NEWCOMB

In Defense of Avarice

Why Greed is Good

During recent weeks, the world has been bombarded by a multitude of reflections and commentaries on the year 1989 and the decade of the 1980s. The overwhelming majority of these had a similar theme: the 1980s were a time of greed, corruption, gluttony, and indifference. These social commentators, mostly employed by the likes of the *New Republic* and *Time* magazine, paint a picture of the 1980s as a huge, green, ugly beast with large fangs and saliva flowing from its jaws. They cite Michael Milken, Carl Icahn, the infamous Ivan Boesky, and a multitude of others who, to them, symbolize the degradation of America.

Reality, however, is far different. The 1980s began with the economy in utter chaos. Inflation was in double digits, interest rates were above twenty percent, and our industrial base was slowly rusting away. Corporate America was trapped in attitudes fostered by years of monopolistic control over the world economy. American companies were like dinosaurs—huge, slow, and dim witted. For years they had ignored the budding industries in Japan and Europe, and they were now being confronted with more efficient and productive competitors. Needless to say, they were getting their butts kicked.



Now, after a decade of disgusting greed, America is poised to compete equally once again. From Stagflation to the longest peacetime economic expansion in history; from corporate dinosaurs to efficient companies poised to capitalize on the changing economic environment of the world, America has been turned around.

But what caused this massive turnaround in ten short years? Was it tax and spend social programs of the left? Was it central planning and state intervention? Maybe it was wage and price controls. In fact, it was the very element so often derided that allowed this transition to occur. Yes, greed saved America!

In the words of Gordon Gekko, Oliver Stone's epitome of the 80's mentality from the movie *Wall Street*, "The point is ladies and gentlemen, that Greed, for lack of a better word, is good. Greed is right. Greed works. Greed clarifies, cuts through, and captures the essence of the evolutionary spirit. Greed, in all of its forms—Greed for life, for money, for love. Knowledge has marked the upward surge of mankind, and greed, you mark my words, will not only save Teldar Paper, but that other malfunctioning corporation called the USA." This puts a slightly different perspective on things doesn't it?

The process of Merger and Acquisition (M&A), most notably the Leveraged Buyout (LBO) is the much derided tool of these restructurings. The leftist doom sayers claim that these activities sap strength and resources that could be used for "social good." They are, however, the embodiment of the Darwinian principle of survival of the fittest. When a company assumes a large debt burden as in an LBO, it is forced to cut unnecessary costs, increase productivity and efficiency, and become more competitive in order to reduce the debt load and keep from being consumed by it. Therefore, the company eliminates unneeded programs, modernizes ancient plants, and develops new, more efficient techniques of manufacturing. The end result is a more competitive America, and prosperity for all.

There is another side to be considered as well. The 1980s are portrayed as a time of personal gluttony and selfishness. The liberal whiners cite images of the homeless and the spread of AIDS as evidence of the lack of concern by the "Greed mongers" for their fellow human beings. They see only BMWs and Rolex watches as gaining in improtance. Sooner or later, however, these commentators will take the bold and uncharacteristic step of looking at a few numbers in an attempt to prove their claims. When this occurs, they will have no choice but to change their tune.

Leslie Lenkowsky and Peter Frumkin of the Institute for Educational Affairs shatter this myth of individual coldness in a recent article in *National Review*. Since 1981, charitable gifts and requests have more than doubled to over $100 billion

Please see GREED *p. 31*

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Essays

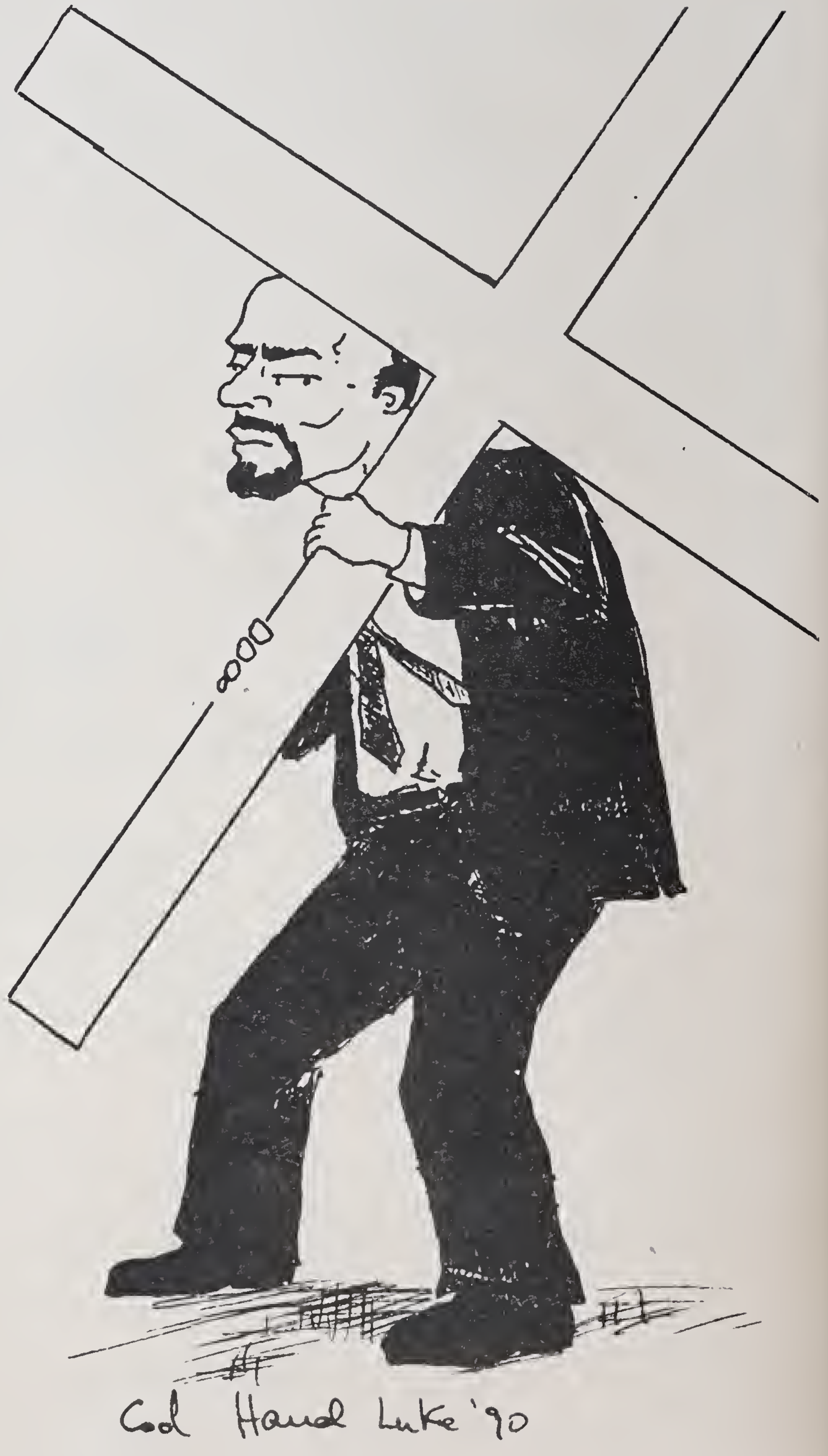
Surrender! Religion and the Left

PAUL DANIELS

The overthrow of nearly every government in Eastern Europe indicates to most that communism as a form of government has become passé. Liberal intellectuals, however, remain undaunted by these setbacks. Those who believed for forty years that these regimes enjoyed popular support, continue to espouse communism's virtues as they seek out new peoples to liberate. Political turmoil in the third world, most notably Central America, makes that area especially vulnerable to the outdated ideals of these self-proclaimed liberators.

The tool best suited for planting the seeds of communism in the heavily Catholic region of Central America is Liberation Theology. By manipulating uneducated peasants through sermons on economic and social justice, supplemented with Biblical quotes by renegade priests, nuns, and church workers, the Left uses the institution it disdains most as a potent weapon in its subversion of democracy in Central America.

Followers of the revolutionary Ché Guevara, (who founded this adulteration of Christianity with aid from Fidel "no *glasnost* here" Castro), have sought to link Marxism with the teachings of Jesus for more than a generation. They attempt to use the church to unite the proletariat in a worldwide revolution to universalize Socialism and bring man to his perfect state. With methods of indoctrination reminiscent of those used by the Crusaders and a fundamentalist approach to the Bible, Liberation Theologists developed a philosophy



which can best be described as preaching with a Bible in one hand and a gun in the other.

While it is clear to most people that Christianity and communism are mutually exclusive philosophies, Jason Berry, a writer for the *Washington Post* and the *National Catholic Reporter*, claims that Liberation Theology is the only means by which Salvadorans can find social and economic justice. Berry conveniently ignores papal decrees to the contrary, and argues that the overthrow of the establishment through "a Catholic concept allying priests and nuns with the poor" is supported by the teachings of Jesus. It is ludicrous for Berry to suggest that the poor and oppressed would be lifted up and that pluralistic institutions such as the church could thrive under any incarnation of Marxism. If the world has learned anything from its experiment with communism, it is that the only motive of those seizing power is to maintain power; to go from being the oppressed to being the oppressor. "The object of power is power."

Berry cites the killings of six Jesuit priests in El Salvador by a right-wing death squad as grounds for cutting American aid to that war-torn country. In the typical style of the *Post*, he leads readers to believe that the rightist Christiani government sanctions such violence. In reality, the number of killings attributed to these terrorists has decreased dramatically since Christiani's election, and the Christiani government has initiated an investigation into the murders.

What Berry fails to mention, however, is that several Jesuits have left the order, taken up arms, and joined the Popular Liberation forces—one of a coalition of Marxist groups making up the larger Farabundo Marti Front which led the latest rebel offensive. Furthermore, he fails to comment on the huge cache of arms destined for use by the rebels allegedly found buried in American church worker Jennifer Casolo's yard. While Casolo's employer, Christian Education Seminars, claims to be a nonpartisan organization, the *New York Times* reports that the group's underlying motive is "encouraging changes in United States policies toward Central America." These changes undoubtably include cutting off aid to anti-communists in the region.

What is most disturbing about liberal intellectuals, who designed this hoax to make communism more appealing by dressing it up in a nun's habit, is their blatant hypocrisy. While the Left attacks the Catholic Church in America for its stands on abortion and homosexuality they wholeheartedly support the undermining of third world governments by church supported organizations. The "religious right" is increasingly under attack by such leftist organizations as the ACLU and People For the American Way for its stands on morality and ethics. At the same time liberal intellectuals are enthusiastically embracing the pseudo-religious "irreverent left," supporting it even as it ceases to resemble any form of Christianity, and increasingly emulates the Humanist Philosophy of Marx. Ω

Paul Daniels is the editor of the N.C. State edition of the Critic.

America's Mission

PETER HANS

I sought for the key to the greatness and genius of America in her harbors; in her fertile fields and boundless forests; in her rich mines and vast world commerce; in her public school system and institutions of learning. I sought for it in her democratic Congress and in her matchless Constitution. Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits flame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power. America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

—Alexis de Tocqueville

Tocqueville's prophetic words ring true in the America of 1990. While we have much to be thankful for, we are plagued by preventable tragedies of great magnitude. The prevalence of broken families, homelessness, drug abuse, materialism, and AIDS all indicate a country rich in wealth but desperately in need of direction. Plainly, this is not the time to ostracize public expressions of religious faith and eradicate all religious influence from public life. Rather, this is the time for America to experience a spiritual revival to recapture this country's natural idealism.

Recently, there have been several decisions restricting religious liberty, including bans on pre-football game prayers in Georgia and North Carolina. But curtailing the right of a community to express its faith in God is not expansion of tolerance or religious freedom. If anything, these latest assaults upon religious values will diminish the role of morality in American society and establish a "divided America under no God with moral decadence and secular values for all."

This increasingly intolerant attitude towards America's rich religious heritage could not come at a worse time for a country seemingly so morally adrift. More than one observer has commented on how symbolic it is that during a groundswell of newly found freedom to worship in Eastern Europe, America dismisses church leaders as fools (witness Cardinal O'Conner in New York City) and turns its back on the values which made this country strong, prosperous, and free. It was faith in God that sustained the hope of many oppressed people during the darkest hours in Eastern Europe. In a cynical self-centered America, our leaders ponder why President Bush's "thousand points of light" largely remains a rhetorical initiative rather than altruistic reality.

The United States was given divine inspiration in its founding and has shown unmerited favor throughout its development. George Washington, who once said "it is impossible to rightly govern the world without God and the Bible," and the other Founding Fathers properly inserted the separation of church and state into the Constitution to prevent religious tyranny. But today, the "establishment clause" in the First Amendment is often interpreted to mean religion should be kept from the public eye and locked away in a closet somewhere (e.g. nativity scenes and now even Christmas trees). This argument casually ignores, at great peril to the future of this country, the positive catalytic role religious values have played in America's history.

Religious values have given spirit and life (elements secular values cannot provide) to just people and causes at crucial junctures throughout America's past. Religious faith fortified desperate families during the Depression, uplifted our troops battling the spectre of evil in World War II, and gave impetus to the civil rights movement which ended overt discrimination and segregation in American society. Martin Luther King, Jr. appealed to Christian sympathies to unite blacks and whites and that alliance dramatically changed the face of this country in a few short years.

I advocate a spiritual revival inclusive of all religious beliefs and tolerant of public expressions of faith. This would include the right of a community to say a short pre-game prayer, erect a nativity scene, a Christmas tree, or Hanukkah symbols. It would include the right of a Jewish soldier to wear a yarmulke and a Christian child to have a moment of silence in school. A return to Biblical principles and Judeo-Christian values of right and wrong would allow America to re-establish its moorings as the land which serves as the world's beacon of freedom, faith, and hope.

Voluntary school prayer could provide enlightenment to the current value neutral, morally ambiguous education curriculum. At a time when one of every two marriages ends in divorce and the definition of a "normal" family structure is being radically transformed, a rebirth of traditional moral values could spell an antidote to many of America's social ills. A spiritual revival could fill the contemporary moral vacuum with greater compassion towards others—an appeal to every American's innate capacity to be loving, caring, and giving.

Moralistic impulses stem from and are shaped by the absence or presence of religious values. America's Founding Fathers were guided by religious values that fostered the ideals this country was built upon. If we are to maintain these values in our country and expand upon their virtues throughout the world, we will need a spiritual revival to awaken and inspire us. Our country has a higher calling, one which can only be achieved by renewing our natural idealism. Faith in God, family, and country is the springboard for a unified America to overcome the challenges of the future and restore her moral sense of purpose. Ω

Peter is a junior political science major from Hendersonville, NC.

Educational Tax Credits Would Give Multiple Choice

ELLIOT FUS

Authentic competition is the destroyer of mediocrity; choice, the harbinger of a new social freedom. Unfortunately, these ideals do not dominate contemporary American education. Instead mediocrity thrives. Attacking our school system, it pierces opportunity through the ankles and clips the wings of aspiration. The result is that millions of Americans are functionally illiterate. International academic comparisons are an embarrassment to the United States, SAT scores have dropped significantly over the decades, and many college students are graduating without mastery of grade school learning. Recently, Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos termed reading and writing skills of U.S. students "dreadfully inadequate." We are not free to excel.

This crisis originates from limited educational choice. What choices, if any, do Americans have? The obvious and predominant option is public schooling. Operating off compulsory tax revenue, public institutions monopolize the education market. Taxpayers are forced to invest in them, whether using the product of public education or not. Those without taxable income are simply obligated to accept the product. The Achilles heel of American schools lies in this monopoly.

In the absence of genuine competition, there is no need to produce a quality product. Therefore, public educators often disregard the demands of parents. Students are served what the National Commission on Excellence in Education called a "cafeteria-style curriculum in which the appetizers and desserts can easily be mistaken for the main courses." Sturdy core curriculums are ignored. Homework shrinks to nominal amounts. Widespread disciplinary problems rob students of whatever scholastic opportunities are still accessible.

This monopoly also contributes to the inefficiency of public schools. Without a legitimate market, public schools administrators play the role of bureaucrat, not entrepreneur. Spoiled through automatic funding, they do not utilize their assets to gain the most per dollar. Instead, they tolerate overpopulated payrolls, inflated salaries and unnecessary expenditures. Additionally, these bureaucrats decrease their efficiency by consenting to government uniformity. Ignoring the effects on the educational process, administrators homogenize to destructive government programs ranging from racial quotas to experimental teaching methods. Too frequently, satisfying these public regulations leads to unsatisfied parents with academically weak children.

A second option is private schooling. One question intimates the benefit of private schools: Why do a small minority of parents choose to sacrifice a significant portion of their income by investing money in private school tuition while simultaneously paying taxes to operate public schools? The answer: you get what you voluntarily pay for.

This embellished cliché works for the parent, faculty and student. Since high investor-satisfaction is imperative for the survival of the private school, it must produce exceptional results to ensure parents' funding. As a result, rigorous academic schedules, challenging homework assignments and well-enforced disciplinary standards are emphasized by teachers and administrators. The administration, as a true entrepreneur, also has a financial incentive to increase operational efficiency by annihilating overspending, bureaucracy and poor quality employees. Finally, students themselves feel a personal impetus to excel in their environment. Absenteeism, fighting, and drug use are curbed when students know their school time is costing money—money which could have just as easily bought them a new car—but didn't. This principle of self-interest likewise applies to vandalism. As an added benefit, association with an entrepreneurial effort provides students with a sense of control over their surroundings. These voluntaristic attitudes are especially significant for the underprivileged.

It is in the less privileged classes, however, that a problem of choice is most evident. Although law allows a choice between public and private schooling, practical economics often does not. The exorbitant sum of both public school taxes and private school tuition is extremely difficult for most to pay, and impossible for others. So American education offers a lopsided choice at best and sometimes no choice at all.

Education needs higher standards and real choices. Increased competition seems to be the key. But how should competition be encouraged? Abolishing public schools would be chaotic and would probably hinder the goal of nationwide education. Another proposal creates a more practical shift—the education tax credit. Attorney Clint Bolick defines the education tax credit as "returning to taxpayers a substantial part of their mandatory financial investment in public schools, thereby allowing them to purchase the education of their choice or voluntarily provide it to others." This idea has been tossed from living rooms to the Supreme Court and houses of Congress over the last thirty years.

An effective credit system would reduce people's taxes to offset the amount of money they spend on private education. For example, if a local public school system has a per pupil expenditure of $2,500 a year, then citizens paying $1,500 a year private tuition would realize a decrease in their taxes of $1,500. A citizen paying $4,000 in tuition for one pupil could only receive a $2,500 reduction, since deducting more than the public school allotment would not be allowed. Paying $10,000 for five students, however, would merit a $10,000 reduction because less is being spent per student than in their public schools.

Parents with sufficient tax liabilities would be able to afford private schools. In addition, the system would not only have to apply to parents of students, but to all taxpayers. Interested individuals or corporations could thereby set up scholarships for low-income students in private schools instead of having their taxes automatically routed to public schools. Mandatory support for education would still exist, but true freedom of choice would be created for all classes.

Dishearteningly, however, education tax credits still do not exist. Opponents claim public schools would be destroyed by a mass exodus of students and a tremendous reduction of funds. An enormous loss in enrollment would seem unlikely though. More likely, increased competition would force public schools to raise their educational standards, and thus be able to retain many students. If they couldn't, the loss of inferior schools would be welcomed. As to reduction in funds, it would be proportional to reduction of students and consequent reduction of overhead, hence irrelevant. Other critics claim that since most private schools are religiously affiliated, tax credits would favor an unconstitutional promotion of religion. But religious schools generally teach religion, not enforce it. If some few schools do require religious compliance, they could be excluded from the program.

Logically, continuation of the public school monopoly reinforces mediocrity and hampers educational choice. Proposals like education tax credits transform mediocrity to excellence, choicelessness to freedom of choice, and monopoly to free market competition. Those who shy from competition bash open the skulls of America's youth, lap up their brains and cannibalize their potentials. Ω

Elliot exercised choice in higher education by transferring to Chapel Hill from Villanova.

Greed is Good

(continued from page 26)

(100,000,000,000) a year. After being adjusted for inflation, contributions rose by over 30 percent in the decade of greed, even after the Tax Reform Bill of 1986 reduced the tax breaks derived from such activities. In fact, the people who are most often pointed to as the victims of the greed mentality, the underclass, became more wealthy as well. The average income of the poorest two-fifths of the population has risen by 10 percent, in adjusted terms, during this decade of exploitation and abuse. If this is the result of greed, selfishness, and indifference, let's all become coldhearted thugs and see what we can do.

When viewed in this context and with the emotional whining of the left removed, the facts point to only one conclusion. Greed is good! When you reflect on the '80s, remember a time when America woke up and decided to become competitive in the global environment. In deciding whether or not the '80s were a reprehensible time of gluttony or a time of economic awaking, ask yourself President Reagan's favorite campaign question. "Are you better off now?" After some thought, it's clear, "Greed is good. Greed is right. Greed WORKS!" Ω

The only thing Lee Newcomb has been known to share is his opinion.

“It scraped the fat off my mind.”

—Paul Taylor, junior, Yale University

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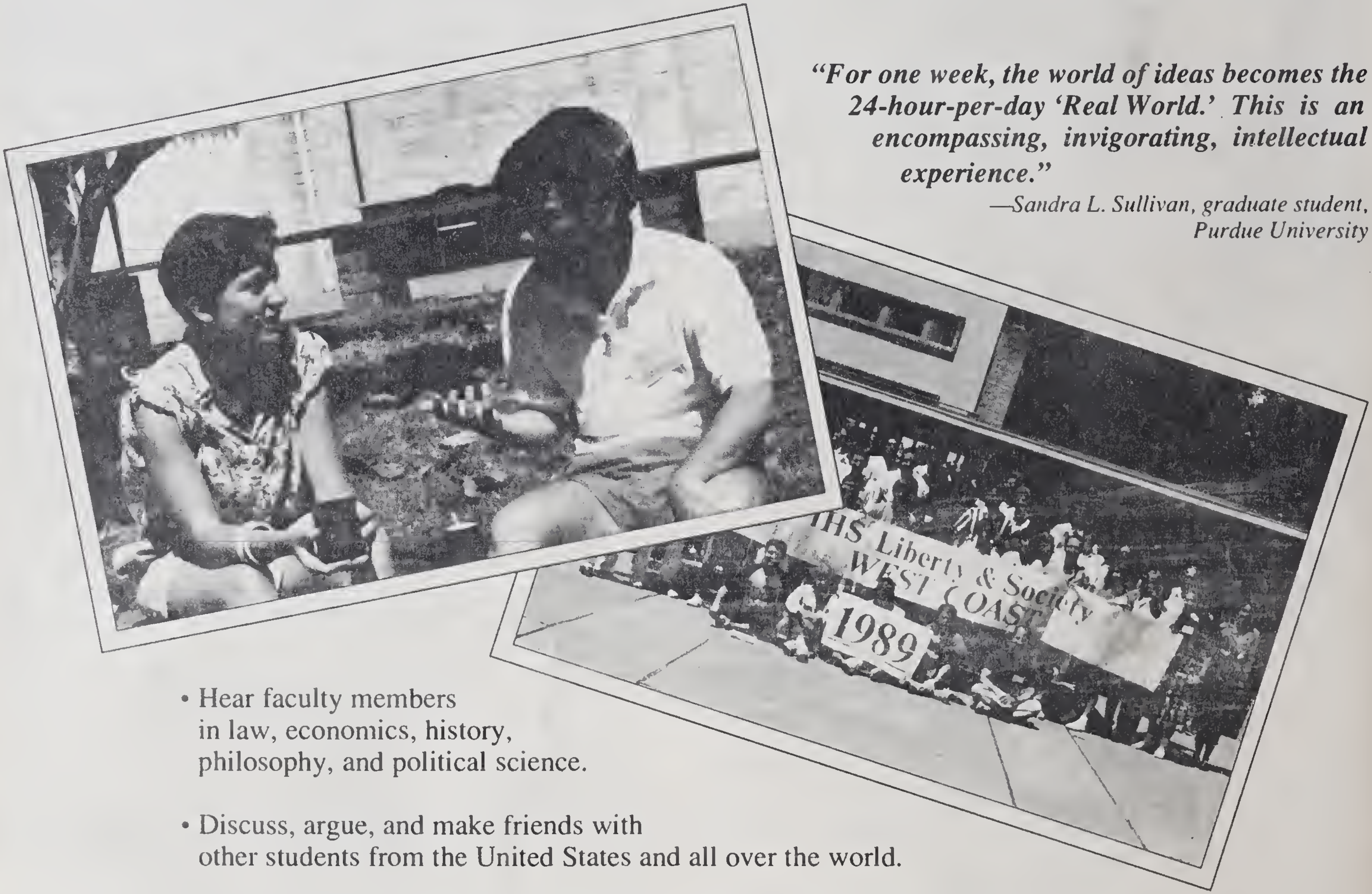

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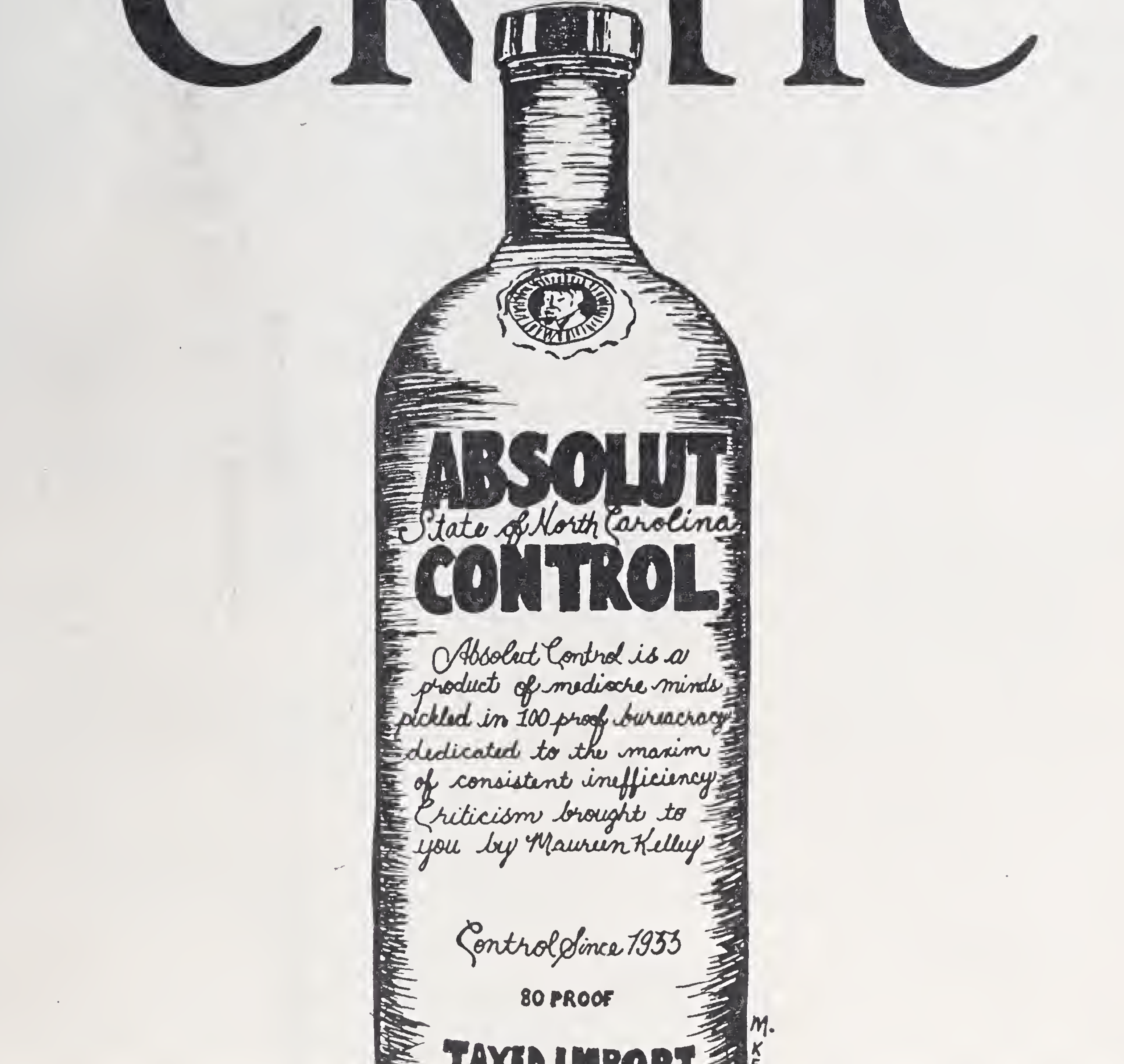
FEBRUARY 1990

The CAROLINA CRITIC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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

The CAROLINA CRITIC is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and art are welcome. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. Editors are responsible for the content of the Critical Eye. Criticism makes an intellectual thoughtful, a cynic amused, a simpleton angry, and the government confused.

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IN THIS ISSUE

4 **Correspondence**

6 **The Critical Eye**
Spring Break, Kennedy bashing, Post Election Guide for Politicians, and Definitions...
Aphorisms
Critic Almanac

12 **The Critic Debate:** *Women in the Military*
Elliot Fus battles Paul Daniels.

14 **The Library:** *The Tempting of America*
David Hood reviews Judge Robert Bork's latest book.

15 **The National Truss:** *DC's Mayor Barry*
Deborah Uebe is happy to see him go.

16 **In the Zoo:** *Affirmative Reaction*
Student Congress tries to integrate the liberals.

18 **In the Zoo:** *Funding Procedures*
Andrew Cohen wishes for student control of fees.

19 **Our Altered State:** *Offshore Drilling*
Mobil and Charlton Allen want to explore for oil.

20 **The ABCs of Alcohol Control**
How to make people pay for their sins, by Maureen Kelley.

23 **The World Stage:** *Will Gorbachev Last?*
Jason James cautions against optimism.

24 **The Woodlief Budget for 1991**
How to save money, weaken government, save the trees, etc.

27 **An Interview with Senator Jesse Helms**
One of our nation's most controversial leaders speaks on drugs, education, and the 1990 campaign.

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Musings, etc.

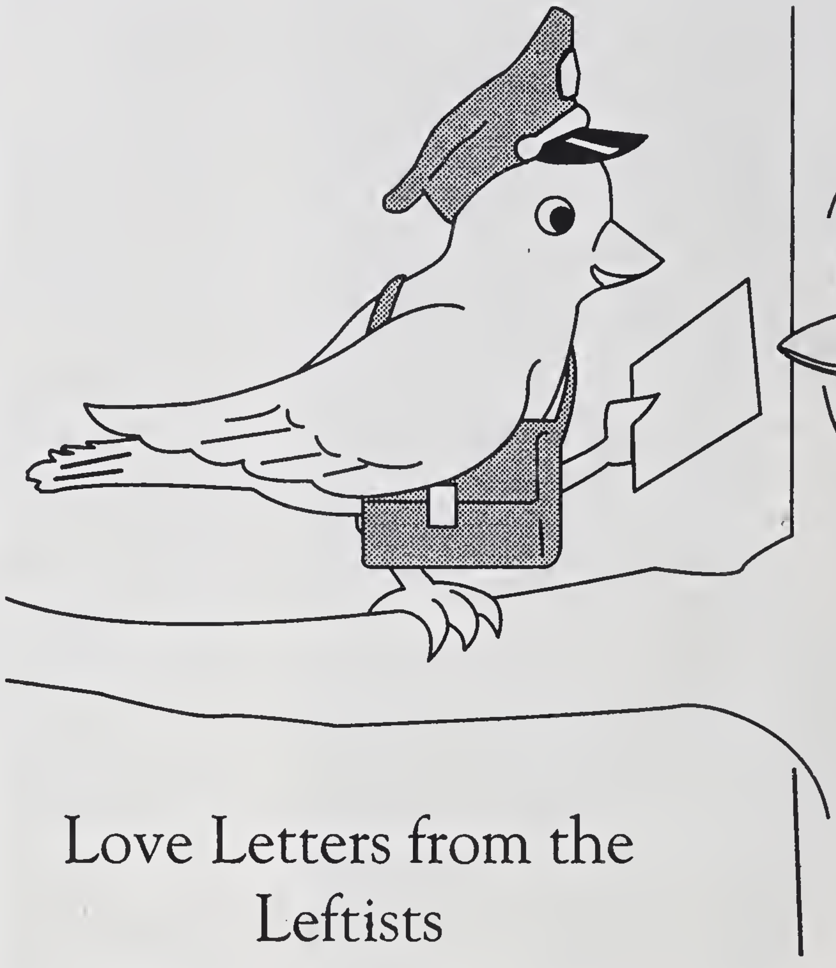
To the editors:

Perhaps Connie Smith ("Feminism: A Movement of Yesterday") should have defined feminism correctly when she wrote that feminism was a "relic of the past." She seems to think that the only feminsts left on the earth "want nothing less than to reshape the way we think and are willing to use the government as their tool." She talks about feminists as if they are all a bunch of raving neurotic housewives demanding equal pay for librarians and electricians. Fortunately, the feminist movement is not so easily summed up. Perhaps Smith should look up the definitions for Third World feminism, Marxist feminism, black feminism, lesbian feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism. The feminist movement incorporates a wide range of perspectives. Not all feminists want the same thing. I, for one, am one feminist who is not content with having "as many choices as men have." Why should I conform to a male-defined world? Why should I only read about men's history? Why did I have to wait until college to take a special course entitled, "Women's History," as if it is any different from other types of history? Of course the feminist movement has come a long way, but there is still room for improvement.

Perhaps Smith would also be surprised to learn that you can be a feminist and still love men.

I will not bother refuting any more of Smith's article because it is an argument based on falsely defined terms and imformation. Furthermore, I am shocked that anyone would even publish such a misguided article. Reading Smith's article did not convince me that feminsim is dead, it only convinced me of her ignorance.

Valerie Montana
Chapel Hill, NC



Love Letters from the Leftists

Connie Smith Responds:

Perhaps if Ms. Montana had read my article closely she would have noticed that I made a point to mention the positive aspects of feminism as well as its idiocies. Feminists have worked to eliminate laws that infringe upon the individual rights of females. But somewhere along the line the notion of individual rights got lost. As Ms. Montana so aptly points out, there are now a multitude of feminist groups each claiming that their perspective is correct.

Ms. Montana says that not all feminists want to use the state to reshape the world but then writes that the "male-defined world" must be changed. How does she plan on making this change? Certainly not through force of argument.

I agree that history should incorporate contributions from all people, but creating diluted classes for every political pressure group is not the answer. By the way, there is a big difference between Women's History and women in history.

Connie Smith

Legalizing Drugs Would Be a Mistake

To the editors:

In the December issue of the Critic ("Surrender! The Time Has Come to End the War on Drugs"), Elliot Fus dangerously oversimplifies the ramifications of narcotics legalization.

In citing previous historical cases of prohibition and legalization, Fus neglects the case of England in the 1950s. After loosening restrictions on heroin, the number of British addicts skyrocketed by eighty percent. And, while crime did rise in the United States during the era of the Eighteenth Amendment, the fact remains that since the repeal of that amendment, alcohol is still the most widely abused drug in the country. Might this not suggest that legalization is the determining factor, and that if other drugs were legalized a similar increase in the incidence of abuse would likely follow?

Like most advocates of legalization, Fus believes that drug dealers would simply vanish if the narcotics business were opened to legitimate merchants. This is not entirely so. Unless narcotics were made legally available to minors—which is unlikely—pushers would still be able to peddle to children and adolescents. Furthermore, with the loosening of drug laws, those schoolyard dealers who were caught would probably face inconsequential charges—such as contributing to the delinquency of a minor—for committing the same despicable act that brings much heavier sentences today. Moreover, what would become of those pushers whose profits were eliminated? It seems highly unlikely they would turn over a new leaf and enroll in the local community college. They would probably remain on the streets and eventually turn to new and possibly more violent rackets. This is not to underplay the loathsomeness of drug pushing, but to show that decriminalization would merely transfer criminals from one illegal trade to another.

Fus also fails to address the process of producing drugs, particularly cocaine and its cheaper, more dangerous derivative, crack. Both are made from coca, the vast majority of which is grown in South America, especially in Colombia under the auspices of the notorious Medellin cartel. Even if the Colombian government were to loosen its narcotics policy in concurrence with American decriminalization, the cartel would surely retain control of the industry through the same violence it uses today. Pablo Escobar and company would continue their atrocities while reaping the rewards a free American drug market would make possible.

What, then, is the solution to the drug crisis? Stepped-up interdiction and intervention, which Fus ignores entirely, would concentrate law enforcement efforts on the sources of the flow and the key points of entry into the country. It would, therefore, take fewer busts to make sizeable dents in the volume being imported. Thus the miscarriages of justice in domestic enforcement that Fus bemoans would become unnecessary. Also, by reducing the amount of narcotics available in the American market, the price would inevitably rise. This would serve to remove many of the casual users from the market, as narcotics become too expensive for recreational use.

Perhaps what is most frightening about Fus's proposal is its finality. The effects of decriminalization might be initially benign, and drug users would no doubt become accustomed to their new freedom. But if, later, problems began to arise—if addiction rates began to increase—it seems unlikely that there could be any peaceful turning back.

Jim Riley
Sophomore

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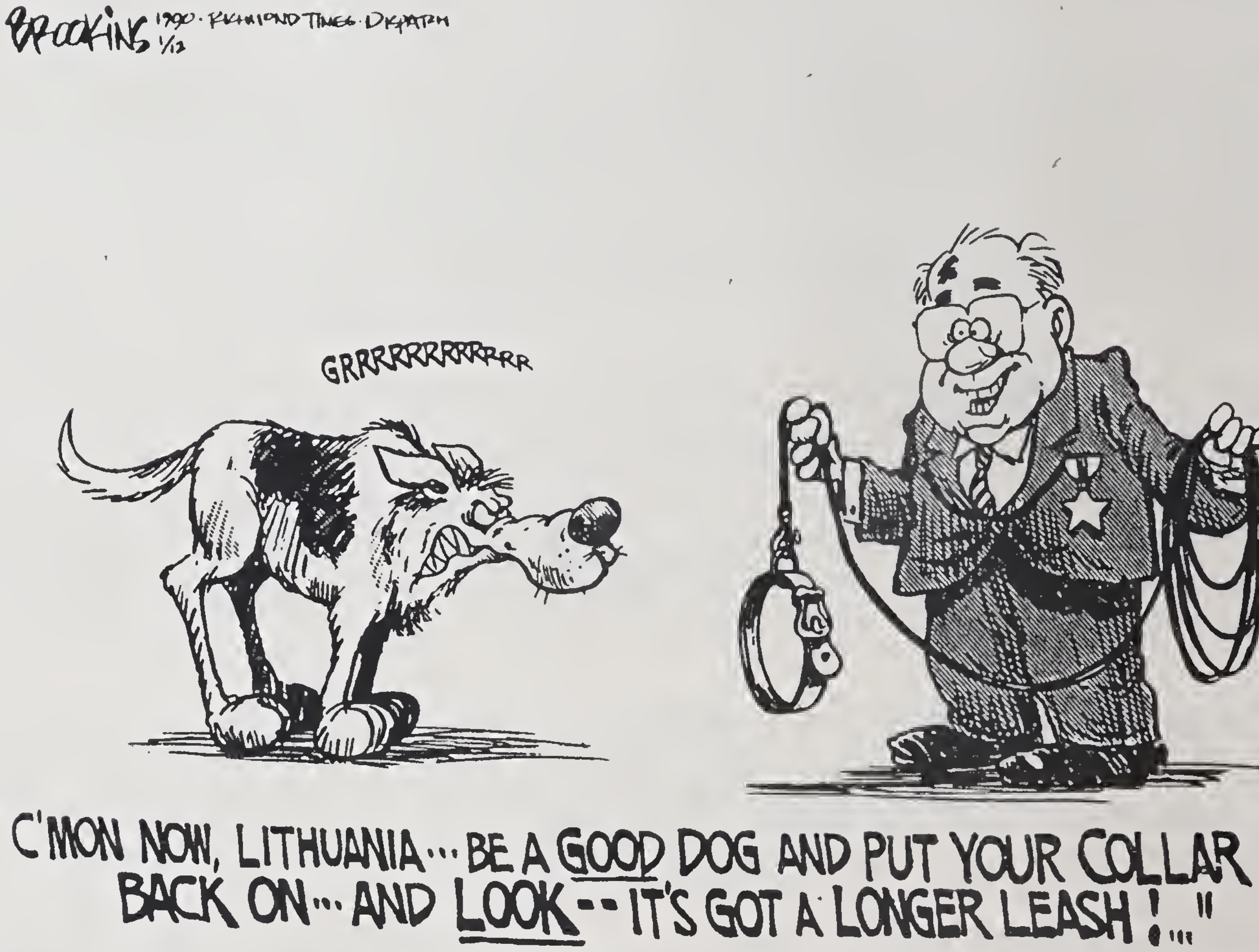
THE CRITICAL e·y·e

Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn.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GRRRRRRRRRRRR
"C'MON NOW, LITHUANIA... BE A GOOD DOG AND PUT YOUR COLLAR BACK ON... AND LOOK-- IT'S GOT A LONGER LEASH!..."

➢Though North Carolina has been unseasonably balmy of late, this winter is, in fact, the coldest in a century. Meanwhile, campus global warming protestors have been seen shivering in their sandals and cutoffs. As for us, we're all for global warming—it extends the bathing suit season.

➢A new group of radical loonies has formed at UNC. The Coalition of Student Action, (the name very cleverly uses all 3 words in the leftist vocabulary), is only noteworthy for its attempts to claim support from the Critic. At a recent Student Congress meeting, the group begged for money, in part, because of "interest expressed by the Carolina Critic," and later claimed that they "had been in contact with the Critic." They had been in contact with us, but what we said could hardly be interpreted as "interest." They wanted us to publish an article describing their group. We explained that we don't publish advertisements disguised as editorials. Perhaps these geniuses cannot tell the difference between interest and slightly veiled politeness. More likely, they were just trying to swindle money from the Student Congress by claiming to represent all kinds of political views.

➢Somehow, *Time* magazine managed to choose Mikhail Gorbachev as the "Man of the Decade." Though this seems ludicrous, it's not surprising, coming from the magazine that honored Yuri Andropov (who?), planet Earth (at the risk of losing subscribers on Mars, we suspect), and the computer. Maybe next year Jim Valvano will be Shoesalesman of the Year.

➢Raquel Welch, while railing against abortion foes, indicted the American education system without even knowing it. According to *TV, etc.*, a publication of the Media Research Center, Raquel told talk show host Larry King, "I was asked to come to Chicago because Chicago is one of our fifty-two states, and the mandate we've now been given on the pro-choice abortion issue is that we have to pick up the pieces...in fifty-two states across the nation..." Just as a reminder for our culturally illiterate readers, Chicago is not a state, it's where Michael Jordan lives.

➢At the risk of causing cerebral hemorrhaging, we feel it necessary to point out that the *Daily Tar Heel* and the Critic agreed recently. It should come as no surprise to anyone that the

Political Doublespeak

With recent campus elections, and with the U.S. Congress in session, we are all besieged with a plethora of ambiguous and indecipherable phrases from amateur and professional politicians. Your ever vigilant CRITIC staff has taken the time to prepare a brief list of much-used politico phrases, accompanied by their definitions:

✌I am running for this position because my fellow students deserve leadership, and I can provide an innovative and open approach to fill that void.
Translation: I really want this position because I need to fill up the "extracurricular activities" portion of my resumé.

✌As Student Body President I will address a variety of student concerns that are essential and integral to the well-being of this campus, but are nonetheless often overlooked by the students at large.
Translation: If elected I will form a lot of committees so all my friends can pad their resumés as well.

✌As a member of Student Congress, I need to have the input of students in the electoral process. Only with your help can we make this great system work.
Translation: Please vote for me—last time I won with only three votes and would have lost to a write-in candidate except the Elections Board couldn't find Jim Morrison.

✌The idea of giving students a say in how their money is spent is appealing, but most students just don't have the time and information to make the right decisions about the multifarious groups that request funding.
Translation: I'd like to let students spend their own money, but they wouldn't spend it the way I want.

APHORISMS

A wise scepticism is the first attribute of a good critic.
—James Russel Lowell

To grasp the true meaning of socialism, imagine a world where everything is designed by the Post Office.
—P.J. O'Rourke

What is a committee? A group of the unwilling, picked from the unfit, to do the unnecessary.
—Richard Harkness

Plato is dear to me, but dearer still is truth.
—Aristotle

Beware lest you lose the substance by grasping at the shadow.
—Aesop

I know that the eighth wonder of the world is compound interest compounding.
—Baron de Rothschild

Words pay no debts.
—William Shakespeare

■

CRITIC supported the recent proposition before Student Congress to allow students to choose where their student fees go. The surprising part was when the DTH editorial board also gave qualified support to the referendum. No doubt part of their support stemmed from recent battles with the "Imperial Congress" over the DTH's move towards independence. We very naturally look forward to an independent daily—one that is willing to point out the absurd pronouncements of the Student Congress and other groups without fear of losing its funding.

➢The Student Politburo was able to place one restriction upon the hapless journalists, however, by requiring the DTH editor to be elected by student vote. This silly little restriction can be easily overcome by resolving editorial races internally and running only one candidate publicly, as they did last year. Alternatively, they can tell Student Congress to "Go to Hell." What are the budding politicogeeks going to do, anyway? Kick the DTH out of the Student Union? Hold a special session and expend huge quantities of oxygen? Pass a resolution condemning freedom of the press? It's high time the DTH declares its independence and ceases to be an organ of the Student Congress. Kudos to Jean Lutes and Sharon Kebschull for demonstrating journalistic integrity and backbone.

➢Now that we've written something nice about the DTH, we can point out their idiotic blatherings with a clear conscience. Esteemed editor Sharon Kebschull used Farrakhanesque logic to equate RJR's marketing cigarettes to blacks with an attempt to kill them. The thought process behind this conspiracy theory is reminiscent of recent charges that Jewish doctors in Chicago were injecting AIDS into black babies. It should be painfully obvious that neither case involves racism. Unfortunately, the

Keep the Government Away from Our Trees

According to the *Economist*, "The United States Forest Service has sometimes seemed to see its domain as one big government timber factory." Indeed, the Forest Service has completely lost touch with its mandate to manage national forests in the public interest. Today the Forest Service seems bent on decimating the remaining 5% of our forest land, despite public opposition and staggering economic costs. At current rates of cutting our forests will last another 15 to 30 years. The Forest Service admits by the year 2000 the rate of cutting will be double the replacement rate of trees.

Of course, one assumes that we are making lots of money and providing countless jobs by destroying these 200 year old trees. No assumption could be less accurate. The Forest Service subsidizes cutting to the extent that it loses 1 billion dollars each year. Not only does the Forest Service sell the trees well below their replacement cost, it pays for the construction of the roads which the loggers need to get to the trees. According to the Native Forest Council, this accounts for over 358,000 miles of road—or more than ten times more mileage than the entire US interstate highway system! The trusting reader should be getting a little perturbed by now—how can the government afford to subsidize logger's jobs at such an enormous risk to the nation.

Well, brace yourself. The Forest Service is actually exporting American jobs to Japan. Much, if not most, of this timber is exported to Asia for processing. According to the Forest Service, 3.5 American jobs are lost with each 1 million board feet of unprocessed timber exported abroad.To give you an idea of the magnitude of this figure, 12.7 billion board feet of unprocessed lumber was exported to Asia in 1987 alone. According to the Forest Service, in the last ten years, employment in Oregon's timber industry has fallen by 20% while the amount of timber cut has risen 18%

The reader may wonder about the rationale for such a policy. The fact that the Forest Service receives much of its funding based on the volume of wood it sells provides part of the explanation. Like all organizations, the Forest Service seems to care very deeply about its own continues funding. In a nutshell, the Forest Service is destroying a beautiful environment which was hundreds of years in the making, exporting American jobs, and losing enormous amounts of money while they're at it. What could possibly be worse? The fact that we are willing to sit quietly and watch it happen.

—*Grant Thompson*

remaining problems of discrimination and hatred may be ignored by a public deafened by cries of "Wolf."

➢So the U.S. invaded Panama, and Latin American leaders in the Organization of American States condemned the action by a vote of 20 to 1. The hostility was not as universal as the vote suggests, however. Seven nations abstained from the vote, including Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, and Colombia. Also, there were no anti-American protests in Latin America in the two weeks following the invasion. Maybe our Latin friends have realized that American Imperialism can be nicer than their petty dictatorships.

➢In one of the saddest stories to come out of the Soviet Bloc since Joseph Stalin's purges, it was announced recently that one-third of sick and abandoned Romanian children are infected with AIDS. It seems that medical staff spread the disease from one infant to another by reusing syringes. Meanwhile, back in the USA, big government types continue to push for socialized medicine...

➢The benefits of Star Wars research may soon be visible. Thanks to SDI laser targeting development, ophthalmologists will be able to correct myopic vision permanently with lasers that are controlled and adjusted using techniques developed in the Star Wars program. Unfortunately, even laser eye surgery won't help Ted Kennedy see the flaws in his arguments.

➢Boston public television will soon begin airing broadcasts of the Soviet news show *Vremya*, with an English translation. According to the station's director, "*Vremya* is remarkably like what we're used to seeing here." Not so. We doubt that. It is probably *much* more conservative than the usual fare on PBS.

➢Joe "Scruples" Biden is at it again. You remember Joe, he was the Democratic presidential candidate forced to drop out of the race when it was discovered that he borrowed someone's term paper in college and accidentally signed his name to it. Anyway, as Senate Judiciary Chairman, Biden is preparing to crucify federal appeals court nominee Clarence Thomas. Thomas' crime, like an earlier Biden victim, William Lucas, is that he is conservative and black. Biden demanded hundreds of thousands of pages of documents, in the hope of finding something to discredit Thomas' impeccable career. This senseless succession of racist indictments by the Biden gang goes well beyond the Congressional role in judicial nominations. Apparently, in Biden's constitution the "advise and consent" clause has been changed to "harass and crucify."

➢An Estonian delegate to the Soviet Congress of Deputies was greeted with "continuous applause" when he posed the question, "Is Gorbachev an agent of the CIA?" Probably not. Even the CIA couldn't screw up the Russian economy as badly as Mikky G. Congress, on the other hand...

➢The Media Research Center quotes *USA Today* Inquiry Editor Barbara Reynolds, "The Panama invasion, itself, might hide strange currents of white supremacy. Why, when our country flops, do we bomb a brown country?" Well, Barbie, the reason we don't target the real cause of our 'flop,' is that it is still against the law to invade the offices of major daily newspapers.

➢Once again, the "facts" flaunted by environmentalists have proven false. The asbestos panic several years ago resulted in a $53 billion asbestos removal program in the nation's schools, exposing children to airborne concentrations of asbestos much higher than they would have encountered had the asbestos been left in place. Now studies by researchers from Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Yale and other institutions have concluded that asbestos paneling does not present a significant cancer risk. Of course, environmentalist chicken-littles and their media cronies shrug this off as they create hysteria over new crises, like ozone depletion and global warming, with similar shaky data.

➢On December 16, Episcopal Bishop John S. Spong overrode both Episcopalian Church strictures and the strong objections of Episcopalian conservatives to ordain Rev. J. Robert Williams, a practicing homosexual who openly acknowledges that he lives with a male lover. Bishop Spong stated that the ordination of Williams was "a step into honesty and integrity." Less than six weeks later, Spong had to suspend Williams when he said, "Monogamy is as unnatural as celibacy...it is crazy to hold up

A Honeymoon Can Be A Most Memorable Occasion . . .

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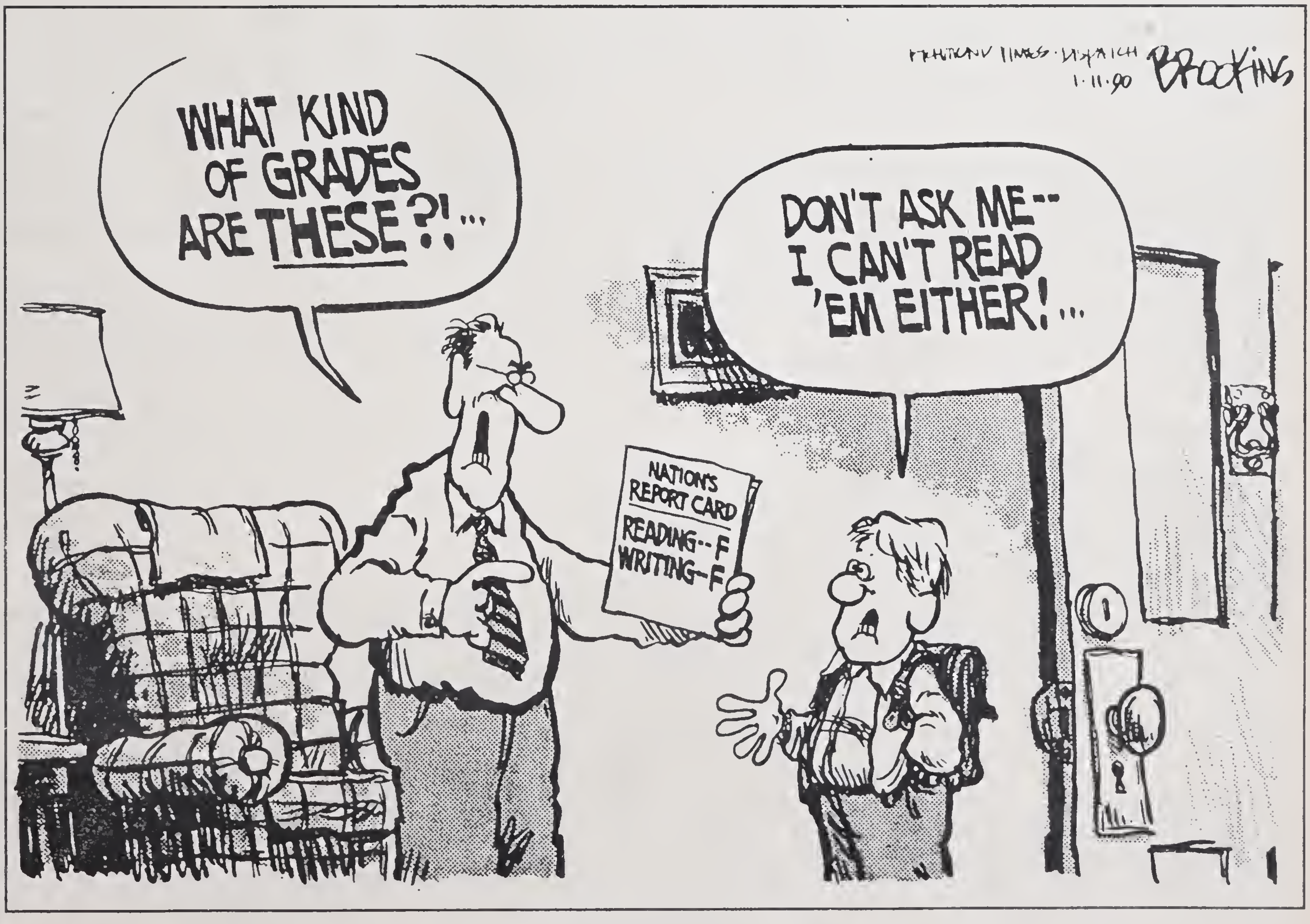

this ideal and pretend it's what we're doing and we're not." He also opined, "Monogamy is not required for a faithful relationship." Thank you for setting everybody "straight" on this issue.

➢Washington Mayor Marion Barry's arrest on cocaine possession charges proves that being mayor of Washington ain't all it's cracked up to be.

➢The Soviet Union is notorious for having a shortage of anything its citizens want: meat, soap, blue jeans, panty hose, etc. But Communist apologists have often protested that at least everyone has jobs, a place to live, and security. Recent reports suggest, however, that the commie-symps are wrong again. According to the *New Republic*, the USSR has a serious homeless problem—much worse than our own—with as many as 3 million vagrants. Unlike their American counterparts, most Soviet homeless are not substance abusers or mentally ill but were kicked out of their homes by the government. And you thought your landlord was a grump.

➢There is no more need to worry about what to do with the government monies saved by the forthcoming defense cuts. The president of the National Urban League has proposed that a modest amount of this so-called "peace dividend" ($50 billion) be funnelled directly into America's inner cities. Given the effectiveness of previous federal grants the Critic suggests an equally efficient alternative: the "Brooklyn Bridge Plan." The money could be set on fire and thrown over the side of the Brooklyn Bridge.

➢There were over 20,000 applicants for the several hundred positions offered by the McDonald's recently opened in Moscow. By contrast, a New York city woman told the *New York Times* that she would rather panhandle in the New York subways and make ten dollars an hour than work at McDonald's for four dollars an hour. The American "work ethic" thrives in the Big Apple.

➢According to *The Nation*, the large stash of "cocaine" that US troops discovered in Manuel Noriega's lair was actually corn meal for tamales. This discovery probably comes too late to temper the American demonization of Noriega. Still, if the White House begins to fear that the American hatred of Noriega will falter, there is a simple solution. President Bush can decide for the American people that Mexican food is a "scourge" and criminalize it. This ought to get tempers flaring again; after all, it works in the case of marijuana, which is probably less harmful than a plateful of Panamanian tamales.

➢Senator Alan Cranston, a California Democrat, received $1 million from Lincoln Savings and Loan head Charles Keating to intervene with federal regulators on Lincoln's behalf to stop foreclosure. This maneuver has cost the U.S. taxpayer $2.5 billion, and Cranston's approval rating among California voters has plummeted to 26%. Now Cranston is saying, "Those responsible ought to pay and pay dearly." Fine, Al, make the check payable to the American taxpayers.

More Critical Definitions

During our research we discovered a number of helpful definitions in the book, *Dreams Come Due*, by the pseudonymous John Galt. Here's a partial list of some of the best:

budget cuts: a slight decrease in the rate of increase of government spending.

civil servant: an individual who "works" for the government and is neither civil nor servile.

common good: individual bad.

Department of Energy: OPEC's Washington office.

diplomacy: bribery, extortion, or threats, or the ability to say "nice doggey" until you can find a big rock.

government estimate: wrong.

government investment: loss.

industrial policy: causing companies to fail and then investing in them.

liberal: government worshipper

market failure: government interference in the free market.

peace-keeping force: furnishing U.S. troops for target practice.

property taxes: rent paid to the government for property you own.

transfer payments: wealth taken from people who work for a living and given to people who vote for a living.

voodoo economics: reducing government spending and taxes.

➢Is the democratization process complete in the Soviet Union? They seem to have all the requisite parts—*glasnost*, competing parties, McDonald's... Ω

CRITIC ALMANAC

Chance of a woman getting AIDS from sex with an infected man: 1 in 1000

Percentage of Soviet citizens that would be considered poor in America: 86.5

Salary of a Dallas Cowboys cheerleader per game: $15

Number of informers for the East German secret police: 100,000

Estimated number of the 100 U.S. Senators that are millionaires: 67

Ranking by Soviet citizens of the most important people in human history of

V.I. Lenin, Nikita Khrushchev, and Jesus Christ: 1, 34, 34

Percentage of Ronald Reagan's income given to charity: 7

Of Jane Fonda's: 2

Amount Catholic schools save the federal government per year: $10 billion

Percentage of ethnic Russians living in Latvia, USSR who support the nationalistic Popular Front: 64

Percentage of criminal defendants in New York whose lawyers are paid for by the taxpayers: 90

Percentage who believe the U.S. should restrict Japanese imports: 61

Percentage who believe that America's least trustworthy ally is

Japan, West Germany, and France, respectively: 44, 29, 18

Number of U.S. autoplants that closed since 1987: 32

Items on a McDonald's menu: 33

Fortune 500 company headquarters located in New York City: 48

Private school enrollment in New York City in 1969: 450,000

In 1989: 270,000

Average cost of a two bedroom apartment on Park Avenue: $740,000

Potholes filled in New York City in 1988: 416,000

Sources: *National Review* (2/5/90); *The New Republic* (1/29/90); CNN; *The New Republic* (2/5/90); *The New Republic* (1/29/90); *The Wall Street Journal* (2/8/90); *The State Critic*; *National Public Radio*; *National Review* (2/19/90); *Fortune* (2/26/90);

—compiled by Jason James and Elliot Fus

Should Women Be Allowed in the Military?

NO / PAUL DANIELS

The object of war is not to give your life for your country; it is to make the other poor son-of-a-bitch give his life for his country.—General George S. Patton.

The U.S. invasion of Panama and the actions of female soldiers raises the issue of women in combat once again. A U.S. Army Captain Linda Bray became famous while in Panama as the first woman to command U.S. troops in combat. According to reports from the early days of the invasion, Bray's military police company was charged with seizing a Panamanian Defense Force kennel. A fire fight ensued, and Bray's company killed several Panamanian soldiers and captured 136 rifles and two cases of grenades. Subsequent reports were more embellished. A story in the *Washington Post* claimed the battle lasted three hours instead of minutes, as was earlier reported. Later reports disputed the event and the *Los Angeles Times* reported on January 6 that Captain Bray was half a mile away when the action began. Regardless of what really happened, the idea of a woman successfully leading troops into combat has led to renewed cries from feminists, such as Rep. Pat Schroeder, to integrate women into combat units.

Should women be allowed to serve in combat units? Should they join their male counterparts as America's first line of defense? As a former paratrooper with the 82nd Airborne Division, I believe that women *are* emotionally and mentally fit for

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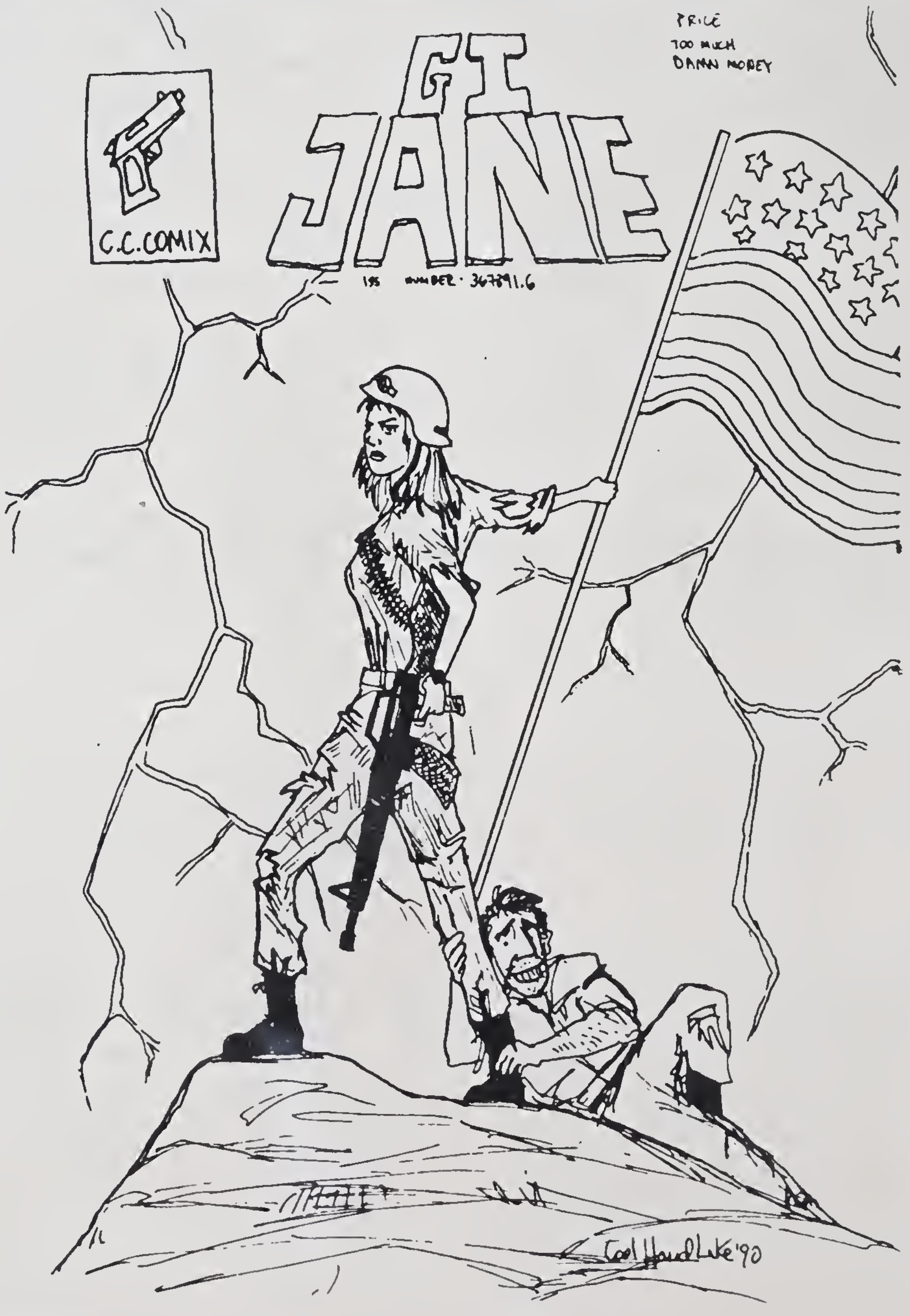


YES / ELLIOT FUS

Military institutions compose the foundations of states. They ultimately head the nation's power structures and inescapably shape them socially, technologically, and geographically. Everyone is somehow affected by their nation's military.

Half of the U.S. population, however, is not permitted to participate fully in our influential military system. What is the role of the woman in the military environment? Generally, she is pictured complementing male combat forces as a nurse, a secretary, a military wife, a worker in an armaments factory, or a prostitute. She makes rounds, makes coffee, makes beds, makes guns, or makes a hard-earned dollar, but does not fight. Both sexist social barriers and lack of female motivation allow this gender division to continue.

Most men are convinced by standard arguments to exclude women from combat forces. The most obvious is that women are "too weak." They cannot run as fast as men, do as many push-ups, or haul as heavy a pack. In some cases this is untrue. In most others, it is irrelevant. Many women are bigger, stronger and more agile than some men already in the military. But even women of average strength should not be considered too weak for combat. Brute strength, though helpful, is not essential. This was illustrated in the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese were generally not as large or powerful as American soldiers but were formidable opponents nonetheless. Women could be effective soldiers in much the same way. Some women would need to be excused

Please see second column, next page

combat but will contribute to the breakdown of military discipline within combat units. In addition, they lack the physical strength and stamina necessary in combat.

Combat is the quintessential human struggle. Participants must be trained to perfection, act in unison, and most importantly, be disciplined to obey orders without question. In order for a combat unit to function as such, it must be uniform. This means that a unit must be sexually homogeneous. Grouping men and women in combat units would lead to fraternization problems and a general breakdown in military discipline. Extramarital relationships, sexual harassment, and genuine relationships that would ultimately develop between soldiers of the opposite sex would greatly impair a unit's ability to train and fight cohesively.

Medical conditions such as pregnancy and menstruation would leave units chronically understaffed as female soldiers would have to be temporarily reassigned to non-combat units or left with the rear echelon. One female executive officer of an M.P. company reported that medical problems and pregnancy continually left the company 30% below required strength. Such a low state of readiness would be disastrous for a combat unit.

Equally important in evaluating women's ability to fight and survive in combat is their physical strength. Due to genetics, many women lack the upper body strength needed to carry a 50 pound rucksack long distances through sand, mud, and over obstacles. While women are physically suited for the vast majority of military occupations, they simply lack the muscle and stamina required to carry an M-60 machine gun or a mortar. These tasks would certainly be required to effectively engage an enemy. Recently, an army officer from a Pershing missile platoon in West Germany complained that of the three women in his platoon, two were unable to pull back the bolt of an M-60, and none were able to lift the bulletproof panels that protect the missiles from small arms fire. None of the men in the platoon had these problems.

The Army itself recognizes the physical differences between men and women in its training requirements. The physical fitness standards set for men are much more demanding than those for women. On the three part test, men must do many more push-ups and sit-ups and run faster than women in order to score the same number of points. Starting with basic training, male and female soldiers are grouped separately with the men expected to finish far ahead of their female counterparts.

Honestly, the 225,000 women in the U.S. military are demeaned by the implication that the contributions they presently make are not as important as those made by men in combat units. Without the women in military intellegence, signal, supply, maintenance, etc., it would be impossible for America's fighting forces to function. Given their physical differences, women are simply better utlilized in such units.

While other nations such as Canada, Norway, and the Netherlands technically allow women in combat, these nations are unlikely to ever go to war. The United States, as a world leader, has no such guarantee. More importantly, experts predict that future military actions will likely be limited to low-intensity conflicts in which small, lightly equipped units which place a premium on speed, mobility, physical strength and stamina, will do the bulk of the fighting. In order to meet these needs, America's combat forces must be composed exclusively of men. Ω

Paul can be heard barking out commands to the new recruits at the STATE CRITIC.

from tasks requiring physical exertion beyond a certain level, but most women could contribute sufficiently to combat efforts. Any woman who can become proficient with an assault rifle is powerful enough to benefit a fighting unit.

Another argument asserts that the combination of men and women in the field would result in sexual fraternization. Soldiers would not be able to function due to sexual distraction or intra-unit romances. Strangely enough, that is the same argument used by single sex schools, but I have yet to find a man who learned less simply because women were in his class. Also, the armed forces, like any other employer, could have regulations to prohibit fraternization. If the military needs to fear any sexual problem, it should be the homoerotic bonding between men.

But why should women want the right to fight? Primarily, because they are already given the opportunity to be victims. In war, women's lives, bodies, and property are often threatened, and they deserve the right to defend themselves. The feminist has an additional motivation. To be trusted with a weapon or the command of troops is to be endowed with power. The acquisition of power positions would raise women toward a level of full and equal citizenship. No longer would women be subjected to male protection. By assuming the responsibilities of defense, harmful gender divisions would be eliminated.

There are two main reasons why most women do not emphatically pursue the right to fight. Most women's vision of egalitarian utopia does not include soldiers firing at them from a helicopter. Similar to minorities who want equal treatment but accept the handicap of affirmative action, a woman can overlook inequality in the name of self-preservation. Who would sign a petition to get killed?

Secondly, many feminists are also anti-militarists and detest organized violence. Unfortunately, these women do not realize that the decision to renounce weapons is dependent on the ability to use them, and that a right is not an obligation.

The role of women in the military is not simply an issue for women. It is an issue of national freedom and security. Eligibility for women in combat could increase the pool of military volunteers, making a draft much less likely. The denial of women's right to fight is justified by myth, fear, and misconception, and must be changed. Gender boundaries must be eliminated. Ω

Elliot became convinced that women would be effective in combat during a recent fight with his girlfriend.

THE LIBRARY SHELF / DAVID HOOD

Robert Bork Judges the Supreme Court

Never before had a Supreme Court appointment generated such debate and discussion in the general public. When former D.C. Circuit Appeals Judge Robert H. Bork got the nod from then-President Ronald Reagan, a fierce battle for Senate confirmation began. Bork's new book *The Tempting of America: The Political Seduction of the Law* could be read simply to better understand the controversy that surrounded the Bork nomination back in 1987. However, this book is an absolute must for anyone interested in constitutional law or Supreme Court decision making.

The Tempting of America attempts to determine whether the Constitution should be interpreted according to the intent of its framers, or according to modern-day intellectuals' interpretation. Bork argues that constitutional language was intended to define specifically the powers of the various government branches in our political system. It is hard to argue with his proposition that in order to apply the Constitution we must know what the framers meant when they wrote it. Since Bork's doctrine of "original understanding" is the prevailing paradigm for legal decision-making when a case comes up concerning an act of Congress, or a state statute, one would think legal scholars would accept its legitimacy when it comes to interpreting a document ratified by similar legislatures some 200 years ago.

BOOK REVIEW

One would be wrong.

Many constitutional scholars, including some discussed by Bork, feel that framers' intent is wholly irrelevant to determining the Constitution's meaning in modern society. They feel the document should be read in terms of what "freedom of speech" should mean today, or whether "cruel and unusual punishment" should invalidate capital punishment even though the framers obviously felt such punishment to be perfectly legitimate. Bork's approach brilliantly allows a judge to do what he or she ideally should do—decide a case on non-political grounds. The judge's personal opinion about capital punishment is irrelevant. A judge only has the authority to overrule majority sentiment in favor of the practice in question if it violates a principle enshrined in the Constitution by the framers.

The theory of original understanding is somewhat more complicated than simply divining the desires of 18th century white males and imposing them upon modern society, but that is a good general summary of the position. This, of course, leads to the argument that such people could never have foreseen conditions in the 20th century, and therefore have no business telling people what we can or cannot do today. Unfortunately, the critics making these arguments do not say that we as a people should make our own decisions, but that judges should have the power to subvert democracy more often. Bork argues that, except where the Constitution truly gives a judge the power to invalidate legislation, decisions about public policy should be left to the people. Much of the first third of the book is devoted to showing how the Supreme Court, whether dominated by liberals or conservatives, has used trumped up powers to alter policy.

While the history Bork traces and the arguments he presents against certain decisions are generally well-taken, he sometimes editorializes too much about the desirability of the specific laws involved. This weakens his contention that his view is neutral. Instead of praising the decision to protect flag-burning under the First Amendment, for example, he derides the decision, arguing that the flag is too important a symbol to be physically desecrated. An application of an original understanding of freedom of speech would seem to support the decision, since the framers sought to protect political discussion regardless of the viewpoints being expressed. Bork's view that such conduct as burning a flag is not "speech" seems counter to his defense of the decision, since if flag burning did not "speak" to fundamental American values then he would not have been so outraged to begin with. Although the framers probably did not contemplate protecting "symbolic speech" per se, Bork himself often notes in the book that there is no problem with applying constitutional values to new situations as long as the underlying value is not twisted out of shape.

So while Bork's method is attractive, it is not clear that he always follows it. Bork admits that reasonable people can differ on the application of his principles to a given fact situation, so long as they agree that framers' intent should control. Indeed, without explicit support in the Constitution, what right to judges have to interfere with democratic rule?

This is the fundamental question posed by the book, and Bork answers it in the middle section, in which he critiques theories advanced by critics of his position on both the political left and right. Bork is at his best as he reduces the argument of the various theorists to this: my view of morality is superior to that of the framers, so judges should listen to me instead.

Please see BORK *p.31*

THE NATIONAL TRUSS / DEBORAH UEBE

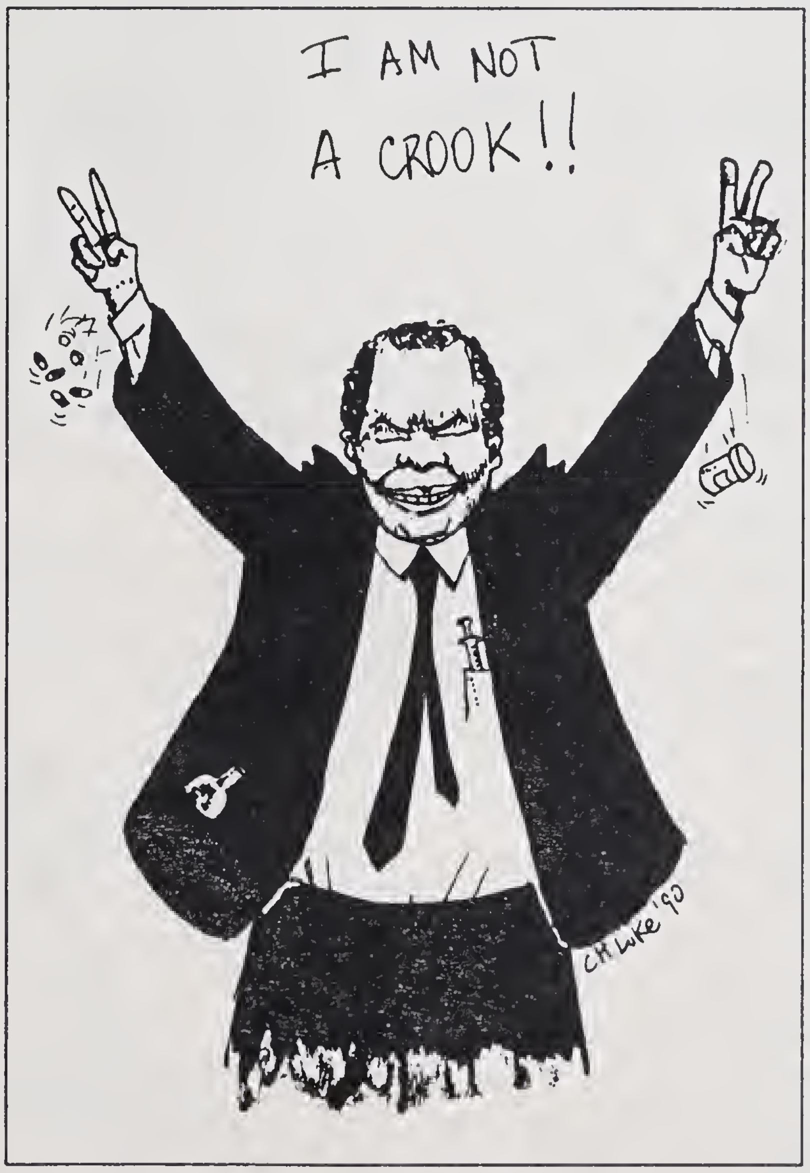
The King is Dead: Long Live D.C.

The arrest of District of Columbia mayor Marion Barry for drug possession has once again thrust the nation's capital into the spotlight. Barry's administration embodies all that is wrong in government today. Some, however, decry Barry's arrest as a setback for black politicians throughout the country. This misplaced charity not only ignores what is best for the suffering city of Washington but also ignores the value of removing Barry from District politics.

While Mayor Barry has retained some support, his popularity has primarily flowed from the unwillingness of many who voted for him to admit their mistake. Even Barry's staunchest supporters could not tell you what good he has done for the city. Many Washingtonians are sick of Barry.

Barry is a civil rights hero and minister, and until recently was a respected member of the black community. He has tried to persuade much of the city's overwhelmingly black population that an attack on him is an attack on the black race. In 1988, Barry denied the allegations made by drug dealer Charles Lewis that he bought crack, and dismissed the media attention the event attracted as racially biased.

Barry has called upon his constituents to examine his record with their hearts, instead of their heads. He had better hope they do. The District of Columbia has a higher income per capita and a higher infant mortality rate than any state in the nation. In Washington, the 'D.C.' stands for 'Drug Capital.' The District's murder rate, resulting mostly from drug activity, is the highest in the country.


I AM NOT A CROOK!!
CH Luke '90

In addition to problems with crime, the city is in generally poor condition. The streets are full of potholes even in the wealthy sections. A neighborhood newspaper cited ten school buildings as being in unacceptable condition. Local news programs constantly feature stories about the city's inept 911 system. Countless homeless men and women wander the city, refusing to go to unfit city shelters. The education system remains dismal. The District's model high school has been called "grim," with many of the better students attending private schools, instead. These facts are particularly disturbing when considering how much income the city actually receives from taxation and other sources. Last fall, the U.S. Congress gave the District $3.2 billion. Additionally, the city has an enormous tourist industry and myriad law firms, lobbying organizations, and small businesses. The District has one of the highest local income tax rates in the nation.

But Washington's revenues have been sadly mismanaged. Instead of reforms, the fiscally minded Barry announced budget cutbacks last December. This announcement coincided with news of a $100,000 plan to secure a Mercedes for the Mayor. This did not surprise residents familiar with Barry's past record. In 1988, Barry and his top aides ran up $38,000 in hotel bills while on an "advisory mission" in the Virgin Islands. Moreover, there are questions about $98,000 of undocumented expenses and about Barry's involvement in corruption cases in which eleven city officials have been convicted. In the face of such questions, the mayor's call for a "balanced budget" strikes most as hypocritical.

Through much of the scandal, Barry claimed the investigations were prompted by racism. In reality, Mayor has shown indifference and disdain for Washington's black community. He told an impoverished mother petitioning for decent housing to "stop having all these babies." Investigations by the federal government have shown that Barry used a plan to give city contracts to minority firms as a pay-off for friends and political compatriots.

The Mayor's proclamations shouldn't cloud public opinion about his practices. Barry's arrest and subsequent announcement that he will not seek re-election are the greatest gifts he could have given to the people of Washington. There are many qualified candidates who have previously been barred from the ballot because of a divided opposition. With Barry out of the picture they will have the opportunity to help the city follow its Mayor's example and heal its "body, mind, and soul." Ω

Deborah works for the Phoenix. *Don't tell anyone.*

IN THE ZOO / HARRY DOLAN

Forcing Diversity

Student Congress Tries to Desegregate the Campus Y

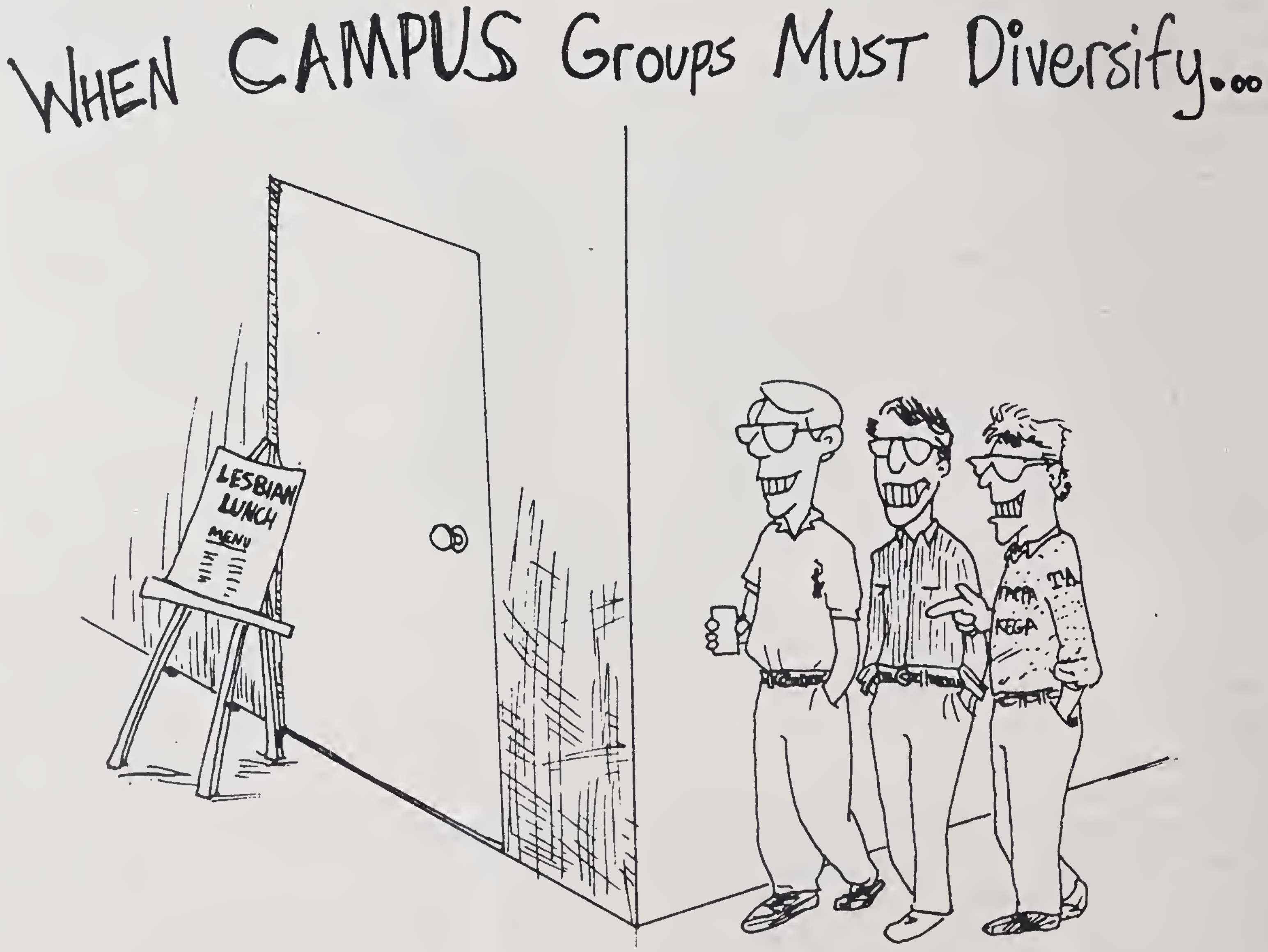
On Wednesday February 7th, Student Congress passed a bill to amend the section of the Student Code which sets out requirements that student groups must meet in order to receive funding. The amendment is designed to promote integration of student groups by requiring organizations who request funding to submit "[a] statement of active recruitment of women and minorities for membership and participation in organizational activities."

The bill, introduced by Representative Tom Elliott (District 6), passed by a wide margin but has received little attention. The coverage in *The Daily Tar Heel* focused on two bills calling for referendums that were passed at the same Student Congress meeting. Perhaps this lack of attention should be taken as an encouraging sign, indicating that the new requirement will be largely ignored. Perhaps groups will submit the required statement—satisfying the letter of the new law—and continue as before.

Hopefully, this will be the case because if Student Congress tries to enforce the *spirit* of this law, it will be disastrous.

To understand this new requirement, one must note that the Student Code contains provisions designed to prevent discrimination by groups requesting funding. Specifically, it requires that such groups submit "[a] statement of non-discrimination on the basis of race, creed, sex (except where exempted by law), sexual preference, national origin, or handicap." In light of this, what can the further requirement of "active recruitment" mean? How are groups supposed to go about fulfilling it? And, more importantly, what justification is there for imposing it?

The language of the bill provides some insight into the


WHEN CAMPUS Groups Must Diversify...
LESBIAN LUNCH
MENU

"... Well, I don't know who is gonna be there, fellas, but the invitation did say 'free beer'!"

authors' motives. In particular, it will be enlightening to examine three "facts" that the bill alleges, in the form of three "WHEREAS" clauses:

1. "Many of the University's student organizations are not integrated."

If this sounds vague, that's because it is. Its vagueness lies not simply in the use of "many" (How many? Most of them? All of them? And if not all, then precisely which organizations does this statement refer to?) but also in the use of "integrated." What does it mean to say that student organizations are "not integrated"? Does it mean that some organizations have no minority members? Or that they have too few such members? In either case, one wants to ask, how many such members should a group have? What exactly would it be like for a group to be "integrated?" The most literal interpretation would be that the membership of any particular organization should reflect the larger community of which it is a part. But the error of this sort of thinking should be obvious: among other things, it would entail that the membership of the Black Student Movement be predominantly white and the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association predominantly heterosexual.

[The bill may require] the Black Student Movement be predominantly white.

By forwarding the vague claim that student organizations are not integrated, the authors of the bill convey a sense that something is wrong which needs correcting, without having to be specific about the problem or their proposed solution. If they are aware of specific instances of discrimination by student organizations, then why not bring them to light and deal with them according to procedures already in place?

2. "The integration of organizations stimulates education and enlightenment about other cultures."

Even if this is true, such "education and enlightenment" are not the primary purpose of student organizations. Most organizations are formed by students who want to share a particular interest with other like-minded students. Anything they might happen to learn about other cultures is secondary (except, of course, for those groups formed around an interest in a particular culture). Such learning is inevitable and certainly valuable, but it is not the reason why most student organizations exist.

3. "Organizations receiving Student Government funds have a responsibility to reach out to other cultures."

A responsibility—to whom? To their fellow human beings? To God? To their country? No. What this amounts to is a responsibility organizations have to their Student Government,. And what most student government leaders don't care to think about is that the funds come from students in the first place. Student Government expropriates students' money and then doles it back out to them, or, even worse, to organizations in which a student may have no interest. This is called a "racket." (The fact that all governments act on the same principle does not make it less of a racket.)

With regard to the alleged responsibility, "to reach out to other cultures," it is worth repeating that cultures do not join student organizations, individuals do—and individuals are more than just representatives of their cultures. No doubt there are students whose cultural background is very important to them, but certainly it is not their whole identity. Indeed, it is condescending to suggest that members of minorities need to be "reached out to"—as if student organizations were extending them a special favor by inviting them to join. The recipient of such a favor might well feel suspicious: "If I really am welcome to join," he or she might think, "why do you have to make a special point of saying so?"

When student organizations recruit new members, they must highlight the particular interest around which the group is centered. The question they must ask potential members is not "What's your background?" but "What are your interests and abilities?'

Groups should not be required to recent minorities or women as such. Instead, they should recruit women and minorities interested in the group's activities—but only in the sense that they should recruit *anyone* interested in their activities.

The phrase "active recruitment" is perhaps the key to the whole new requirement. What is "active recruitment of women and minorities?" Presumably, it is to be contrasted with "passive recruitment"—which is what happens when organizations focus on recruiting people interested in their activities. "Active recruitment," then, must mean "recruitment of women and minorities for the sake of recruitment of women and minorities." This can be nothing but an insult to women and minorities.

Ideally, this new requirement will be given little serious attention. How can an organization prove that it has actively recruited women and minorities? By a survey of the make-up of its membership? But perhaps members of minorities were approached, yet chose not to join. Student Congress can use the requirement to deny funding to an organization, if it judges (absent any standard of judgment) that that organization has failed to fulfill its "responsibility to reach out to other cultures."

No doubt the new requirement has a certain measure of value if it serves to reassure some members of Student Congress that they are doing their part to achieve the noble, if ill-defined, goal of integration. It certainly isn't the first time Student Congress has made itself feel better by acting unreasonably.

Harry Dolan was invited to submit this article as part of the CRITIC'*s effort to reach out to persons of white, Anglo-Saxon heritage.*

IN THE ZOO / ANDREW COHEN

Straight from the Horses' Mouths

"There are a lot of back-woods rednecks on this campus who, if given the opportunity, will give it to minorities in the butt."

— Russell Dula, Student Congress Representative, District 16

What's this? Mr. Dula's constituency is too uncivilized and ill-mannered to spend its money? Yet these were the sage words spoken on January 24 in opposition to the Student Choice Funding Bill. The bill would have enabled all us rednecks to use computerized ballots to allocate directly a portion of each of our activity fees among student groups. We would have been able to support all (and only) those student groups we wanted to, without losing our money to an impersonal and bureaucratized budget process which does not take our needs and interests into account.

But no matter. We're better off allowing our selfless student leaders to make these decisions for us. After all, we're already overwhelmed by the decisions we have to make.

"We're overcharging the students with decisions. This system assumes that 'Joe Student' has time to make 40 decisions. I propose that he doesn't."

— Jürgen Buchenau, Student Congress Representative District 3

Ah, daily life is filled with complexities best ignored; we just can't handle any more. Frosted Flakes or Cheerios for breakfast ? The brown slacks or the jeans? A career in law or medicine? Order the plain checks or the ones with the cute hearts? Oy, it's too much! And now we're expected to decide how much to give to the UNC Bridge Club? Indeed! How many of us can forget the existential anguish of trips to Record Bar? Remember the pain—the confrontation with our metaphysical loneliness and cursed finitude—when we had to choose between Bach and Motley Crüe with a limited amount of money in our wallets? And we'd be expected to do this for 40 student groups? Thank God we've been rescued from ourselves.

Lest we minimize Student Congress' enlightened achievement, they saw that we could never make informed decisions, not even when provided with a "Guide to Student Groups and Funding Requests." Yes, it would be much too complex for us to process all that data with our tiny, redneck minds. And who knows if we'd be getting the right information?

"Who's going to censor the guide?"

— Jürgen Buchenau, District 3

How true. Our minds might be polluted with uncensored one page reports. Who knows what filth they'd peddle in those pages?

I had the effrontery to suggest that Congress should follow its laws and promote the interests of the student body. Since the Student Body is a group of individuals, Congress should respect individual rights and return control of the budget process to the students. Thank goodness someone was there to set things straight:

"We are all just cells in a larger organism: the Student Body. Whenever one cell hurts, the rest feel the pain too. That is why the needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few."

—Tom Elliot, District 6

(Ouch. Did we all feel that? Chancellor Hardin just stubbed his toe.) Were it not for this Celliot, er, Elliot chap, who knows what rampant individualism would be running amok in Congress. We'd be trapped in a world where we would have to live our own lives. It is a good thing Elliot defended our God-given right to subordinate ourselves as insignificant nuclei and swirl around mindlessly in the capillaries of the Student Body.

As a last ditch effort to defend student choice, the bill's author could only say, "An individual student should be in a position to vote in a Student Choice ballot because the money in question is his or hers. It doesn't belong to the Student Congress."

Oh, pshaw! Individual ownership of property? We know how old-fashioned that is:

"This is no his or hers or mine. There is only OURS."

— Tom Elliot, District 6

Let us celebrate Mr. Elliot's wisdom by reclaiming what is rightfully ours. His address is in the campus directory. Maybe he has some expensive audio equipment we can take from his apartment when he's not home. He did say it is OURS.

Ah, our Student Congress Representatives. They have the interests of us cells in mind at all times. Ω

Andrew Cohen is the humble author of the Student Choice Funding Bill. He maintains that he is neither a redneck nor a cell in the greater organism.

OUR ALTERED STATE / CHARLTON ALLEN

Risks and Resources:

The Need for Freedom in the Petroleum Industry

In the last month of 1989 Americans were reminded of the consequences of dependence on foreign sources of petroleum. The December cold wave resulted in a sharp rise in the demand for heating oil—an increase that resulted in an across-the-board rise in petroleum prices. Why did the prices go up? The limited supply of domestic petroleum forced the U.S. to depend on the unreliable and expensive importation of these fuels.

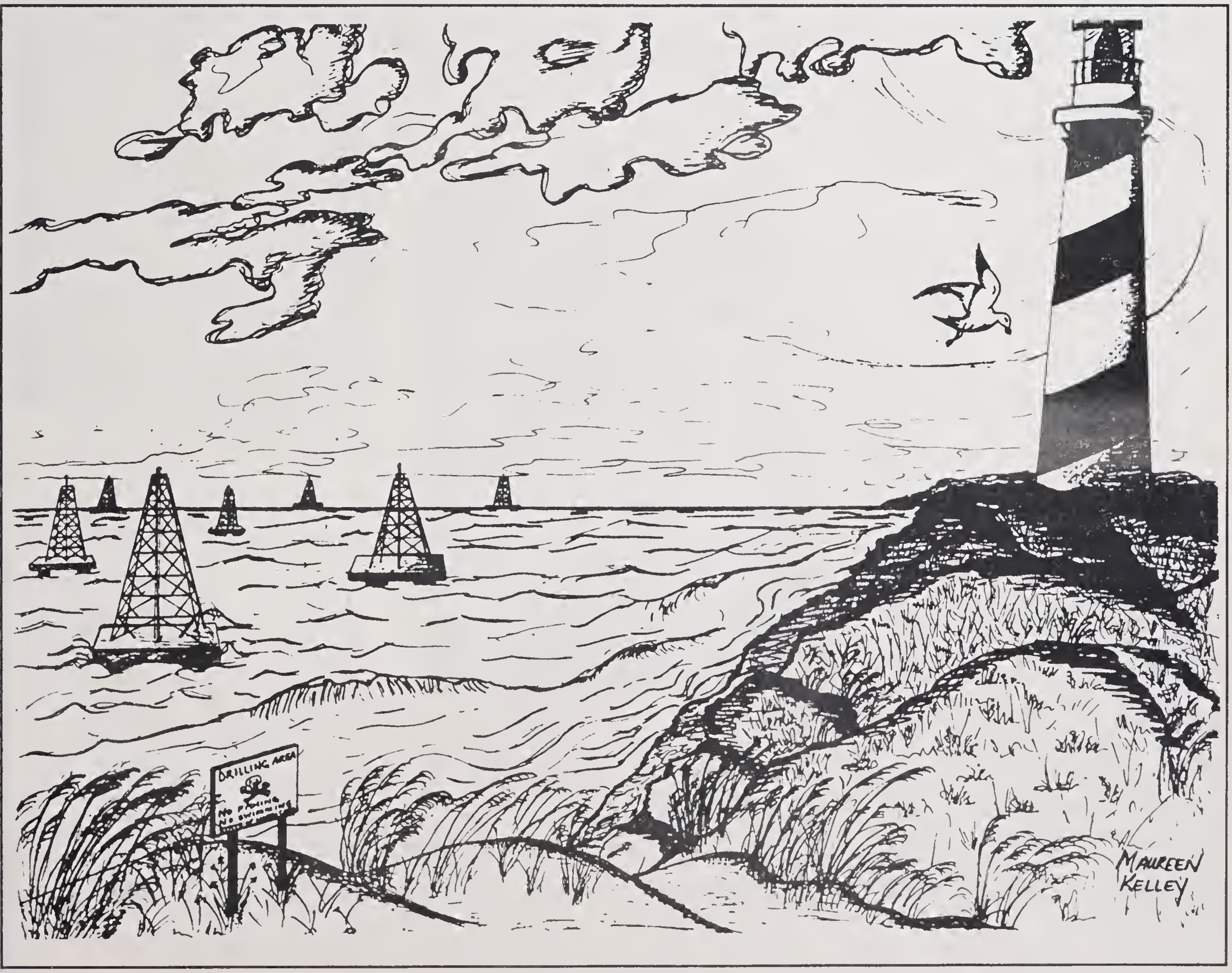
Simultaneously, environmental groups such as Greenpeace were urging the citizens of North Carolina to protest the exploration of the state's coast in search of new sources of natural gas and oil. Due to the irresponsible actions of these groups, people unknowingly aggravated the energy shortage, raising prices further by increasing dependence on foreign supplies.

Mobil and a consortium of other oil companies paid over $240 million to the Department of the Interior for the rights to search for petroleum approximately 45 miles off the coast of North Carolina. Mobil is now requesting permission to explore this site.

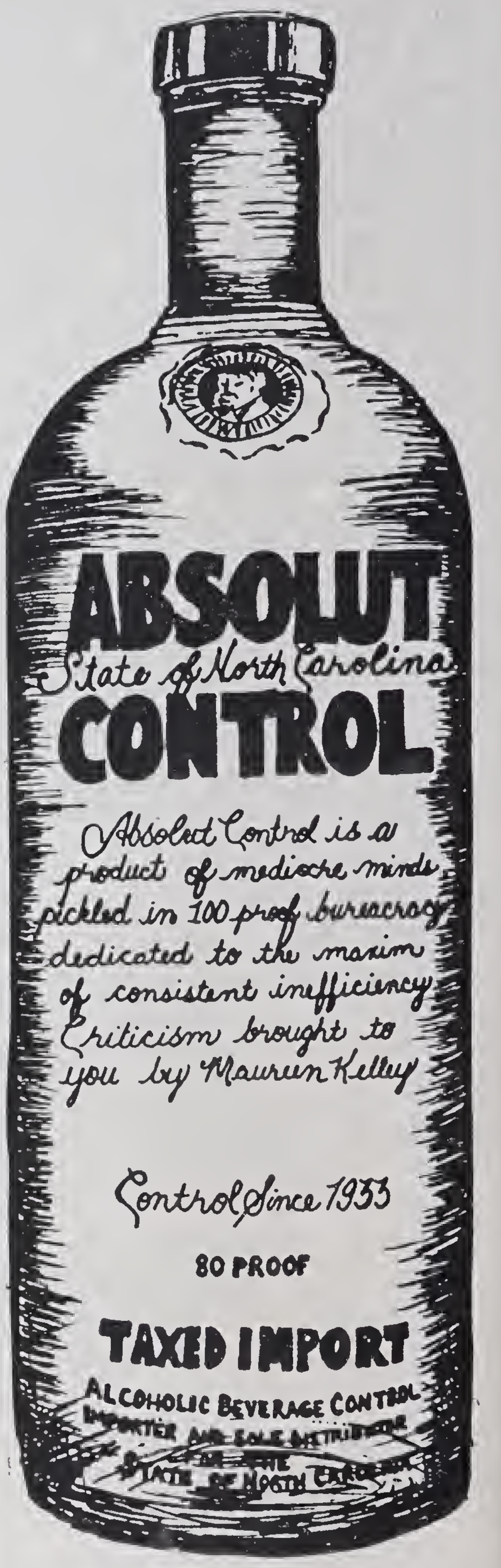
Contrary to Greenpeace propaganda, this is more than a local problem. In order to bolster national security, increase employment, and protect American consumers from Middle Eastern energy blackmail, offshore exploration is not only desirable, it is necessary.

In 1950, the U.S. was importing virtually no petroleum. Today, more than 50% of American oil is imported. Moreover,

Please see MOBIL *p.31*



The ABCs of Liquor Sales


ABSOLUT
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Absolut Control is a product of mediocre minds pickled in 100 proof bureacracy dedicated to the maxim of consistent inefficiency. Criticism brought to you by Maureen Kelley
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FOR THE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

by
Maureen Kelley

For more than two centuries, North Carolina has been the pioneer of prohibition in the South. Personal choice and responsibility have been ignored in favor of adopting a comprehensive state monopoly in alcohol. This has resulted in an assortment of laws and regulations which restrict individual rights and appetites.

THE WAY WE WERE

The first restrictions on alcoholic beverages were designed to prevent "personal excesses" and "public disorders." Citizens scowled on public drunkenness, and the state responded by establishing a licensing system for saloons and distributors.

The early 1800s marked the beginning of North Carolina's Temperance Period. Citizens banded together and pledged total or partial abstinence. Initially, these oaths were personal, limited to the temperance group members. Little was done to change state and local policy. This outlook, however, was quickly replaced by a wider focus. Many sought to establish a "bone-dry" state. Everyone, the chosen few believed, should benefit from their dry enlightenment.

By 1900, the temperance societies had launched a full-scale movement to prohibit the sale and consumption of liquor. Temperance forces vigorously lobbied politicians to enact state-wide prohibition laws. Finally, in 1908, the saloon was abolished. North Carolina had become the first state in the country to outlaw alcohol, preceding national prohibition by ten years. Then on January 10, 1919, the North Carolina Senate ratified the Eighteenth Amendment by a unanimous vote.

In 1923, in order to conform to national law, the state passed the Turlington Act, making it illegal to "manufacture, sell, barter, transport, import, export, deliver, furnish, purchase, or possess intoxicating liquor." This was a wise move by the prohibitionists, for the act essentially mimicked the Eighteenth Amendment and secured state-level prohibition despite changes in the federal law.

> Longtime prohibitionist John Sprunt Hill apparently missed having his afternoon mint-julep and decided to take drastic action.

This buffer, however, did not halt the prohibitionists' ardent fight against repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The temperate types were concerned that the demise of national prohibition would lead to the dismantling of the Turlington Act. Members of the the United Dry Forces, led by Judge Heriot Clarkson, met at the Raleigh Y.M.C.A. With the zeal of the Crusaders, rallied citizens prohibition. Election day November 7, 1933, climaxed the bitter campaign as North Carolina's prohibitionists won by a landslide vote.

THE ALPHABET ERA: WHAT DRY WAS

The repeal of national prohibition dropped the power of liquor legislation into state hands. A diversity of laws appeared across the United States, with North Carolina maintaining legislated repression. The dry life, however, was short-lived.

In 1935, a political struggle soon emerged in the General Assembly of North Carolina. Longtime prohibitionist John Sprunt Hill apparently missed having his afternoon mint-julep and decided to take drastic action. He introduced a Senate bill to repeal the Turlington Act and establish state operated liquor stores. Hill's defection to the wet ranks served a devastating blow to state prohibition. Although the Hill legislation was ultimately defeated, an eleventh-hour replacment was passed, granting counties the option of voting in the state's liquor system. All administrative and legal authority remained in state hands, vested in the State Board of Alcoholic Beverage Control.

On July 2, 1935, Wilson County opened North Carolina's first ABC store. This was undoubtedly a turning point for the right-to-imbibe advocates. The system and its regulations, however, were hardly satisfactory. Alcoholic beverages could not be purchased at hotels, clubs or restaurants, but only in sealed packages from the ABC stores. Restaurants had to operate on a B.Y.O.B. system. Owners were permitted to sell mixers (lime, ice, swizzle stick, and a glass) but customers had to brown-bag their booze. The intent was to discourage drinking in public.

With all due respect granted to this logic, the law was a failure. People arrived at restaurants with their fifth of vodka and a gallon of Gallo's finest, ordered their glass of ice, and drank away the evening. This prohibition of liquor by the drink persisted into the early wine cooler years (when there was only one flavor). On June 14, 1978, the General Assembly ratified a local option liquor-by-the-drink bill, abolishing the brown-bagging laws. Five months later, a customer in Charlotte's Benedictine's Restaurant sipped a Bloody Mary. It was the first legal cocktail poured in North Carolina in 70 years.

Such earth-shaking advancements, however, did not thwart the neoprohibitionist quest for a kinder, drier state. On August 1, 1985, "Black Wednesday," the ABC commission banned happy hour. This included two-for-one offers, ladies' nights, wet T-shirt discounts, and selling pitchers of beer to one person. Discounts could be offered, but only for a period of twelve hours or more. Restaurants simply responded by offering discounts all day long, thus transforming the dreaded "happy hour" into"happy day."

A.B.C.—EASY AS "CASH ONLY"

Although citizens of North Carolina have been awarded the privilege of buying mixed drinks, not much else has changed in the fifty-five year old ABC system. How has such an antiquated institution survived in our modern day and age? Quite simply, monopolized bootlegging is a lucrative business.

The sign at the cash register reads,"Cash Only," and the amount of cash that comes in is substantial. ABC's gross earnings for 1965, amounted to $108,251,516.28 in liquor sales, nearly $40 million in December alone. In 1985, revenue from just taxes and licenses came to $58,753,842.

Price-fixing, codenamed,"universal price distribution," is a favorite pastime of the the board. The aim of the board was to offer consistent prices throughout the state and eliminate the hassle of comparison shopping. The goal of their nightmarish bureaucratic policies has been realized. Prices, on average, are nearly 35 percent higher than in an unregulated state. Consumers can go anywhere in the state of North Carolina and find consistently astronomical liquor prices.

Ironically, the state has resorted to promoting the very practice which it condemns.

Consumer demand is ignored when choosing inventory as well. It is difficult to decipher their ordering scheme. Upon entering a store recently, it seemed that they offered at least two bottles of every liquid that ever went through the fermentation process. Popular brands such as Cuervo, Smirnoff, Bacardi, and Jim Beam were accompanied by aisles of third rate brands. Bottles of Fighting Cock, Heaven Hill, and Mellow Corn Whiskey were abundant. Even more worrisome were the dusty jelly jars of Georgia Moon Corn Whiskey.

Perhaps as a result of their carefully planned marketing schemes, ABC's recent sales are down. The trend began in 1983 after a tax increase on alcohol. In 1985, in order to compensate for lost revenue, the board increased the excise tax again, from 22.5 percent to 28 percent of the retail price. The board sought to cover their inefficiencies through further taxation. Such rationale could not be the product of a sober mind.

THE STATE SAYS, "BOTTOMS UP!"

In order to maintain revenue in an era of declining alcohol consumption, North Carolina is urging the few remaining dry counties to abolish their temperate stance. Ironically, the state has resorted to promoting the very practice which it condemns.

On July 21, 1985, the ABC board celebrated its 50th anniversary by purchasing a 20 page advertising section in the *News and Observer*. The supplement consisted of a few articles with ABC propaganda and five pages of advertisements. One read, "Choosing a brand is as simple as A.B.C." Another chimed in, "There is no such thing as a dry county!" It proceeded to encourge counties to raise revenue by "sharing in State excise taxes." Apparently Chapter18-12 of the General Statutes does not apply to the ABC board. It states, "It shall be unlawful to advertise, anywhere or by any means or method, alcoholic beverages..."

Where persuasive measures have been unsuccessful in changing the dry county laws, the state has overridden the local authorities. Legislation from the 1987 General Assembly allows the ABC board to "authorize mixed beverage permits for establishments located within certain 'dry' areas without prior approval by the voters." The result is that spectators can sit, drink in hand, at Charlotte Motor Speedway in "dry" Cabarrus County. Golf courses, Veteran's Organizations, and

"Nonprofit and Political Organizations" can also be freed from county law.

BOOTLEGGING BUREAUCRATS

It seems that the ABC Board's hypocritical policies have rubbed off on its members. In 1972, the State Bureau of Investigation conducted an extensive probe into activities of the beverage control system, and found a system wrought with corruption:

•Two state ABC employees were convicted of falsifying their state expense accounts.

•Salesmen at the Central Warehouse Co., Inc. in Raleigh were caught stealing liquor. Photographs revealed the warehouse in disarray, showing broken bottles, open cases with bottles missing, and puddles of liquor in the aisles.

•A few days later, SBI received word that "damaged" liquor had been taken from the warehouse and shipped to a club at the U.S. Naval Station in Norfolk, Virginia. This shipment, estimated at over 900 cases, was sold for $19,800.

> The paternalistic presence of the ABC Board is ineffective and unwelcome.

•Wake County district attorney Burley Mitchell Jr. said that the warehouse's records were "so fouled up...I think it's impossible to have any idea whether the liquor's been lost, stolen or misplaced."

•On August 31, 1980, chairman of the Hoke County ABC Board was arrested and charged with distilling illegal liquor in a 10-gallon still at his cabin. Deputies said, "the cabin is a frequent sight of political gatherings."

KEEP YOUR LAWS OFF MY LIQUOR

The ABC Board does not hold its liquor well. Corruption runs rampant, along with gross financial inefficiencies. Nonetheless, the organization maintains a tenacious hold on its lucrative monopoly. Hypocritically, they tout abstinence as a laudable community goal, while encouraging the proliferation of their ABC stores.

In the name of the "general welfare," the Board bureaucrats have enacted arbitrary legislation which infringes upon the free market and ignores individual responsiblity. Abstinence should not be a government mandated action, but rather a matter of individual choice. The paternalistic presence of the ABC Board is ineffective and unwelcome. The time has come to obliterate this coercive moral reformer and bring North Carolina into the 20th century. Ω

Maureen is hoppin' mad that her favorite ABC stores wouldn't give her a Frequent "Flyer" discount.

The CAROLINA
CRITIC
ANNOUNCES

The GREENSBORO
CRITIC

The STATE
CRITIC

The WAKE FOREST
CRITIC

THE WORLD STAGE / JASON JAMES

Come on, Comrade Gorbachev, Get a Grip

The liberals are dreaming of defense cuts. Thoughts of spending a peace dividend on socialized medicine, day care, and subsidized housing dance through Democratic heads. Even George Bush wants cuts. To no one's surprise, the peaceniks are not happy with the White House's proposed two percent cut. They clamor for massive troop withdrawals, the cancellation of Star Wars and the B-2 bomber. The excitement naturally extends from the decline of the Evil Empire and the revolutions in Eastern Europe. With each freedom granted in the Baltic states, there is another yelp for defense cuts. But those calling for massive defense spending reductions seem short-sighted. There are not yet any guarantees that the changes in Eastern Europe are irreversible. Mikhail Gorbachev could easily be removed.

Gorbachev's problems are not unique. Like former President Jimmy Carter, his foreign policy has been both popular and successful. He is Time magazine's Man of the Decade and is well liked in Western Europe. Likewise, Carter's successful foreign policy included a Middle East peace treaty and the promotion of human rights. But Carter, unable to control stagflation, was decimated in the 1980 election. In the same way, Gorbachev's failing economic policies may be his undoing.

When he took office in 1985, his intent was to eliminate price controls, promote the growth of small business, encourage them to make profits, and allow some ownership of property. Though his programs got off to a promising start, most have floundered in the last two years. Price controls still exist. The small profits of a few entrepreneurs are denigrated as being "unsocialist" by the masses. And property ights are only now being grudgingly recognized. The economy has been getting worse rather than etter. Store shelves remaindevoid of goods, and he Soviet Union has one of the worst homeless roblems in the civilized world.

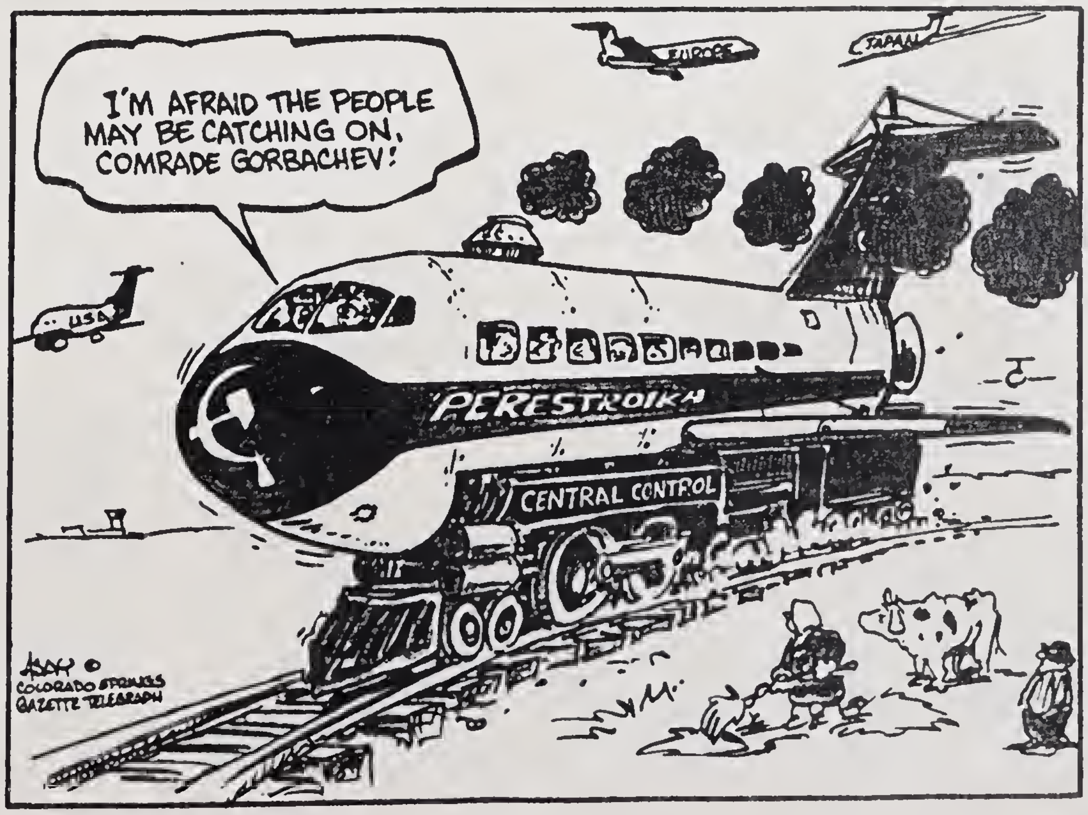
These failures have left the Soviet public issatisfied. Gorbachev's liberalizations were upposed to bring prosperity. Instead, the economy as failed. To make matters worse, the intellectual lite have been attacking the Russian heroes. Stalin as sacrificed to the *Glasnost* Gods several years go with the official recognition of the purges. ven the stories about Lenin have not escaped vision.

Moscow, once a dull and drab city brightened ly by the colorful billboards of Communist opaganda, has become grayer and gloomier with eir removal. Official history has been changed so fast that high school exams were cancelled in 1988. Though these historical revisions were certainly needed, they only managed to alienate large parts of Russian society, and add to the shame of their miserable lives.

Now, Gorbachev is trying to rise from the ashes of fallen Soviet heroes. But to many Russians, he is the man who is destroying the Empire. The Warsaw Pact countries have ended the Communist party monopoly—several even want to kick out the Russian troops. The nationalists in the Baltics and the Moslems in the South have been clamoring for independence, yet Gorbachev has been reduced to begging them for support. Though Soviets have more freedoms than before, many are unhappy to see their country losing its prestige.

As the Soviet Union's centralized power declines, it is becoming more difficult to keep its many factions in line. Even within the traditional structure of the Communist party, Gorbachev faces intense opposition. The old guard conservatives want to save their precious bureaucracy. The young reformists want a multi-party system and free elections. For now, the reformists are winning, but Soviet politics is a battle between two very strong poles with Gorbachev trying desperately to take the middle ground.

If the Cold War is indeed ending, then the U.S. will benefit from a smaller defense budget and the spread of democracy. But too much optimism could be dangerous. The Soviet Union could easily revert to a system of oppression and militant posturing. In this case, the U.S. will need a strong defense.Ω


I'M AFRAID THE PEOPLE MAY BE CATCHING ON, COMRADE GORBACHEV!
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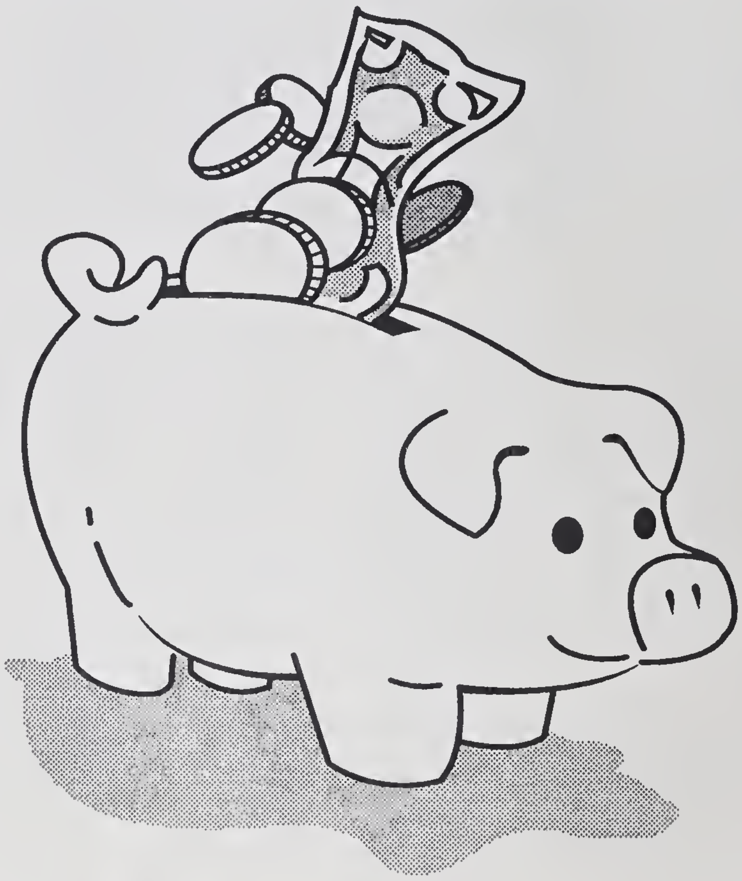
Spending Less and Feeling Better, or Ten Ways to Fire Thousands of Bureaucrats

BY ANTHONY WOODLIEF



'Tis the season to waste the taxpayers' money. It's budget time in Washington, D.C. A number of faithful readers, familiar with how chintzy I was over the $17,000 *Phoenix* Desktop Publishing boondoggle, have expressed an interest in how I would handle the budget crisis if I were king for a day. Here's a brief sketch of the 1991 Woodlief budget, sure to anger most Republicans and guaranteed to solicit seizures from Democrats.

Agriculture

President Bush proposes spending an estimated $48 billion on farmers, which we'll conservatively count as $58 billion, since U.S. Department of Agriculture subsidies cost consumers on average $10 billion a year in higher food prices. But consider this:

- According to Jim Bovard of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, the average farm family income in 1987 was $42,754, or 38.6 percent higher than non-farm family incomes. Those figures in the media that depict farmers as dirt poor only count income from on-farm activities, which for most farm families is only a portion of their total income.
- Only about 30 percent of U.S. farms currently receive direct payments from the USDA, according to agriculture writer Karl Zinmeister, while most are capable of surviving in a free market.

Environmental groups whining about the necessity of preserving every cesspool with an ecologically balanced mosquito population can put their own money where their mouths are.

Farmophiles like to claim that farmers can't survive in a market because of the hazards of their trade—drought, floods, and price fluctuations. But simple conventions like crop insurance and commodities futures markets allow the intelligent farmer to hedge his bet considerably. American agriculture doesn't need subsidies, it needs a good dose of free market efficiency. As Thomas Jefferson wisely noted, "When we must wait for Washington to tell us when to sow and when to reap, we shall soon want bread."

In my budget, agriculture gets $30 billion, mainly to write off Farmer's Home Loans that will never be repaid. This $30 billion will decrease by $10 billion a year until 1994, when the Department of Agriculture is phased out. Net savings: $18 billion plus lower food prices.

Drugs

In a move to enhance Big Brother's intrusions into our lives and give Bill Bennett an even larger power complex, Bush wants to increase Drug War spending by 41 percent, to $9.7 billion. Aside from assisting Bennett's political career, this will certainly drive up prices for dealers, giving them handsomer profits. The Woodlief budget drops the funding to zero, gives Bennett his pink slip, and legalizes the stuff to boot. I'm not feeling totally libertarian today, so we'll tax drugs at about the rate for other legal drugs, namely cigarettes and alcohol, and use the revenue to fund anti-drug campaigns in schools.

Net savings: $9.7 billion, plus the $160.9 million that will no longer be needed to renovate Bennett's office.

Education

Bush wants spending to increase $1.4 billion to $23.7 billion—which, of course, the left whines is not enough. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, CRITIC founder John Hood informs us, however, that from 1929 to 1987, total real expenditures per pupil in America rose 500 percent. In fact, the U.S. is second only to Switzerland in per-pupil expenditures. The problem with education in the U.S. is not a lack of funds, it is the centralized, bureaucratic structure that is in no way accountable to parents and students. Hood notes, for example, that about 50 percent of American education expenditures go to administrative costs, compared to about 20 percent in a number of European countries. It's no wonder officials in the Education Establishment are clamoring for spending increases when 50 cents of every dollar goes in their pockets.

The Woodlief budget calls for a freeze on education spending until we work this mess out. Instead of giving money to top-heavy school administrations, we give the money to parents, in the form of vouchers, and make schools compete for these vouchers. We give teachers and principals more autonomy, but make them accountable to parents, who can send their children to any school they choose. Creating competition in education has the same effect on quality as for any other good or service—it improves it. This has been the case in New Hampshire and East Harlem, among other places.

Net cut: $1.4 billion.

Environment and Interior

Here's where we really clean up the budget. The federal government owns 30 percent of the land in the U.S., at enormous costs in terms of upkeep and mismanagement. Setting aside for the moment all national, historical, and wilderness parks, Randall Fitzgerald of the Pacific Research Institute cites a 1982 study appraising 5,000 federal government properties at a value of over $126 billion in present dollars. The federal government owns forests which taxpayers subsidize to cut down, vast tracts of minerals which companies lease for a fraction of their real value, and huge ranges which cattle ranchers rent for only pennies an acre. According to Fitzgerald, 85 percent of American oil reserves, 72 percent of our oil shale, and 37 percent of our natural gas lie under government land. When these resources need to be tapped, we can expect the same bungling and environmental destruction that characterize government handling of everything from waste storage to weapons testing.

In my budget, foreign countries get nothing, but we lower our trade barriers to their goods, which would make most of them better off than our welfare payments.

The Woodlief budget offers all government ranges, forests, parks, refuges, and inland water supplies for sale to the highest bidder. Restrictive contracts could insure the safety of these resources, specifying that things like the Grand Canyon must remain a recreational site, and that owners of river segments can only divert certain amounts of water and can't dump waste.

Environmental groups whining about the necessity of preserving every cesspool with an ecologically balanced mosquito population can put their own money where their mouths are. Companies like Weyerhauser Paper, which harvests trees on its own property at a rate that insures the survival of forests—and thus the company's own long-term profits—can buy government forests. You and I get a tax refund, and revel in the thought of unproductive bureaucrats from the Bureau of Reclamation and the National Park Service finally having to work in the real world with the rest of us—maybe even at lower salaries.

Net cut: A lot more than my Sharp calculator can compute.

Foreign Aid

Bush wants to increase foreign-aid expenditures to $18.2 billion. Of course, this is not enough for "progressive" Democrats, for whom social justice demands a transfer of as much U.S. wealth as possible to every country that a) has pictures of Marx and/or Stalin in its embassy, b) has succeeded through execution and/or starvation in eliminating at least 10% of its population, or c) says lots of nasty things about the U.S.

Professor David Osterfeld of St. Joseph's College points out that between 1950 and 1985 the West sent net private and public capital of over $2 trillion to the Third World. Although these countries are still poor, at least now they have the prestige of owing enough money to keep company with some of America's finest Savings and Loan institutions.

American food aid bankrupts native farmers, American monetary aid props up corrupt centralized governments that cripple native enterprise and barter away their countries' futures. Corrupt rulers in Zimbabwe, Congo, Zaire, Ethiopia, Romania, Iran, the Phillipines, Nicauragua, Mexico, El Salvador, South Korea, and Panama, among others, have all received American assistance in murdering, starving, and impoverishing their people. U.S. welfare—not U.S. capitalism, is stifling democracy.

In my budget, foreign countries get nothing, but we lower trade barriers to their goods, which would make most of them better off than our welfare payments. Instead of giving the U.N. money, we charge them rent. We kick everybody at the World Bank the hell out of their five or ten or however many new buildings they have in Washington this week, and turn them into resort hotels, so as not to break their tradition of leisure and waste. We stop forcing American taxpayers to subsidize and guarantee shaky investment in inefficient socialist economies. Contrary to the patronizing liberal belief that all Third World inhabitants are idiots whose "cultures" prevent them from practicing capitalism, these people are human beings equal to the rest of us. They only need the chance, absent government hindrance and crippling Western aid, to produce for themselves.

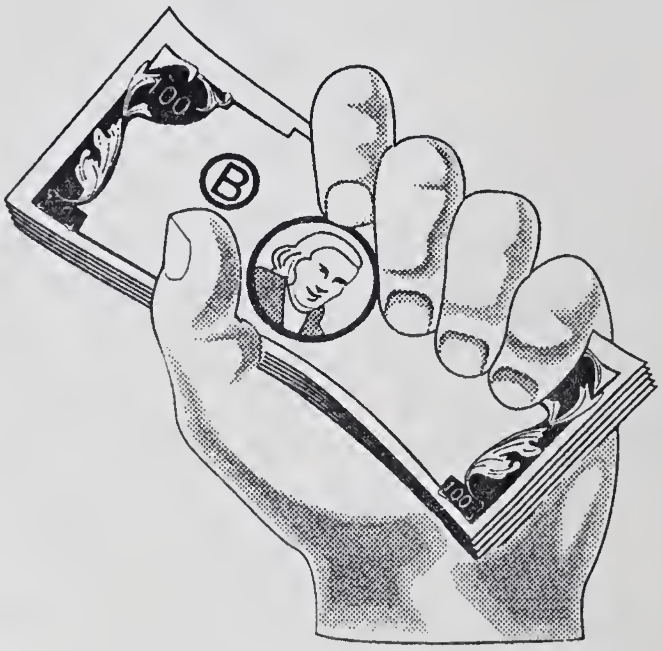
Net cut: $18.2 billion plus revenue from asset sales.

Housing

First, there are *not* three million homeless people in America. This figure, mindlessly spouted in the media, has been disproved in independent studies by the Urban Institute, the U.S. General Accounting Office, and the National Academy of Sciences, all of which place the actual number between 300,000 and 650,000. In addition, the Urban Institute notes that 71 percent of homeless people suffer from mental illness and/or drug and alcohol addition. Greater Housing and Urban Development outlays, which *increased* 60 percent under Reagan, won't help these people. In fact, the federal government is already spending $8,000 per homeless person, which doesn't count private charities.

Barring government interference in the housing market, there is no reason to spend $23 billion a year on housing. In my budget, HUD loses $6 billion for the next four years, until the department is eliminated. Cities with rent control and restrictive zoning laws are put on notice—phase these laws out or lose all federal money and be subject to lawsuits by apartment owners on unconstitutional taking grounds. The stimulus the housing market would receive from a gradual lifting of rent control in major U.S. cities would be tremendous—New York City alone loses an estimated 11,000 units of housing a year because of these obnoxious regulations. I also put government housing stocks up for sale, and money for housing goes directly to the poor as vouchers, which they may spend where they choose.

Net cut: $23 billion over four years.



Space and Science

Bush wants to spend $15.12 billion on a host of boondoggles, including a supercollider, a trip to Mars, and huge satellites to monitor the questionable global overheating first postulated by one of NASA's own scientists. A great deal, if not all of this research can be conducted by private industry, and at a lower cost. There is no reason for American taxpayers to subsidize AT&T satellites, or finance weather information gathering. Researcher Randall Fitzgerald, for example, found that New York City's Sanitation Department uses a private weather information service rather than the government's National Weather Service, because the former is much more accurate and timely. He also points out that after the Reagan Administration directed NASA in 1983 to make its launch vehicles accesible to private companies, NASA officials threatened two of these companies, General Dynamics and Martin Marietta, with a loss of any future NASA contracts if they tried to do so. NASA bureaucrats are convinced they are essential to our survival. Faced with budget cuts in 1981, they warned that cuts would hamper their efforts to detect meteors headed for Earth that "would wipe out the human race."

If we are seeking innovation and development in science and space technology, we should rely on private initiatives, not wasteful government bureaucracy. The Woodlief budget calls for the sale of NASA and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration assets, the privatization of the National Science Foundation, and gradual elimination of one of the most wasteful and environmentally damaging government agencies, the Energy Department.

Net cuts: more than $24 billion.

Defense

The American taxpayer currently funds military bases cleverly camouflaged as vacation resorts near Waikiki Beach in Hawaii, overlooking the San Francisco Bay in California, and outside Salt Lake City, Utah, among others. There are hundreds of outdated U.S. military bases that could be closed and sold to the tune of billions, but in 1977 Jimmy Carter and Congress erected barriers to base closings that requires the Pentagon to prepare lengthy, costly reports when it even considers closing a base, after which politicians whose districts are threatened with a loss of federal dollars can logroll measures through Congress to stop the closings, making Pentagon efforts useless.

Remember $400 hammers and $2,000 bolts? Defense contractors get away with a yearly raping of the American taxpayer because very little competition is required in bidding for Pentagon contracts. According to Randall Fitzgerald, only 5.5 percent of U.S. military procurement contracts in 1984 were advertised, competitive bids. Liberals focus on eliminating weapons systems to cut defense spending, but they should be encouraging open competition among defense suppliers. Of course, competition means capitalism, and we can't have that.

President Bush has proposed a $303.3 billion defense budget, which reflects modest cuts. The Woodlief budget sells at least 200 bases, yielding a very conservative $2 billion in savings beyond Bush's base closings. Along with Bush's 13 weapons program eliminations, I cut the inefficient MX missile for a savings of $2.9 billion, $1.4 billion of which goes for an additional Trident submarine, which is a safer, more effective nuclear deterrent.

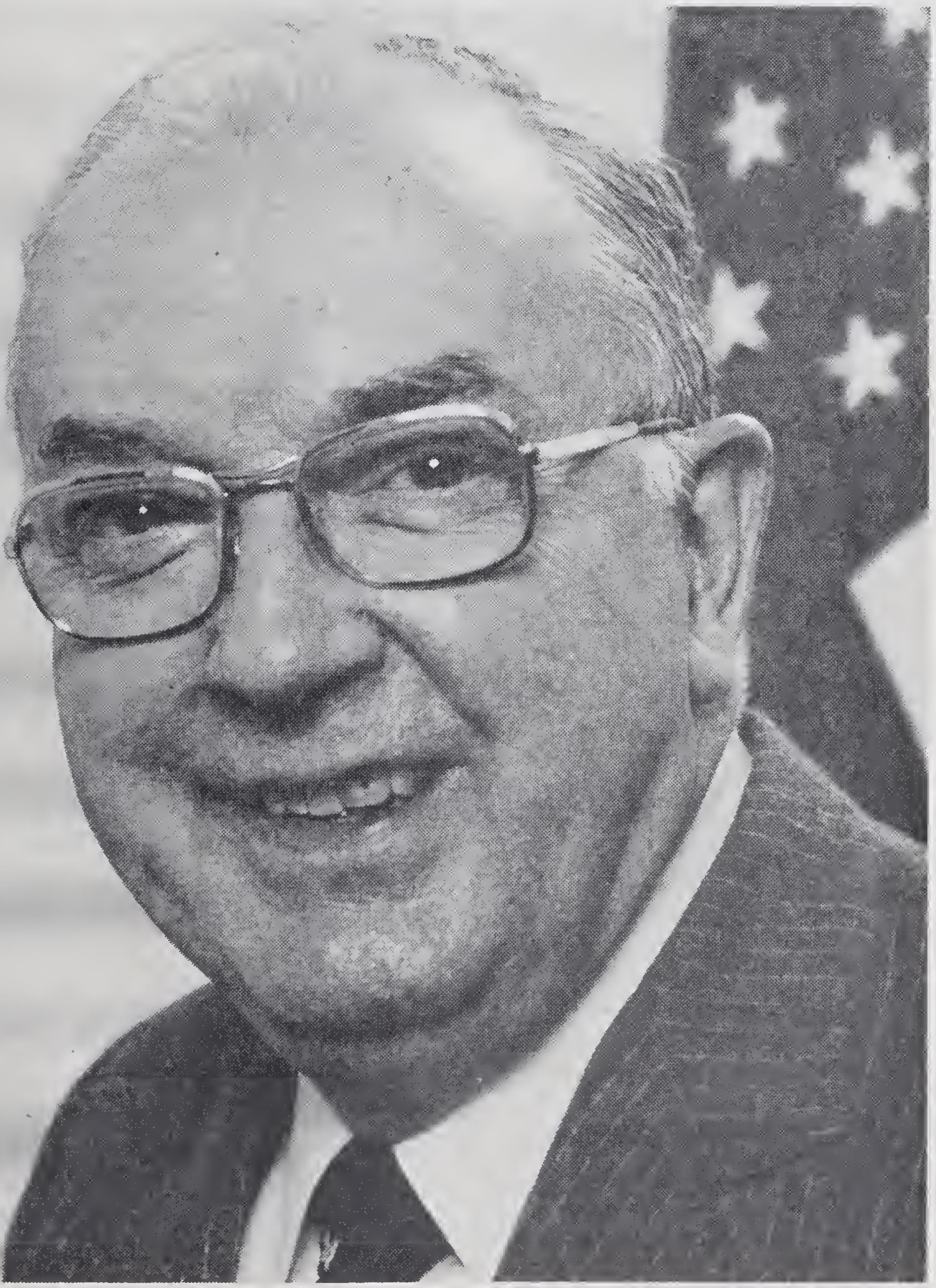
Net cuts: $3 billion immediately, tens of billions more in long run.

Of course, this is only a rough sketch of the damage I would wreak on America's bloated bureaucracy. I haven't even mentioned how I would sell airports, Amtrak, or the evil Postal Monopoly, and how I would privatize the FDIC and FSLIC. I don't have the space to spell out my gripe with a host of parasitic regulatory agencies I would defund.

Frankly, if the founders of this country returned, they'd be pissed. Remember the Declaration of Independence, in which they slammed King George? "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat our their substance." Think about that when you're assessing yourself for the IRS this month, and include a copy of this article with your return. It'll give them something to read during coffee breaks. Ω

Woodlief cannot be held responsible for IRS audits prompted by this article.

An Interview with Senator Jesse Helms



As Senator Jesse Helms gears up to run for a fourth term, he took time out to answer some questions for the CRITIC.

The CRITIC: Several years ago you were quoted as referring to Chapel Hill as a "Zoo" because of its left-wing politics and radical activism. Has you view changed since then?

Senator Helms: The statement was in fact made by the late H. F. (Chub) Seawell, not by me. Mr. Seawell, a highly popular attorney from Carthage, substituted for me occasionally on WRAL-TV's editorial program. Both he and I had our differences with some faculty members at Chapel Hill, and Chub liked to poke fun at them.

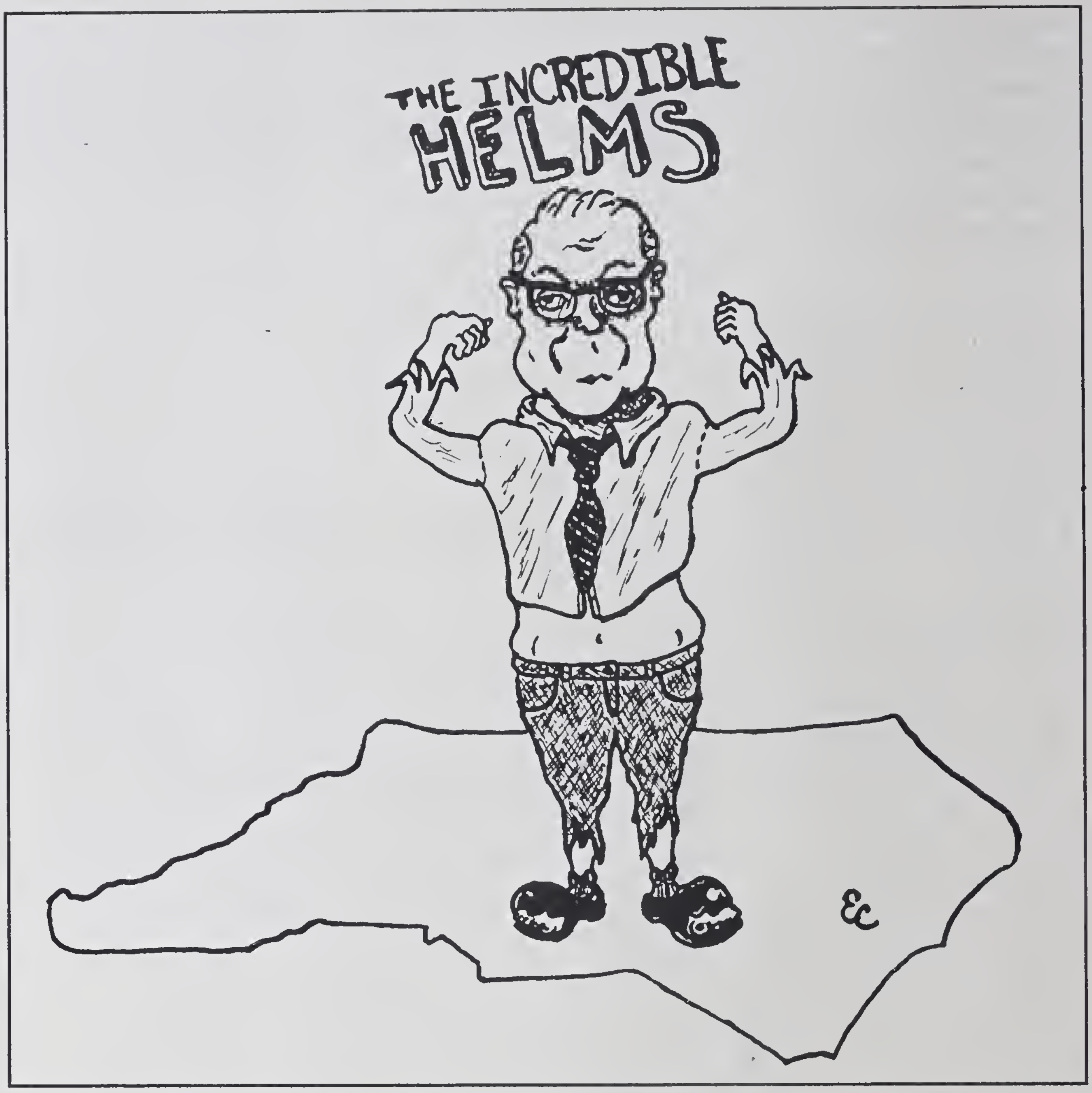
As the Ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, you have been extremely cautious when speaking about the changes in Eastern Europe. Do you believe that we are witnessing the disintegration of the Soviet Empire and the end of Soviet Imperialism: also should we send economic aid to Eastern Europe—perhaps a second Marshall Plan?

The changes in Eastern Europe attest to the universal appeal of the principles Americans hold dear: free enterprise, personal responsibility and a moral society. It was America's commitment to these principles under the Reagan Administration—and the success this commitment brought our nation—which helped spur the fervor of the people in Eastern Europe for freedom and democracy.

The Cold War, however, is not over. Soviet troops remain stationed throughout Eastern Europe and many of the new leaders who have taken over power in these countries are communists with ties to the Soviet leadership. The Soviets continue to provide hundreds of millions of dollars in military assistance to repressive communist regimes in countries such as Angola, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan. The best way for the United States to see the drive for freedom and independence in the countries of Eastern Europe successfully completed is for our foreign policy to be guided by the same principles of free enterprise, personal responsibility, and a moral society. The people of Eastern Europe do not need handouts; they need the freedom to build a system like ours.

Substantial reductions in U.S. military spending now seem inevitable. There has been a great deal of discussion recently about how to spend the so-called peace dividend which will be created by smaller defense budgets. How do you propose using *this money?*

First, a "dividend" implies that one is making a profit. As everyone knows, the United States government is awash in red ink. Any "dividends" must go to reducing the deficit—not creating more monstrous social programs. Second, I wish someone would tell me how we get a "peace dividend" when Mr. Gorbachev is still spending one-fifth of his country's GNP on the military, and his entire armed forces have undergone complete modernization in the past five years.



On February 25, 1990, the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua has promised to hold free elections. In your view what is the likelihood that truly free, and fair elections will take place? Also, if the Communist Government steals the election, as Manuel Noriega did in Panama last year, would you favor using military intervention to restore democracy to Nicaragua?

I do not believe that the Nicaraguan elections in February can possibly be truly fair and free. The conditions for holding free elections do not exist. For all practical purposes Nicaragua is a one-party, Communist state. The Sandinista Communist revolutionaries control the government, the party, the military, the secret police and the system of food rationing. Under such oppressive conditions Nicaraguans would find it difficult to feel that they have freedom to choose. It is a mistake to concentrate on merely the casting of ballots and the counting of votes. Even if the votes were to be counted accurately, which is highly doubtful, there is no psychological freedom.

Now as to military intervention, we should remember that Nicaragua has the largest army in Central America—an army which continues to receive huge shipments of arms from the Soviet Union and Cuba. To overthrow the Communist government through military means would require a massive commitment which I do not favor. The best way to restore democracy in Nicaragua is to renew our support for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters who have demonstrated their willingness to liberate their country *without* U.S. involvement—if we will only give them the means to do so.

Regarding the invasion of Panama, you have publicly supported the action, and opinion polls show that the vast majority of Americans agree with your position. Would it not have been easier and more humane, however, to have acted when the indictment was first handed down? As Fred Barnes, of the New Republic, *has suggested, the U.S. could have simply used a commando unit to grab Noriega last year. Such an action would have spared the lives of dozens of American soldiers and hundreds of Panamanians. Would you have favored such an action?*

I did, in fact, favor it at the time the U.S. Marshals proposed that they be authorized to do it. It didn't happen. In any event, once the indictment against Noriega was handed down we had a number of legitimate options under international law to seize Noriega and bring him to the United States. These included arrest by U.S. Marshals, which I have mentioned, action by Special Forces, support for the opposition parties and support for Panamanians seeking to overthrow Noriega through military action.

I advocated such solutions in discussions with the Administration, both publicly and privately. However, after our government failed to support the attempted coup in October, it became clear that the only option left was military force, an option strongly supported by the Panamanians. The President's action was prudent, proper and complete.

This brings us to a question about the CIA. Congress has passed several pieces of legislation which severely restrict the ability of the agency to engage in covert actions. Given the need to act in situations like the one in Panama, would you favor loosening those restrictions?

Under the Constitution of the United States, the President has the authority to conduct foreign policy. The Congress, except for a declaration of war, has only the power to withhold funds. I believe that the President has the authority to conduct whatever operations he deems necessary with regard to foreign policy *unless* restrictions have been imposed on his spending. Congress has the right to advise and to criticize, but under our Constitution's system the President should be left the greatest freedom to take whatever steps are necessary.

The "War on Drugs" has dominated the domestic and foreign policy agendas for the past year. During that time, several politicians, policy analysts, government officials and writers, have advocated legalizing drugs as the most effective means to combat drug related violence and finance education programs. Do you believe it is time to open a national debate over the legalization question?

Absolutely not! I am not about to condone the distribution of this poison to our children. This is not the same debate that occurred during prohibition. Cocaine, crack, and heroin can in no way be compared to alcohol.

I'll tell you why: the addictive effect of "crack" is immediate and inescapable. One-third to one-half of the people who use cocaine become addicted.

Use of these drugs causes paranoia and violence. In New York City, 75 percent of children beaten to death are killed by parents addicted to cocaine. Bill Bennett is right, the U.S. government should never be in the position of legalizing death on the installment plan.

'They use their very failure as justification for asking for more and more money.'

In 1988, Ronald Reagan called for an end to farm subsidies world-wide. Do you support this position, and if so, how would a phasing out of agricultural subsidies affect the tobacco programs?

I certainly support an end to farm subsidies world-wide. The free enterprise system made America great, and it will work for U.S. agriculture. If the rest of the world agreed to eliminate farm subsidies, I am confident the American farmer would re-assert themselves as the greatest provider of food to the world.

As for tobacco, it would not be affected by elimination of agricultural subsidies because there is no subsidy of tobacco. The Tobacco Program is a "No Net Cost" program—by law it cannot and does not cost the taxpayer money, contrary to false and constant reports by some of the media.

George Bush entered office with a promise to become the "education president." In your view is he succeeding? Also, do you agree with those who are calling for more federal assistance and increased federal guidance in the public school?

Let me go on record again as being opposed to the ever increasing involvement of the federal government in the public schools. Since the passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, there has been a constant increase in federal regulation and control of our schools, and bureaucratic meddling. Not surprisingly, there has been a corresponding decline in pupil achievement scores. Today there are about 130 separate federal education programs, every one of them having its own red tape.

Over the years, federally-funded programs have increasingly interposed themselves between parents and their traditional responsibilities toward their children. The schools now have more say than parents over countless matters as diverse as sex education and career counseling, and in between.

What we need to do in education is get back to basics—get back to educating children in history, reading, writing, and arithmetic. We need to get away from the current emphasis on socializing children by teaching them some educrat's idea of "proper" attitudes and behaviors towards sex, sexuality, politics, and religion. That's the parents' job, not the school's. Of course, this will never happen unless and until we restore parental control over the local schools.

President Bush recently made several good proposals in his "Excellence in Education" bill—alternative certification of teachers and choice in schools being the most notable. However, the liberals in the powerful teachers' lobby once again are opposing the President's initiatives—just as they have opposed every attempt to reform and improve the schools since President Reagan was elected in 1980.

The teachers' response to the problems in public schools has always been (1) more money for teachers and (2) insulating the schools from "political"—meaning parental—influence. They use their very failure as justification for asking for more and more money. The worse it gets the more money they demand. Their latest proposal is to create national certification standards for teachers. In practical terms, this would mean that a competent retired scientist with a doctorate in math could not teach high school unless he or she first goes back to college to learn the education establishment's latest fad in teaching theory, methodology, and child development.

President Bush's alternative certification proposal, on the other hand, would allow such competent and capable retirees, and other gifted individuals, to begin teaching immediately. If the teachers unions would give the President's initiatives a chance, we might finally succeed in beginning to reverse the decline of the public schools.

As you go to the voters of North Carolina to ask for their support one question will continue to be asked: "What does Jesse Helms hope to accomplish during the next six years?" Do *you have a specific agenda?*

I don't know that it can be called an "agenda" but I will continue to fight for a balanced federal budget, a cut in federal spending, a strong national defense, better relations with our South American neighbors, less regulation of the lives of all Americans and allowing the free enterprise system, which has made this country great, to work. But these are only a few of the many things I would like to see accomplished.

Could you please explain the principle behind your argument that "obscene" art should not be funded with taxpayer dollars?

Let me first set the record straight that my legislation did not propose to "censor" anyone. Censorship is the preemption of publication or production. Under my amendment, "artists" would be free to create, exhibit, or sell anything they want—*in the private sector.* What they would *not* have been able to do is take pornographic materials, depicting disgustingly perverted sexual and excretory acts to the federal government, pretend that it is "art," and demand that they be rewarded with taxpayers' dollars.

> 'Thanks to the liberal news media, anybody nominated on the democratic ticket will get up to 45 percent of the vote—"off the top."'

Much of the major news media flatly refused to let the American people understand what I was talking about. I was protesting (and I still am) so-called "art" that is so sick the mind cannot imagine it. I am not talking about the photos of flowers. Self-proclaimed "artists" were rewarded with your tax dollars for producing, for example, pictures of homosexual men kissing each other, exposing their genitals, photographing nude children. There are numerous pictures (from a federally funded exhibit) that not one publication in the country has dared to print, and no television would show them for fear the government would revoke their broadcast licenses.

The American people need to understand that we become part of what we condone. Surely history has made that clear from the time of Sodom and Gomorrah.

The majority of Americans are decent, moral people. They resent the federal government's taxing them to promote so-called "art" that chronicles and endorses the perverted, sadomasochistic activities and lifestyles of homosexual activists.

Looking back on your career in government, what do you believe were your greatest accomplishments?

Your question invites a pompous and self-serving answer, and I'm not going to give you one. About the best I can say for myself is that I work hard, I have what I believe to be the finest staff of dedicated young people helping me, and that I have never ducked a difficult issue, regardless of the political consequences. I hope that it can be said that I have always leveled with the people. I have done my best to protect and defend the principles established by our Founding Fathers—principles that deserve to survive.

To be sure, I have not always won, but I have always tried. I have done this without once compromising those principles. There are many pieces of legislation which I was able to push, or help push, through Congress, but maintaining a set of principles should be the Number One priority of anyone in public life.

What was your greatest disappointment?

I have been disappointed that the Congress has refused to carry out its responsibility in fiscal matters—the excessive spending of the taxpayers' money, the creation of a federal debt so enormous that it is certain to be a terrible burden for generations to come. Some liberal politicians and news media try to put the blame on the President. Just remember that no President can spend one dime that has not been authorized and appropriated by Congress. The U.S. Constitution is very clear on that.

Regarding your up-coming Senate race, who among the field of potential opponents, would you consider your most formidable adversary? Why?

All of them. Any of them. Thanks to the liberal news media, anybody nominated on the democratic ticket will get up to 45 percent of the vote—"off the top." (You might want to examine the margins of victory in North Carolina's U.S. Senate races since 1972.) Ω

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every Tuesday at 7:30 pm
on the 2nd floor of Bingham Hall
Drop on by—you'll be glad you did.

Bork Book Review

(continued from page 14)

Particularly entertaining is Bork's analysis of radical constitutional revisionists, who find all kinds of unexpected rights in the Constitution: the right to a welfare payment, the right to smoke pot, etc. While some of these things may make good policy, it is hard to find them in the Bill of Rights. Of course, some do not even try. For example, Professor Mark Tushnet of Georgetown law school describes his approach to constitutional law as "make an explicitly political judgment: which result is, in the circumstances [of a given case], likely to advance the cause of socialism? Having decided that, I would write an opinion in some currently favored version of Grand Theory."

Just substitute any moral philosophy in place of "socialism" and you will come up with the rationale advanced by constitutional revisionists. They would rather promote their own moral theories than interpret the Constitution, so they try to force those theories somewhere into the language of the document. When Justice Blackmun searched for a constitutional right to an abortion in the *Roe v. Wade* decision, he said that since the Constitution prevented unreasonable searches, violations of free speech, and quartering troops in private homes, then it must also protect the right to an abortion. Whatever one may think of the desirability of legalized abortion, one must wonder who elected Blackmun supreme moral arbiter of the land.

The last third of the book is devoted to the Bork confirmation battle itself. This section is fascinating regardless of what one might think of Bork's doctrines or court decisions. There is documentation here of intentional distortion of Bork's record as a federal judge and of articles he had written for law reviews. Ted Kennedy's famous description of "Robert Bork's America" pales next to some of the outrageous things said about Bork by other Senators, of both parties. Suffice it to say that Bork's record as a judge was given short shrift in the attempt to thwart a post-Iran/Contra Reagan appointee. Antonin Scalia, who sat on the D.C. Circuit with Bork for several years before being elevated to the Supreme Court, was confirmed by the Senate unanimously although he voted with Bork 98% of the time. Indeed, Bork's court opinions were nearly always upheld by the Supreme Court, with the first reversal coming near the end of his tenure on the bench.

Read this book if you followed the Bork confirmation hearings. It may well change your opinion about some members of the Senate. Also read this book if you care about how the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution. Even if you disagree with Bork, his book may be the most thorough examination of these issues ever written for the layman. Ω

David Hood is a second year law student from Charlotte.

Mobil Oil

(continued from page 19)

domestic sources have been declining while demand continues to rise. Consequently, something must be done to strike a balance between the supply and demand. Currently, there are three options: 1) locate new domestic reserves; 2) import more petroleum from unreliable Middle Eastern suppliers; or 3) allow the price of petroleum to skyrocket, decreasing consumer demand. Each of these has major benefits and drawbacks, but exploration is clearly the most palatable.

The U.S. must develop resources before the next energy shortage develops. Offshore reserves are the only major untapped oil resources in America today. An immediate search for oil is strategically and economically critical to the U.S., since drilling occurs only three to eight years after exploration. But if the folks at Greenpeace have their way, we may never know. Quite simply, we can't afford to find out five years from now we started looking for oil five years too late.

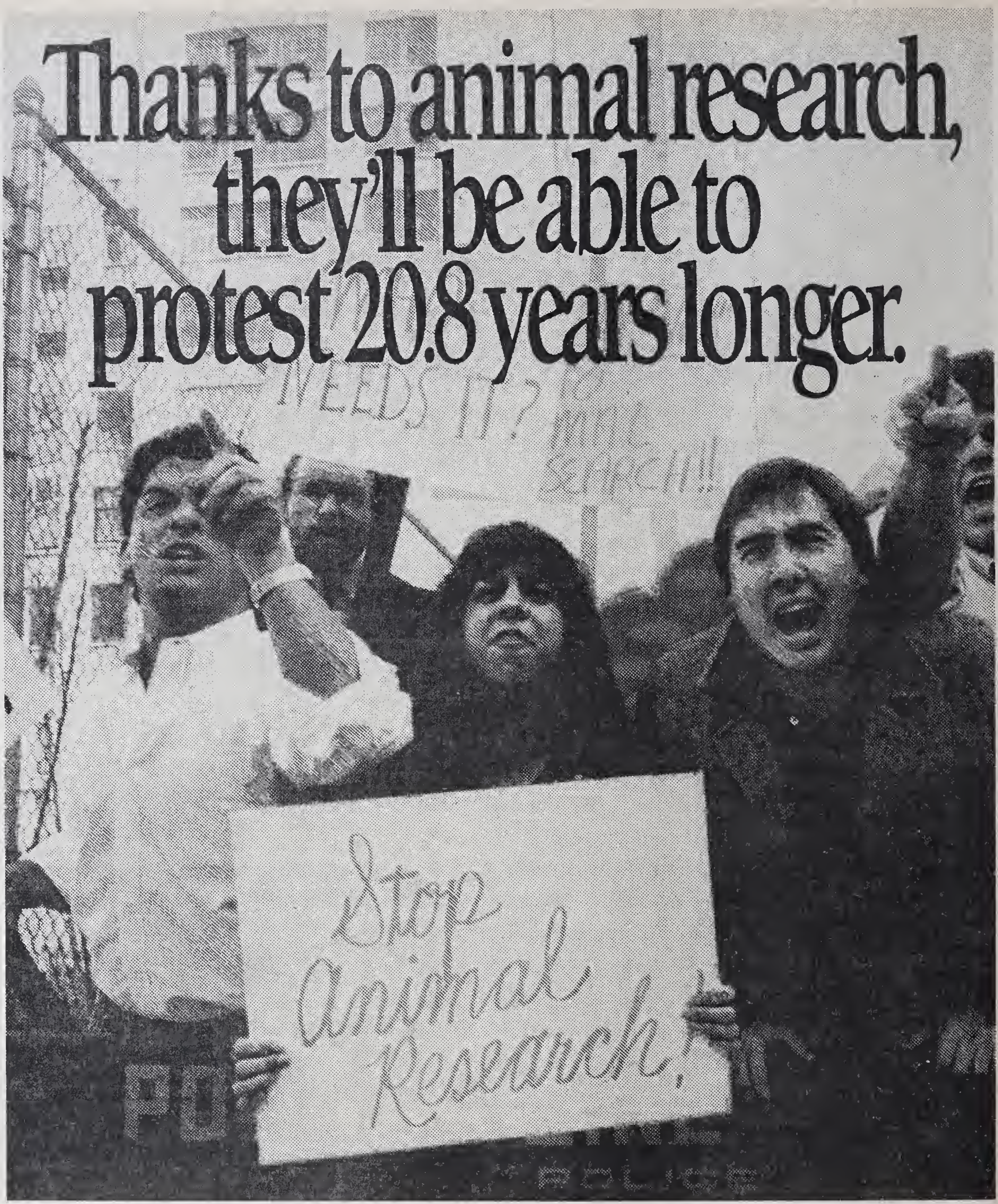
Environmentalists at Greenpeace claim the solution to increased demand lies in alternative energy resources and increased "weatherization" of homes. However, their rhetoric once again liquidates their argument. To "weatherize" homes would require increased production of plastic, polyethylene, and other petroleum-based compounds. Further, Greenpeace opposes coal and nuclear power and has indicted use of hydroelectric and geothermal energy as harmful to the environment. Some have even attacked solar energy, claiming large solar cells negate the "pristine beauty" of the environment. One wonders if these people mourn the loss of every tree that is processed into paper to print their ridiculous policy statements.

Citing the *Exxon Valdez* spill as an argument against offshore exploration is the most perplexing example of Greenpeace illogic. Major oil spills will occur more frequently without offshore exploration, since tanker traffic will spiral upward as the U.S. imports more oil. Even television personality, environmentalist, and oceanic guru Jacques-Yves Cousteau has said, "A lot more damage has been done by transportation of oil than by offshore oil drilling." Don't waste time trying to understand the logic of Greenpeace's position—it's like reading *Playboy* with your girlfriend turning the pages.

Cousteau has also stated that offshore oil-drilling is "feasible [and] protection of the environment can be dealt with." Due to market demand, major corporations are investigating alternative energy sources—witness General Motors' electric car prototype. The free market has also given corporations real incentives to protect the environment as they drill. Since the consumer is boss in the U.S. economy, Exxon could sponsor every PBS nature program without erasing the memory of the *Valdez* spill. Every endeavor, whether crossing the street or exploring for natural gas, possesses some level of risk. There are some acceptable risks and the opportunity to refine five trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 12.3 billion barrels of oil is one of them. Continued research and development is necessary for American economic independence and can be accomplished safely.

Greenpeace members hearken back to the Romantic movement of the early 19th century. Naive and idealistic, they long for a return to a petroleum free, pre-industrial pastoral life. For those of us that don't want to be shepherds, however, energy will power us into the 21st century. Ω

Charlton is a freshman from Wilmington who was recently seen installing an oil rig at the Old Well.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APRIL 1990

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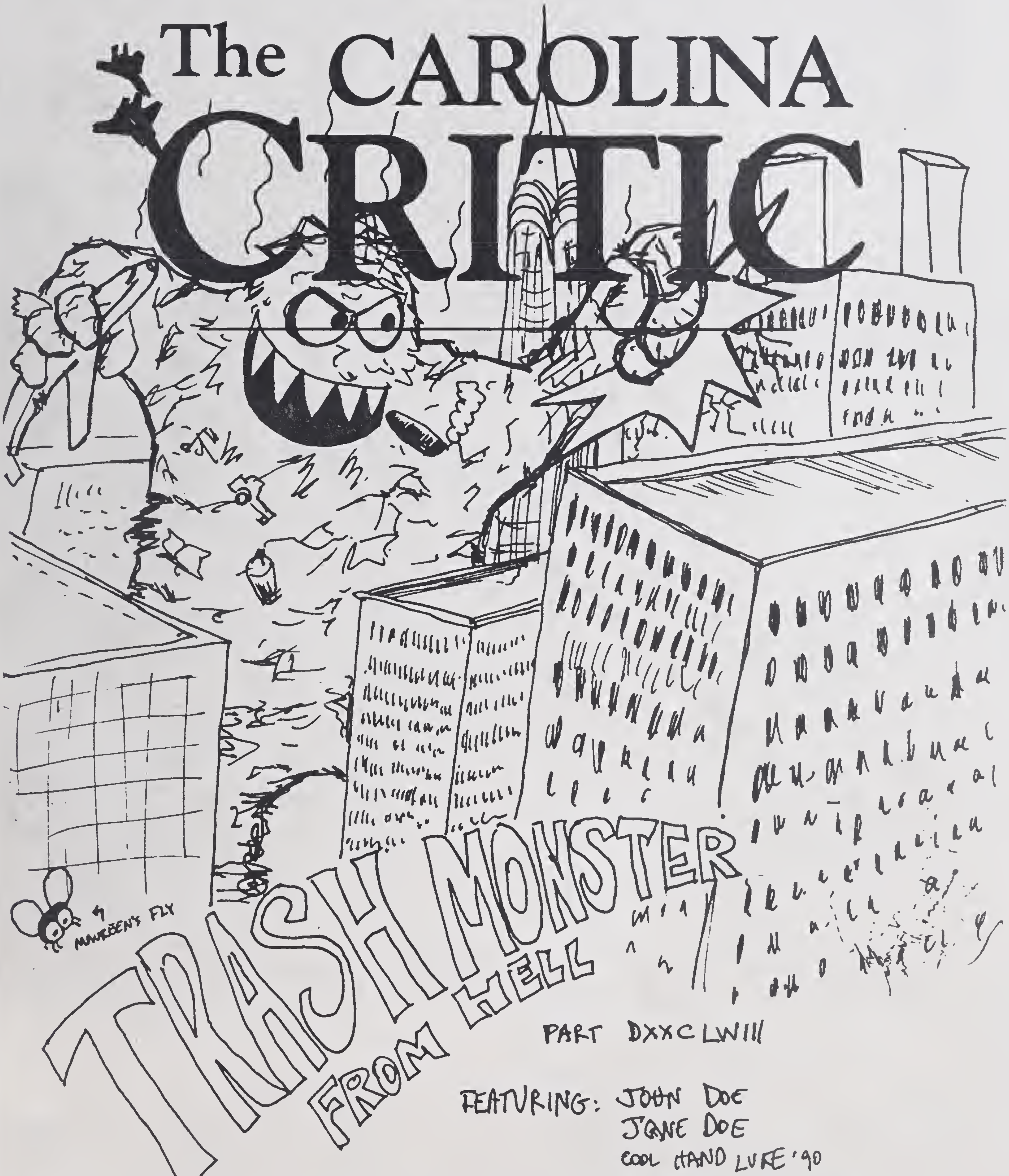
MAUREEN'S FLY
TRASH MONSTER FROM HELL
PART DXXCLWIII
FEATURING: JOHN DOE
JANE DOE
COOL HAND LUKE '90

Is America's Trash Problem Worse Than a B-Movie?

The CAROLINA CRITIC

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and art are welcome, but please don't send any more copies of the Rob Lowe videotape. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. Editors are responsible for the content of the Critical Eye. The Critical Eye is watching you.

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IN THIS ISSUE

3 **Correspondence**

4 **The Critical Eye**
Former Presidents, Committing Marxists, an
Nighttime Quackery...
Aphorisms
Critic Almanac

10 **Straight Talk:** *An Interview with Ed Meese*
Sharon Sentelle asks the former Attorne
General about the Reagan years.

12 **The World Stage:** *Rumania*
Despite a revolution, Grant Thompson show
that the communist beast has grown a ne
head.

14 **The National Truss:** *Labeling Records*
Elliot Fus doesn't want stickers all over hi
records.

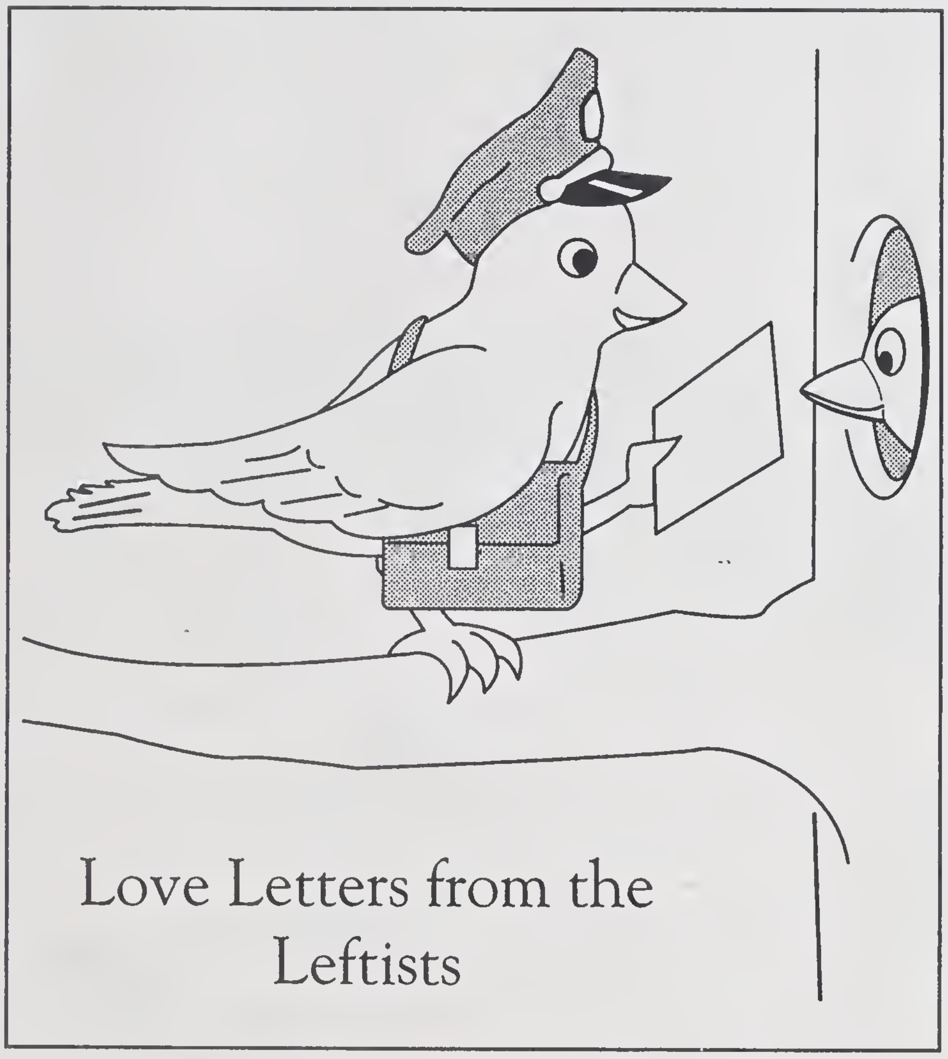
16 **Essay:** *Multiculturalism*
History should not be rewritten just to offer
smorgasbord of views, says Maureen Kelley

18 **Another Green World:** *Recycling*
The time has come to reuse our boxes, bottles
and cans, but what is the best way to do it?

20 **The National Truss:** *Crying "Racism"*
White America is satiated, and may ignore th
racial problems that still exist.

21 **In the Zoo:** *The Drug Conference*
Andrew Cohen attended UNC's legalizatio
conference and found answers to all the wron
questions.

Musings, etc.


Love Letters from the Leftists

To the Editor,

I am writing in response to your harsh mention of the Coalition for Student Action (CSA). (ed.—"The Critical Eye," February 1990). Although I do not intend to change your mind about us, a "new group of radical loonies," I would like to clear up some misunderstandings.

Members of the CSA requested funds from Student Congress to help start our work to facilitate communication and joint action among student groups concerned with social issues (local or global). Unfortunately, Student Congress voted against this proposal (9-7).

To help clarify our position as non-partisan and open to any interested group, we mentioned the Carolina Critic (among many others), as having been contacted in hopes of receiving support. Unlike several other organizations, the Critic did NOT "express interest" (as has been misinterpreted), although we welcome and encourage varying opinions and perspectives.

You may perceive us as "geniuses" (read idiots), and that is your choice. However, the time has come to strengthen student movements through unity and diversity and we are beginning to do just that...

Sincerely,
Dalya Massachi

We once again find ourselves in disagreement with Ms. Massachi. While she and her group may not have intended to suggest that the Critic had expressed interest in her organization, many members of Student Congress certainly got that impression from CSA's testimony. In any case, Ms. Massachi's goal of strengthening student movements through unity and diversity just doesn't sound all that appealing to us. Providing left-wing ideologues a more efficent means of pursuing their ends does not strike us as useful. Nothing personal, but we hope they fail.—ed.

To the Editor,

From 1920 to 1933 we had the great experiment, a federal law that prohibited making or selling alcohol liquors. Every time I hear, read, or see anything about prohibition, it is called a great failure (cf. "The ABCs of Liquor Sales" February 1990). The sad fact was our government failed us by listening to the people that had millions and desired more regardless of the harm it would do our citizens. The state governments went along without knowing or caring if legalizing alcohol would cost far more than they would receive in taxes.

The main selling point they used was that we had booze that was made and sold by gangsters who do not pay taxes. If the states took over the controls, they reasoned, the profit would go to the people. Good people that never expected to use alcohol believed them and voted accordingly. What they did not expect was that for every illegal drinker they would now have thousands of problems which would affect their families and friends.

No one ever thought the cost for selling alcohol would reach into their life by making their children and grandchildren hopeless alcoholics. Later they discovered that even without taking a drop of whiskey they were putting their lives in danger by drinkers on the highway, by doctors who were not sober, and airline pilots who were drunk in the cockpit.

The profit we now gain from the sale of alcohol is a small percentage of what it costs us to furnish alcohol to our citizens. Our loss is now over $3 million a year and still rising. Our only hope to turn this loss around is to sell less.

We can do this by educating our children and adults, and by having more alcohol and drug free homes. This is an investment for our children's future.

Jack Clemmer, Chapel Hill

THE CRITICAL

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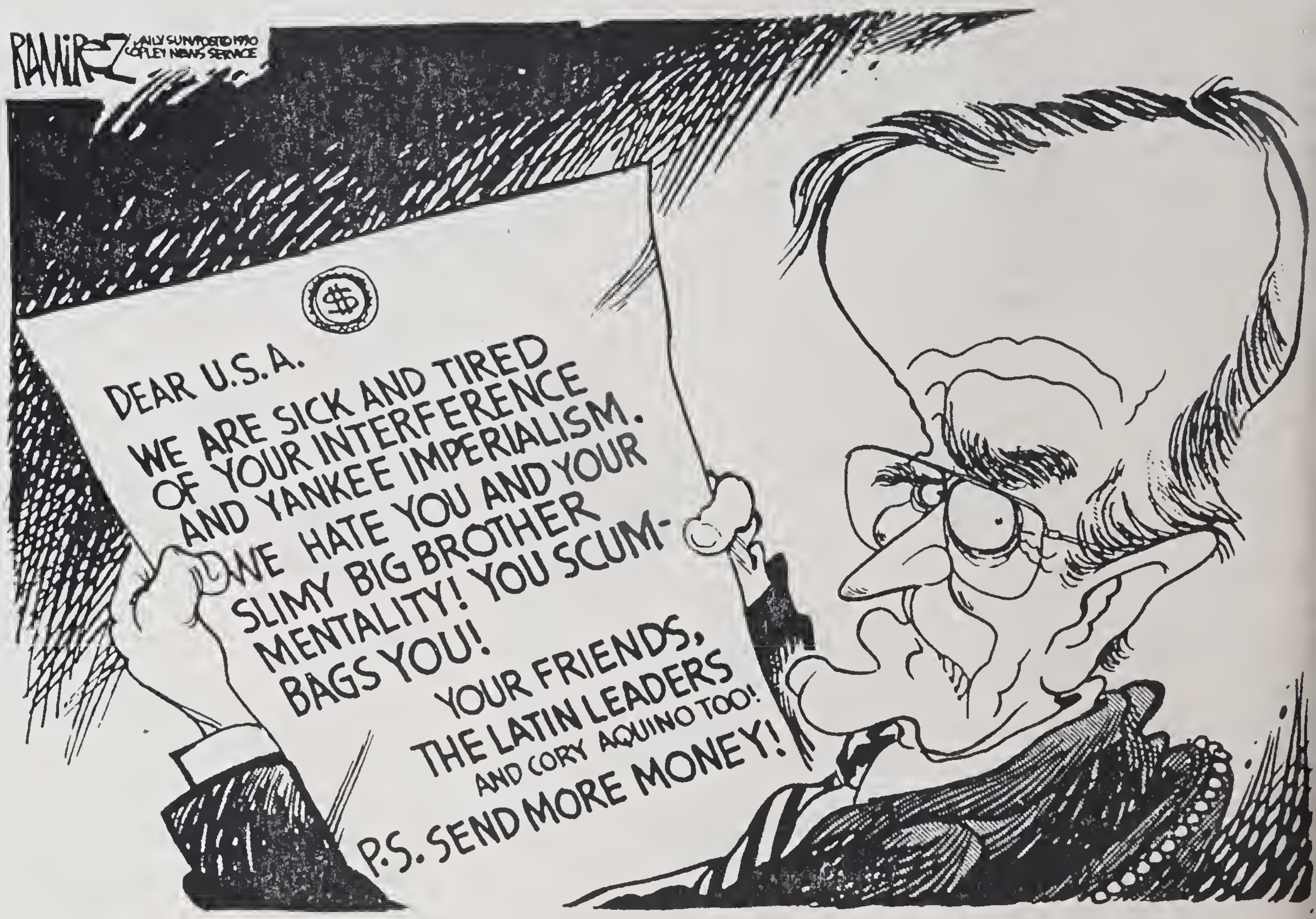
The Power, the Passion, and the Glory.


RAMIREZ
DAILY SUN/POST©1990
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE
DEAR U.S.A.
WE ARE SICK AND TIRED OF YOUR INTERFERENCE AND YANKEE IMPERIALISM. WE HATE YOU AND YOUR SLIMY BIG BROTHER MENTALITY! YOU SCUM-BAGS YOU!
YOUR FRIENDS, THE LATIN LEADERS
AND CORY AQUINO TOO!
P.S. SEND MORE MONEY!

➢Members of America's most exclusive organization, the ex-President's Club, have become heroes for the rest of the world. Jimmy Carter became an official Nicaraguan election watcher. Ronald Reagan is a hero in East Germany where a newly formed party wants a speech from the Gipper. Now rumor has it that Chrysler wants Gerald Ford to become their official crash-test dummy. Membership has its privileges.

➢For what has become at least a five year trend, cocaine production in South America has gone up, while U.S. consumption has declined. Translated, this means that while the blow grows, the noses say "No."

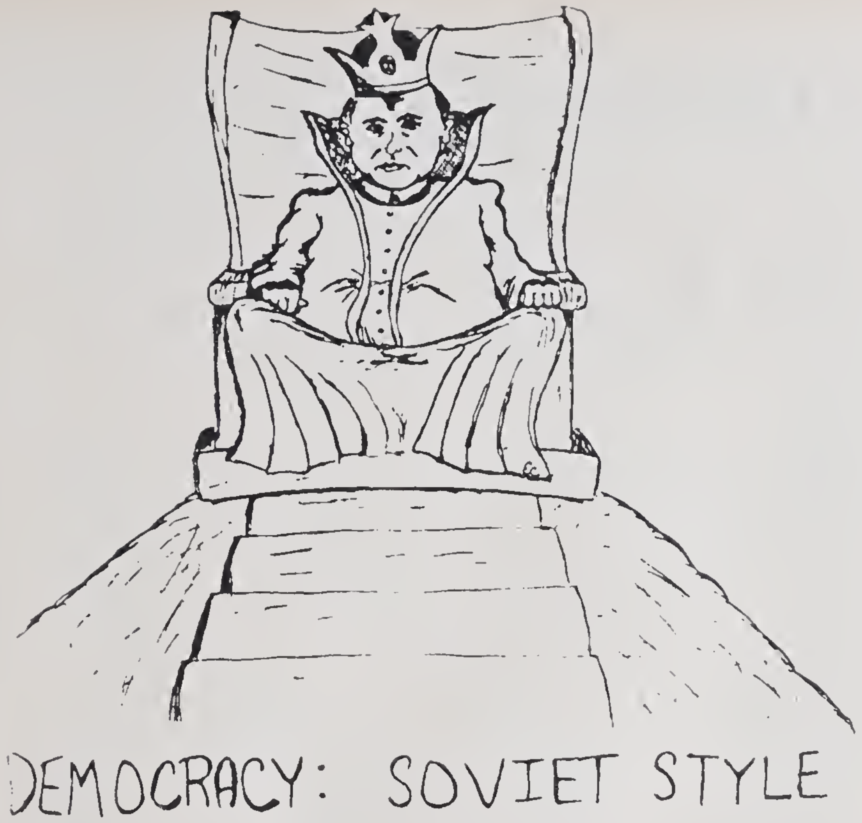
➢The Mexican government recently announced plans to sell the nation's two leading steel companies to private bidders. The government has already privatized two international airlines, two copper-mining companies, parts of the state food distributor, their largest insurance company, and the telephone company. Hopefully the proximity of this free-market giant will provide encouragement for dismantling cumbersome U.S. entities such as Amtrak.

➢Chapel Hill was recently rated by *Self* magazine as one of the ten best places in the country to exercise. Maybe so, but when did liberal jawboning lose its identity as a "pointless waste of oxygen" and become a "healthy alternative to sex."

➢So Student Congress Speaker Gene Davis was up on ethics charges. He was accused of the weighty charge of negligence because he stopped scheduling meetings. In a related story, the United Nations announced it was dropping charges of human rights abuse against Student Congress because Gene Davis stopped scheduling meetings.

➢State basketball coach Jim Valvano is in the headlines again. His players may have been paid to shave points during 4 games in the 1987-88 season. There must have been some confusion, however, when someone ended up shaving points off Chris Washburn's SAT score instead. With his academic record now corrected, Washburn's Rhodes nomination should be forthcoming.

➢Zdenek Safar, professor of Marxist-Leninist philosophy at



Charles University in Prague, Czechoslovakia said recently, "I think I'll start my own business. Now it will be possible to make even more money in Czechoslovakia than in Austria." That's right, to hell with communist ideology, these guys want Porsches. As the professor himself said, "The times are changing."

➢Ethiopia's dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam recently announced that his famine ravaged peasants will be allowed to own the land they till. Following this partial demolition of African communism, the Critic staff awaits the tour dates for Live Aid II, a reunion of Western rock stars singing the praises of free markets and privitization. "We own the world, we are the farmers..."

➢Was Homer a black man? As unlikely as this may seem, there is growing support for this thesis among black historians. True or not, the debate suggests two rather important points. First, it really doesn't matter what color the Greeks or Egyptians were, we study them for their ideas. Second, if many of the ancients were indeed black, all the silly arguments about Western Civ being ethnocentric can finally be put to rest.

➢Overheard at the White House by a *National Review* staffer: 'We've got to get the right spin on these changing paradigms."

➢It's springtime and psychobabble fills the air. Author John Naisbitt, in his latest new-age bestseller, *Megatrends 2000*, writes, "By identifying the forces pushing the future, rather than hose that have contained the past, you possess the power to engage your reality." It might work, but every time we tried to engage our realities, we sacrificed our rental security deposit.

➢During his seven year stint in prison under the Somoza egime, Daniel Ortega amused himself by writing poetry. Not ll of it was about the glories of Marxism, however. Ortega, ever he populist, bemoaned that he was missing the mini-skirt craze hat was sweeping Managua. If you wish to ease the poetic nguish of the recently deposed dictator, send your new or lightly worn mini-skirts to: Danny Ortega, c/o The Nicaraguan mbassy, Washington, D.C. 20038.

APHORISMS

I would not like to be a political leader in Russia. They never know when they are being taped.

—Richard Nixon

The function of socialism is to raise suffering to a higher level.

—Norman Mailer

The hardest thing in the world to understand is the income tax.

—Albert Einstein

Sex is one of the nine reasons for reincarnation. The other eight aren't important.

—Henry Miller

Some circumstantial evidence is very strong, as when you find a trout in the milk.

—Henry David Thoreau

Every country has peasants—ours have money.

—Gloria Steinem

There is nothing wrong with sobriety in moderation.

—John Ciardi

I'm not smart enough to lie.

—Ronald Reagan

➢The entire transcript of a nightly television news broadcast contains the same amount of text as one and a half columns in the *New York Times*.

➢Not even the U.S. government is paying taxes these days. A recently released Internal Revenue Service list of delinquent taxpayers owing over $100 million included at least two federal agencies, one of which owed $250 million. It looks like even the bureaucrats are starting to realize their services just aren't worth paying for.

➢Speaking of evil tax collectors, The *Wall Street Journal*

Why the Laser Printers Won't Print

There are some things one can simply take for granted in this life. Final exams always arrive two weeks before you are ready, the girl you were going to spend the rest of your life with last year is now simply called "the wench," and you can be sure that when something is payed for by taxes, there will never be enough of it to go around. That is just what has happened with welfare, social security and yes, the campus laser printers.

Since early this year the Microcomputer Support Center (MSC) has been warning about the coming laser crisis. Well, the crisis has arrived. As of this writing the printers in the Undergraduate Library and the Health Sciences Library are already inoperable. The University is rapidly running out of toner cartridges.

Naturally, the MSC blames the printer crisis on the ubiquitous state budget cuts. Signs reading, "Want To Complain About the Budget Cuts? Call the Office of the Provost" may be found in almost any computer lab. The demons in Raleigh are guilty, and most of the University community is more than willing to lay the blame for our problems squarely at their feet. But is the General Assembly really at fault?

Even though we are a publicly funded institution, we are not helpless in this regard. No matter how deep the pockets of our state legislature, there will never be enough money to fund every project that comes along. If we hope to have enough operating laser printers to be able to serve the needs of the student body, we must find an alternative source of funds. We must (gasp!) begin to charge students to use the machines.

How much are we talking here? Well, a toner cartridge will print approximately 3000 pages before it runs dry. It costs less than $100 to replace it. At ten cents per page, a *users fee* would not only pay for the cost of the toner, but would cover the cost of paper and administrative expenses as well.

Of course the MSC is understandably concerned about how to implement such a system. Magnetic cards like those used on the copy machines do not work well with the computer systems. A better solution would be to sell "printer punch cards" which work something like bus passes. Each time a student prints out a page, the computer lab assistant would puch out one of the remaining copy credits. When the card is used up, the student could trek down to Manning Hall and purchase another one.

By adopting this type of pay-as-you-go system, the students would never again be confronted by the unpalatable prospect that they might not have anywhere to print their last paper, and the folks at the MSC would finally stop bitching about the budget cuts. That's a whole lot of satisfaction for a dime.

—Bob Lukefahr

reports that about 40 IRS informants are accountants. Restaurant owner Steve Noles discovered this the hard way when his accountant, secret IRS informant James Checksfield, gave enough evidence to the IRS to send Noles to prison for 24 years and cost him $900,000 if convicted. What's the world coming to if you can't find a good accountant to help you cheat on your taxes?

➢The Postal Service is at it again. On December 4, 1989 the *Brown Spectator*, a magazine at Brown University, sent a last minute grant request to the Institute for Educational Affairs. Concerned about missing the deadline, the young journalists naively sent the request by Express Mail. Naturally, postal workers expressed it there as fast as their little mule carts would take them. It arrived February 26, 1990. The U.S. Postal Service: When it absolutely positively has to be there before the end of time.

➢Poor Fidel. With the defeat of Daniel Ortega, Castro may be the last committed Marxist in Latin America. Don't get us wrong though, some of our best friends are committed Marxists. In fact, we think all Marxists should be committed.

➢In an effort to support themselves, many homeless people in New York are selling copies of a pulp magazine, *Street*

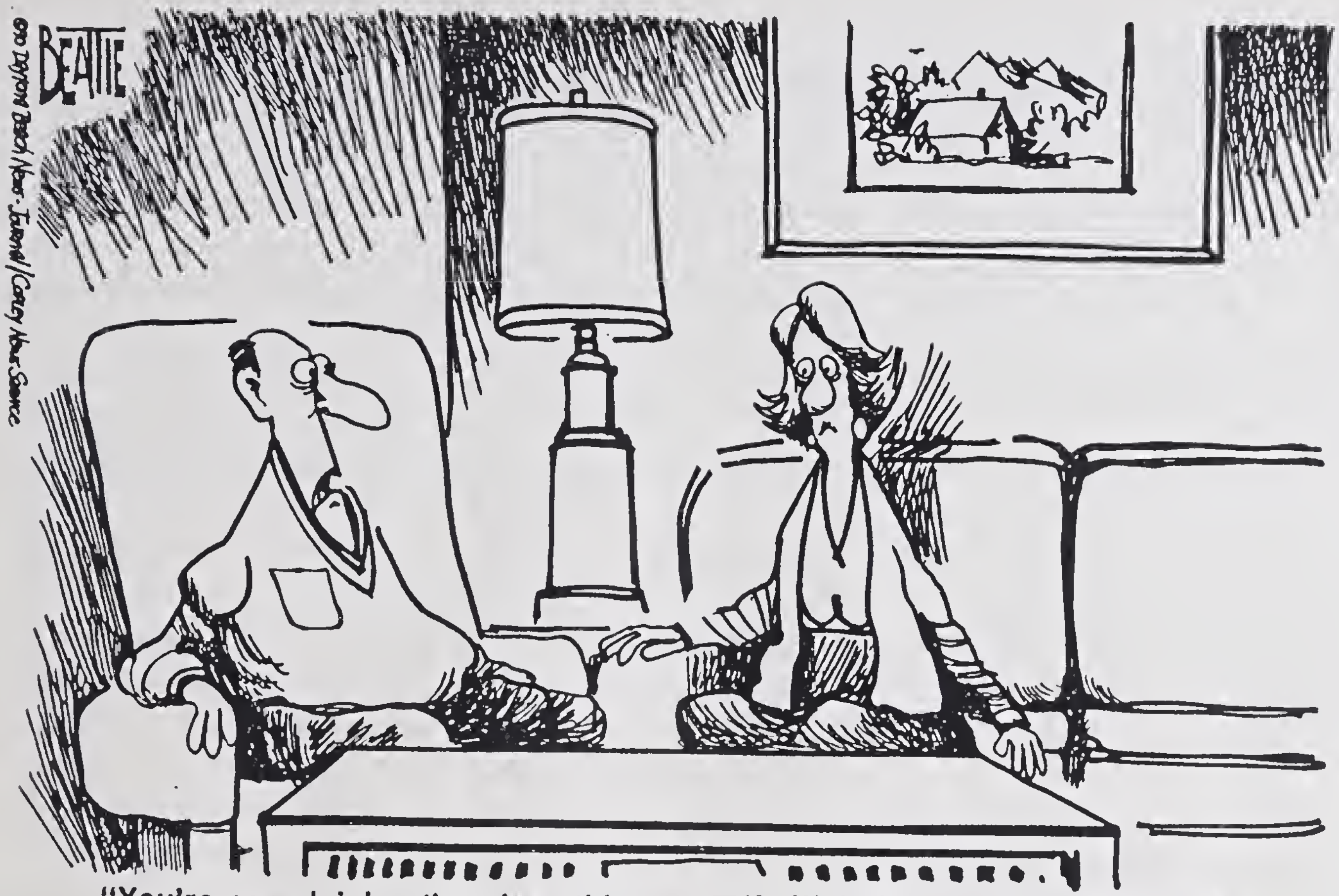
Things That Go "Quack" in the Night

From a recent memo sent by National Convenience Stores, a Houston-based retail chain, to all of its store managers. This appeared in the March, 1990 issue of Harper's Magazine.

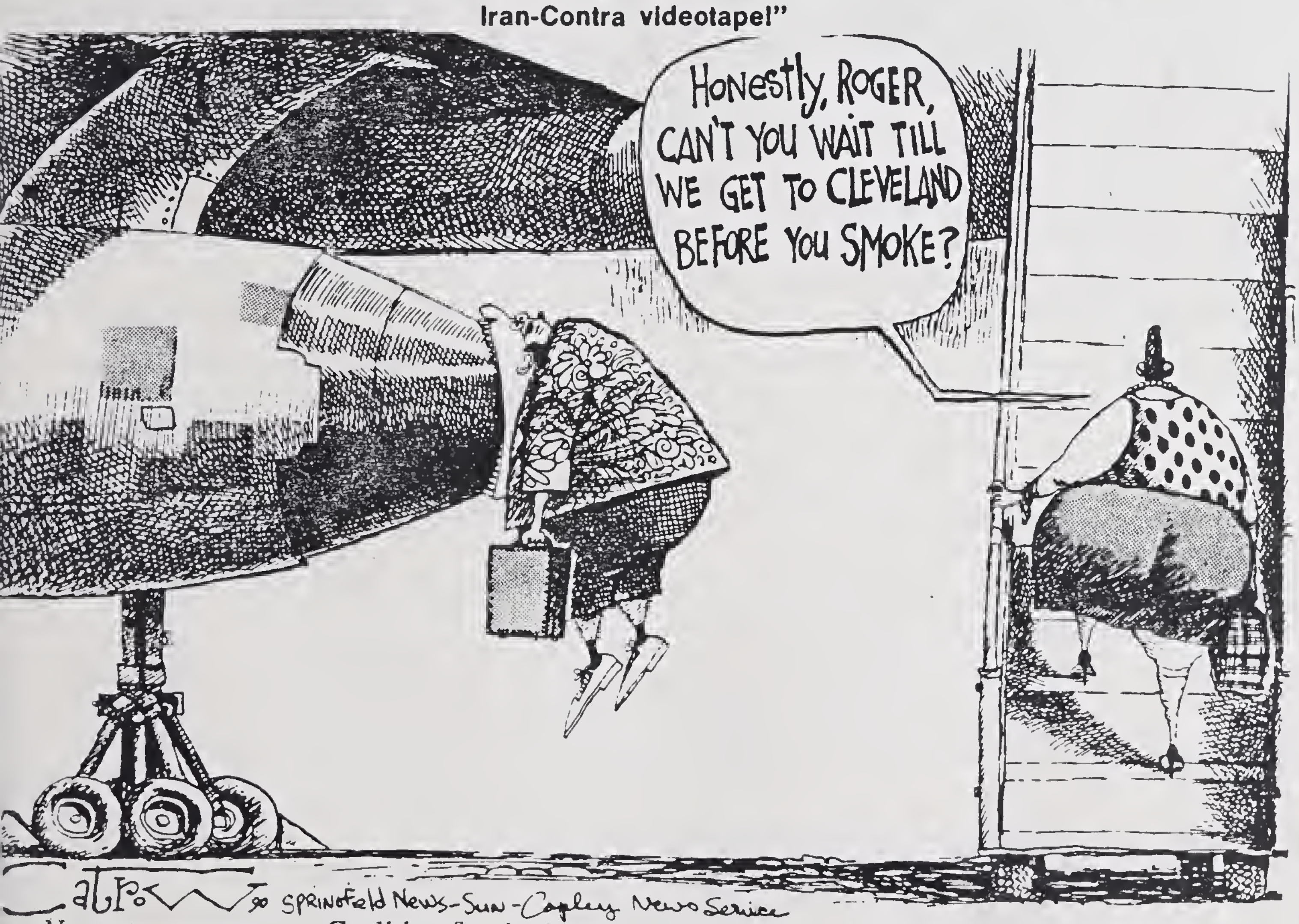
We have received a number of complaints on the Rubber Ducky Condoms. The package [which pictures a rubber duck, the company's logo] appears to be misleading, and customers have complained that these condoms are being displayed with the toys or in the candy section.

Any store that carries this product is requested to check the location where this inventory is displayed. For those stores who have these condoms merchandised in the candy section or with the toys, you need to remove them immediately and merchandise this product only in the health-and-beauty-aids section next to the other brands of condoms.

Your cooperation in this matter is appreciated. If you have any questions, please contact your district manager.


BEATTIE
©90 Dayton Beach News-Journal/Copley News Service

"You're complaining there's nothing on TV? Wait till they show Reagan's Iran-Contra videotape!"


HONESTLY, ROGER, CAN'T YOU WAIT TILL WE GET TO CLEVELAND BEFORE YOU SMOKE?
CATROW '90 SPRINGFIELD NEWS-SUN - COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

News, to earn money. Coalition for the Homeless spokesman Keith Summa, however, thinks this is disgraceful, because people only buy the magazine to help the poor. According to Summa, "to the homeless person it is still charity." Well what exactly are welfare payments? Oh yeah, we forgot, those are rights.

➢The Dallas Housing Authority plans to demolish 2,600 units of housing in the name of desegregation. DHA director Alphonso Jackson has met with some problems, namely the homeless, who would rather have a place to live than adhere to liberal demographic ideals. Jackson seems to subscribe to the mainstream maxim that blacks and whites should have to live on the same streets with one another, even if some have to sleep on them.

➢The Washington State Legislature proposes to control the spread of AIDS by outlawing nature. According to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, a bill before the legislature would "outlaw sexual intercourse and 'heavy petting' by individuals less than 18 years of age. Of course this raises the question, who will the virile congressmen date?

➢Gorbachev recently proposed to "privatize" collective farms in the Soviet Union with just a few restrictions: the state requires a rental fee, the land can be appropriated by the state if not used properly, and it cannot be sold or subleased, but you do have the exclusive right to bequeath the land to your family when you die. These approximate the rights that most 16-year olds have to the family Buick. Hey Gorby, can we borrow the tractor keys?

➢While we're on the subject of communist farm policies, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation has subsidized water use in California's San Joaquin Valley to the tune of $3.5 billion, diverting the entire San Joaquin River in the process. Meanwhile, 42 endangered or threatened species risk extinction, just so the taxpayers can pay a handful of farmers to grow grapes in a dirthole.

➢The drive is on to limit members of Congress to a total of twelve years in office. To quote a Tennessee group working to achieve this goal: "Let's Send a Message to Congress: You're Fired."

➢The Soviet Union has finally advanced into the international marketplace, selling a service for which the Soviet bureaucracy seems particularly qualified. According to Timothy Virkala, Assistant Editor of *Liberty* magazine, the Soviets hope to open the Gulag to foreign prisoners, charging their respective countries a nominal fee for "storage." This development of a profit-yielding prison system would, notes Virkala, "continue to provide them with work, money, prestige, and the general psychic benefits they find in bossing people around, channeling their anti-social drives away from the poor...masses."

➢The U.S. Department of Agriculture is going to spend $6.5 million on research involving coca-devouring larvae. The plan is to airdrop the bugs over Peru and Bolivia. The CRITIC staff proposes spending the money developing a "red-tape worm," which can be airdropped on Washington to save us from future hair-brained USDA schemes.

➢Meanwhile, according to the *National Enquirer*, recent scientific research has revealed that the skin of certain toads contains a chemical substance believed to cause a "high" when eaten. It is now a felony in the United States to lick toads. We anxiously await Drug Czar Bennett's five-point plan on zero amphibian tolerance.

➢At a recent awards dinner of the Council of Fashion Designers of America, Oscar de la Renta was given the "Lifetime Achievement" award by none other than fashion demigod Dr. Henry Kissinger. One may wonder why Kissinger cared, but with the end of the Cold War, the King of Containment may just have a hard time finding work. Or maybe de la Renta represented the highest ideals of "realism" in fashion design.

➢When the new increase in minimum wage is implemented on April, 1 1990, it is estimated that 5,644,000 disadvantaged women will become unemployable. This includes women who are physically impaired, speak English as a second language, and who have failed to develop basic marketable skills. Accompanying the new wage policy will be a slight change in the Ellis Island motto: "Give us your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, and we'll keep them that way."

➢Confectioners at Berkeley, California's Nolo Inc., are marketing a new product called "Gummy Lawyers." Not surprisingly, these chewy candies are in the shape of sharks. The company awaits hostile word from the Bay area's Coalition of Citizens Against Shark Defamation.

➢America's drugbusters were crushed when they discovered the supposed cache of cocaine in Noriega's freezer to be tortilla flour. The search, however, proved rewarding when 500 cases of Dom Perignon champagne were found in his cellar. Wine experts say that Dom needs at least seven years in the bottle to reach maturity. Unfortunately for Manuel, he was overthrown just as the Dom became really drinkable. Meanwhile, a British wine dealer is busy selling the $500,000 worth of vintage bubbly to wholesalers under the label Dom Perignoriega.

More Definisms

Since more and more people are turning to the trustworthy CRITIC staff instead of Webster's dictionary, we feel compelled to provide you with yet another set of definitions:

Communist: One who has nothing and is eager to share it with others.

—Anonymous

Bureaucracy: A giant mechanism operated by pygmies.

—Balzac

Deficit: What you have when you haven't as much as when you had nothing.

—Leonard Levinson

Money: The root of all good.

—Minnesota Fats

Liberal: A person whose interests aren't at stake at the moment.

—Willis Player

Elephant: A mouse built to government specifications.

—Robert Heinlein

Congress: A man gets up to speak and says nothing. Nobody listens—and then everybody disagrees.

—Boris Marshalov

Senate: Opens with a prayer and closes with an investigation.

—Will Rogers

➢The U.S. Military is leading the world once again in the development of high technology weapons designed to save us from the evil Russkies. Yes, that's right, they have created the Stealth Blimp. No, we're not making this up. Yes, they actually plan to use it. No, it doesn't have an electronic billboard on the side. At only $200,000, the wunderkind of the U.S. defense triad has an effective range of 100 miles. This should be just enough to get the President in and out of Superbowls without having to deal with the traffic.

➢Our new fearless leader, Bill "Erasor" Hildebolt is no stranger to the Critic. Last year, Bill sent us a love-letter, defending Student Government by blaming student apathy on "ignorance." He then denied our charge that Student Government exists to serve "the interests of a minority." What is Bill going to do now that he is president? "The first thing I am going to do is call people from special interest groups..." Student Government—the few, the proud, the pinheaded.

CRITIC ALMANAC

Number of Americans killed in the Panama invasion: 23

Number killed in New York City the same week: 36

Percentage of coal that is lost through holes in decrepit Soviet railroad cars: 3

Number of prisoners on death row in California since 1967: 273

Number executed: 0

Sweden's highest personal income tax rate in 1989: 72

Country with lowest hours worked per person per year: Sweden

With most: Japan

Average cost of a two bedroom apartment in Tokyo: $630,000

Average number of years for the loan payback period: 80

Annual dues for the Official Gumby Fan Club: $4.50

Annual inflation rate in Argentina in 1989: 4,923%

Percentage of Argentinian GNP spent by the government: 60

Number of letters written to Congress by the mentally ill out of a sample of 1000: 900

Cost of study that determined this: $400,000

Number of times the phrase "do the right thing" has been used in Congress since Spike Lee's movie: 67

Number of times the phrase was used in reference to congressional pay raise: 16

Gallons of water flushed during halftime of Super Bowl: 34 million

Tons of waste resulting from disposable diapers in 1988: 3.6 million

Life expectancy of the average diaper: 500 years

Amount Americans spent in 1989 on toy guns: $108,800,000

Chances that a U.S. obstetrician has been sued at least once: 7 in 10

Number of rats specifically bred for *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*: 3,000

Estimated number of pounces it takes a cat to catch a rodent: 3

urces: *Spy* (3-90); *State Critic*; *Charlotte Observer* (3-4-90); *The Economist* (3-3-90); NBC News; *Spy* -90); *The Wall Street Journal* (2-16-90); *Liberty* (3-90); *Harper's Magazine* (3-90); *Forbes* (3-5-90); *arper's Magazine* (3-90);

—compiled by Maureen Kelley and Jason James

STRAIGHT TALK / SHARON SENTELLE

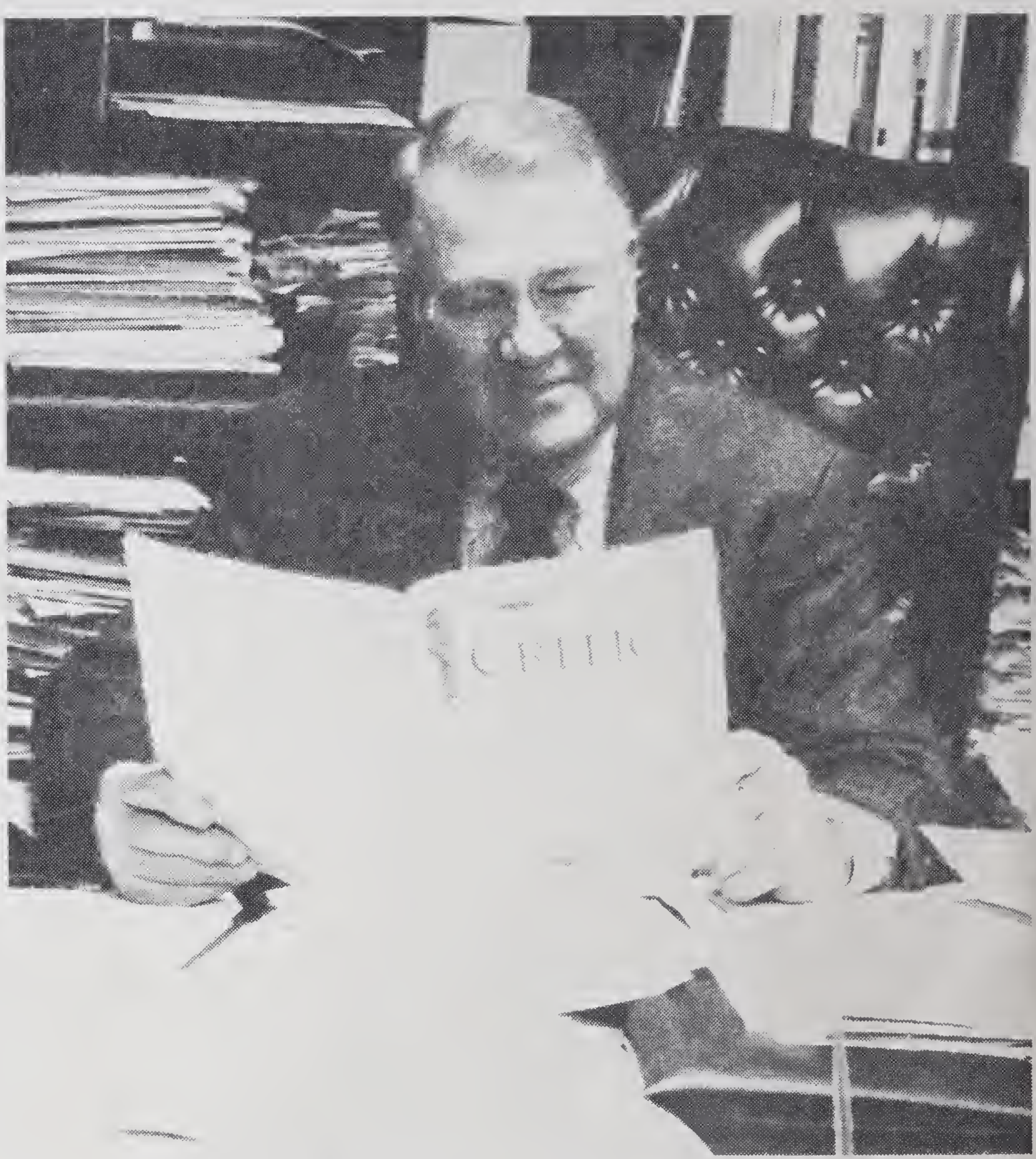
A Talk with Ed Meese

Sound national policies based on traditional values of freedom, democracy, and constitutional government made the 1980s a period of prosperity and progress, according to former Attorney General Ed Meese.

The American people can thank Ronald Reagan for this, Meese said. "Reagan revitalized the economy and reestablished the United States as a leader in world affairs," he said. "Reagan's election gave the people a chance to show their support for the conservative values and principles which have contributed to our nation's greatness throughout its history.

"Returning to the principles of free market economics through tax reduction and reform has brought the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history, the reduction of unemployment, and an increase in family income."

As the goals of a strong U.S. military and peace through strength are being realized, people are regaining respect for their country, Meese said. "The changes in Eastern Europe could not have happened without Ronald Reagan," he said. "The factors which caused Gorbachev to change Soviet behavior resulted from the reinvigorated strength and self-confidence of the United States and our willingness and ability to demonstrate leadership in world affairs."



Ed Meese caught reading a classy magazine

Meese said he became a member of Reagan's team "almost by accident." In 1966, when he was governor of California, Reagan chose Meese to serve as his legal affairs secretary. "This was practically out of the blue, " Meese said, "although Reagan and I quickly became friends." Although Meese said he enjoyed working on Reagan's campaigns and serving as Counselor to the President, he characterized his term as Attorney General as the most rewarding job of his career.

"As Attorney General, I was directly able to help carry through the promises that Reagan made to the American public," he said. "My greatest personal achievement was to increase the high degree of cooperation between federal law enforcement and state and local police. This was brought about by the Department of Justice emphasizing the need for cooperation and teamwork between agencies."

Through his judicial recommendations, Meese was a key player in Reagan's most enduring legacy— judicial and legal policy. "Reagan pledged to appoint men and women who would honor the rule of law," Meese said, "and he kept this promise. The key quality of the Reagan appointees is their fidelity to their constitutional role, which is to interpret the law rather than substitute their judgment for our elected officials or for the framers of the Constitution."

The Bush Administration is trying hard to continue this legacy, Meese said, but is encountering the same problem the

Reagan Administration faced in its final two years—a hostile Congress.

"The Democrats have tended to politicize the process," Meese said. One of their favorite tactics is lengthening the amount of time it takes for a nominee to be approved by the Senate. "Committee procedures are being delayed for no good reason," he said.

Reflecting once again on the Reagan administration, Meese said that Reagan's greatest achievement was his success in restoring the credibility of and support for conservative values and ideals.

"There was a time in the 60s and early 70s when almost no political candidate wanted to be known as a conservative," Meese said. "Today, most people in both parties try to stress conservative values, and not even Democrats want to be called liberals."

The conservative movement is strong, but it also faces many challenges as liberals try to turn back the clock, Meese said. "Now is a transition period for the conservative movement. Many things we have fought for are coming about."

For example, with the demise of the Communist Empire, the reassertion of freedom in Eastern Europe is becoming a reality. Conservatives need to continue to be strong so they can bring direction to the way in which Eastern Europe develops, Meese said. "If we want real democracies and real free market economies, we need to be willing to work vigorously to help influence these nations as they emerge from the shadow of Communism."

Conservatives can use their influence to provide people, writings, training programs, and personal contacts to produce positive change in Eastern Europe, he said. "We need to continue to show that we are committed to liberty, democracy, and free market economics."

Conservatives also need to work hard at home to maintain what they have gained in the last decade, Meese said. "We have to be steadfast on our most important issue, which is our commitment to maintaining that basic principle of constitutional government through the separation of powers, federalism, and by controlling the growth of power or spending by the federal government."

There is plenty of unfinished business to be done to curb the growth of federal spending, Meese said. He placed the blame on Congress. "My biggest disappointment from the Reagan years has got to be the lack of cooperation we received from Congress," Meese said. "Once the Democrats took control of the Senate in 1986, there was constant hostility and sniping. It was always a fight. You couldn't even count on all the Republicans."

The conservative job is not done, Meese said. "We still have a ways to go to improve our government and throw off the oppressive federal regulations that remain so that we can restore a greater balance between federal and state and local governments."

The Supreme Court is moving in the right direction to restore more authority to the states and legislative bodies, Meese said, citing the example of abortion. "Now that the Supreme Court has relinquished some of its control, it is important for public officials to stand up for their principles and not change their positions for what they perceive to be a short-term political advantage."

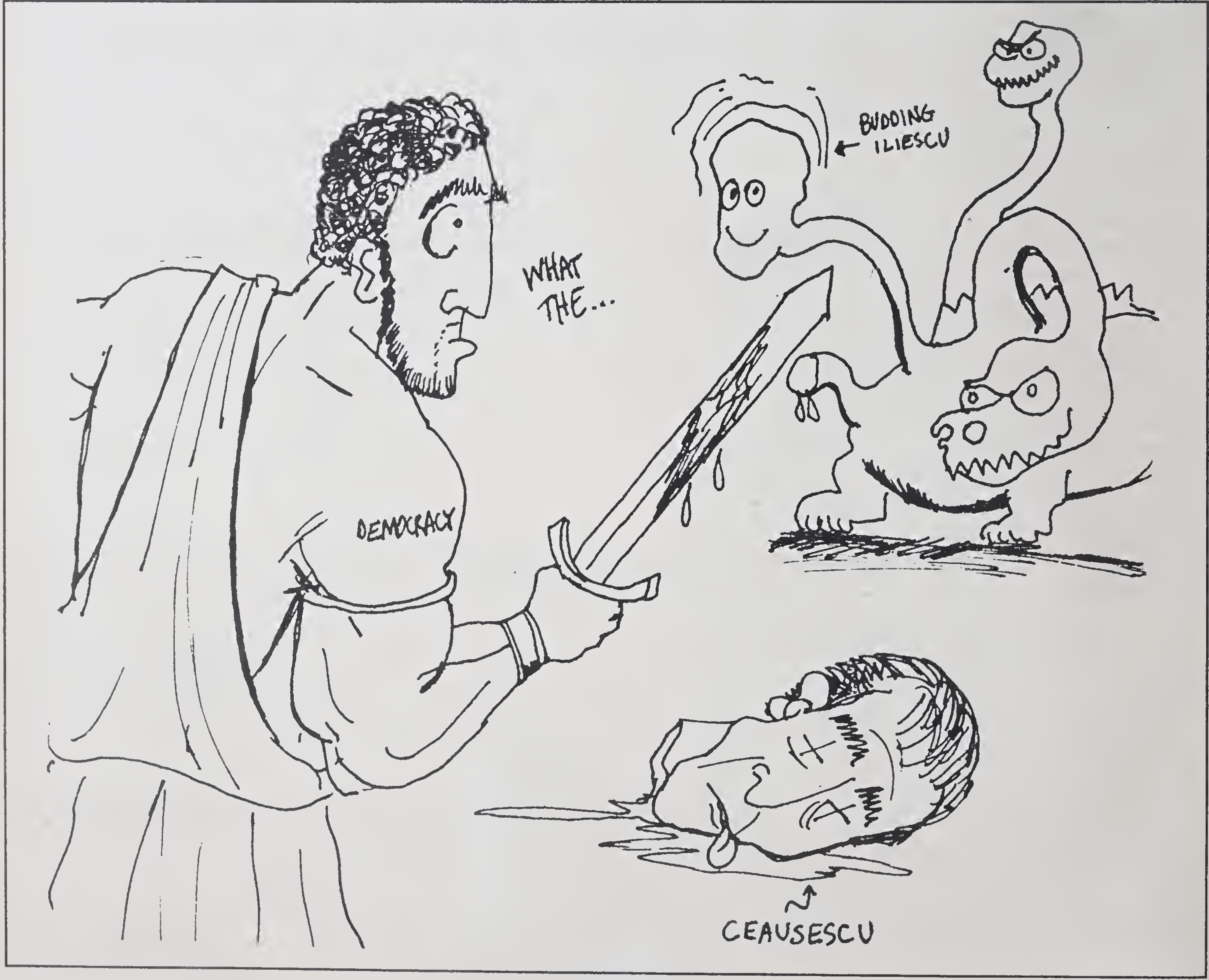
The American public continues to support conservative values, Meese said. "The election of George Bush is a good indication of this fact." Ω

Sharon is chairman of the UNC College Republicans.

How to Steal a Revolution

Rumania's "interim" government is in the process of writing the definitive book on how to steal a revolution. When the Ceausescu regime was ousted by euphoric masses in December, the world rejoiced. From the Kremlin to the White House, statesmen warmly congratulated Rumanians for freeing themselves from the vicious communist regime. The stage seemed set for the transition to a truly democratic, free market society. It is a tragic irony that the communist interim government is still in power today and seems increasingly determined to maintain its dominant position. Shortly after Ceausescu was deposed, a transition government was formed by the National Salvation Front, a coalition body of dissidents and former communists led by President Ion Iliescu. The new government promised to hold elections, and pledged not to field a party candidate. It appeared a new era was truly dawning when the deputy foreign minister flatly assured the world, "The Communist Party is dead."

Unfortunately, only Ceausescu was dead. The Communist Party had merely undergone a reorganization. The staff had been changed, but the management still followed the same discredited policies and objectives. To careful observors this fact quickly became evident. In January, President Iliescu, a career communist, decided to break his earlier pledge and field a government candidate for reelection. Disturbingly, the National Salvation Front's council then gave Iliescu's decision its stamp of approval with a vote of 128 to eight. Had there not been



The Front's supporters wrecked the offices of the two largest opposition parties. They beat opposition members and forced one opposition leader to flee in an armored car. Ceausescu would have been proud.

massive anti-communist demonstrations on the following days, an optimist might have assumed that the people supported some kind of democratic, reform communism. However, there were massive public demonstrations in which protestors held up pictures of Iliescu with Ceausescu and voiced the widespread perception that a police network of spies and informers was still in place.

In response, the "interim" government orchestrated a counter-demonstration with ominous overtones. The Front gave thousands of workers the day off, and its supporters wrecked the offices of the two largest opposition parties. They beat opposition members, and forced one opposition leader to flee in an armored car. Ceausescu would have been proud.

Supporters of the Front point to reforms such as food rationing, and the legalization of abortion, as evidence of the new government's sincerity. When considered in light of the Front's other actions these measures seem to reflect only a grudging attempt to placate the populace while tightening the government's grip on power. President Iliescu has not yet granted oppostion groups access to radio and television. Luca Raymon, a leader of one of the largest opposition parties, justifiably complains: "We [The National Liberation Party] don't even have a typewriter. There is no way of telling the workers how we will solve their problems." Accordingly, opposition groups have pleaded with Iliescu to postpone upcoming elections until next fall so that they will have time to organize. President Iliescu, however, has so far refused to reschedule the May elections. In response to such actions, many of the dissidents whose presence once legitimized the council have resigned.

Western governments have generally ignored these developments. As in the past, the U.S. State Department is reacting sluggishly to the frightening reality in Rumania. As recently as the early 1980s, the State Department was ignoring the reports of U.S. Ambassador to Rumania, David Funderburk, who accurately described Ceausescu's ruthless despotism. The State Department's consistent disregard of such information led to a flawed U.S. policy which supported the Ceausescu regime well into the 1980's. Ambassador Funderburk quit in frustration during 1985 and returned to the U.S.

Since his return, Dr. Funderburk has been coordinating an effort to lend moral and financial support to the beleaguered opposition groups in Rumania. During a telephone interview with the CRITIC, Dr. Funderburk warned that unless they receive outside support, the opposition goups would likely be smothered by the weight of Iliescu's government as it fights for its own existence. Dr. Funderburk points out that with elections scheduled for May, "...a critical window of opportunity..." now exists for the outside world to help create true democracy in Rumania.

Unfortunately, the U.S. government is still "...propping up a communist government composed of people [whom] the people hate. We don't learn anything," Funderburk lamented. Unless we learn quickly, our ignorance will once again be Rumania's tragedy.

Editor's Note: If you are interested in contributing to the cause of freedom in Rumania, write to Dr. Funderburk at P.O. Box 1124, Dunn, NC 28334 to support the International Rumanian Relief Fund. Its certainly a better cause than the senior class sitting wall. Ω

Grant Thompson is a freshman from Wilmington, NC.

We just thought that we would remind you that subscriptions are only $20/year.

Don't you feel better now?

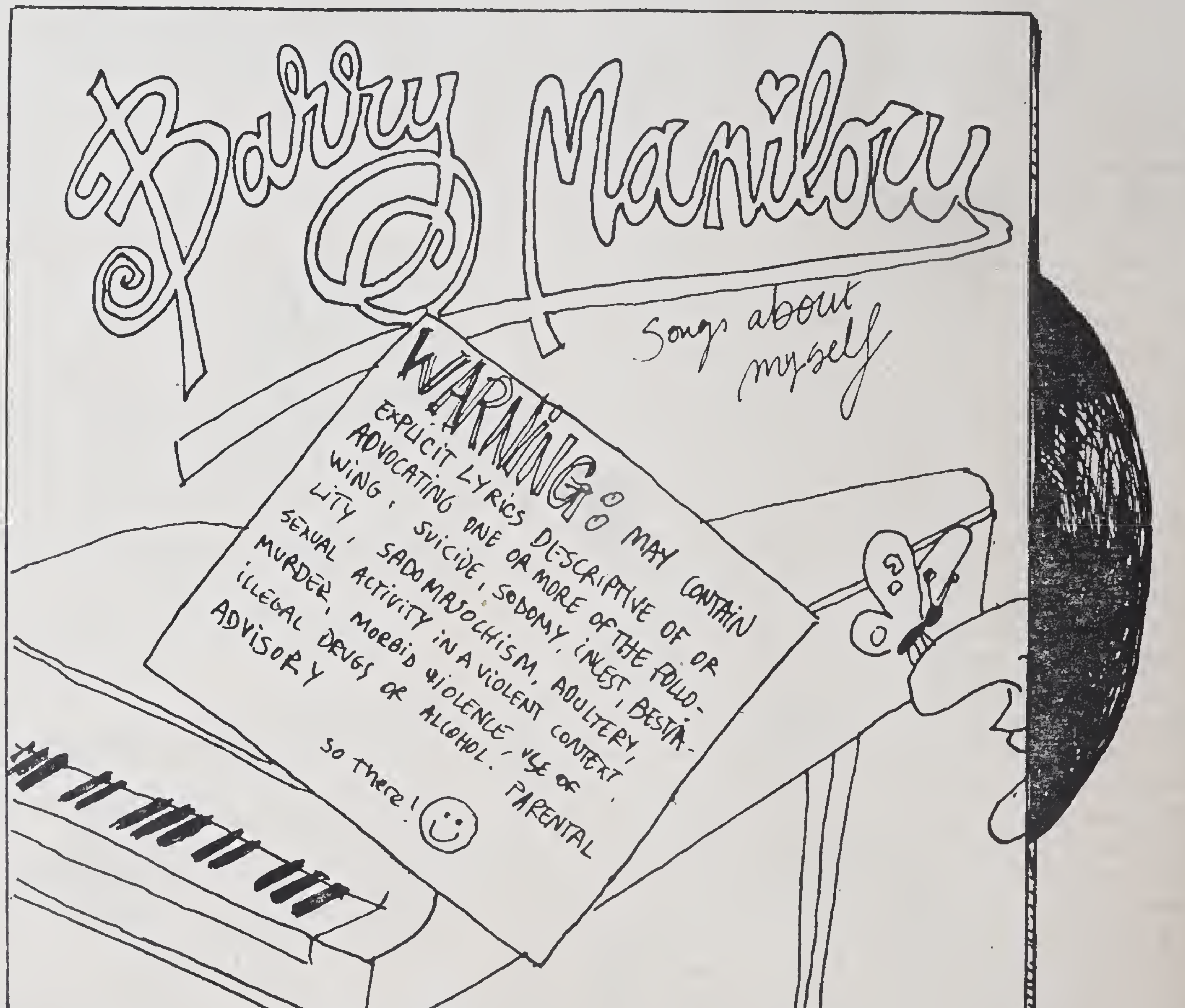
THE NATIONAL TRUSS / ELLIOT FUS

Labeling Albums

It is more than just little stickers

Album labeling proposals have spread beyond religious conservative circles and are being seriously considered in at least ten states. Their main push has come from groups such as the Parents' Music Resource Center (PMRC), who want to protect their children from indecency. In Pennsylvania, Democratic State Representative Ron Gamble has proposed a senate bill amendment requiring any album containing "objectionable" material to be marked with a fluorescent yellow sticker bearing the words

WARNING: May contain explicit lyrics descriptive of or advocating one or more of the following: Suicide, Sodomy, Incest, Bestiality, Sadomasochism, Adultery, Sexual activity in a violent context, Murder, Morbid violence, Use of illegal drugs


Barry Manilow
Songs about myself
WARNING MAY CONTAIN EXPLICIT LYRICS DESCRIPTIVE OF OR ADVOCATING ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING: SUICIDE, SODOMY, INCEST, BESTIALITY, SADOMASOCHISM, ADULTERY, SEXUAL ACTIVITY IN A VIOLENT CONTEXT, MURDER, MORBID VIOLENCE, USE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS OR ALCOHOL. PARENTAL ADVISORY
So there!
Cool Hand Luke '90

Reviewers might unanimously identify something risqué in WASP's "Animal (F— Like A Beast,)" but John Denver's "Rocky Mountain High" could be interpreted as either advocating drugs or babbling brooks and fresh air.

or alcohol. PARENTAL ADVISORY.

The sticker would be affixed not on the plastic wrapping, but directly on the product by the retailer. Violators of the restriction would face misdemeanor charges. Gamble's proposal has influenced several other state bills.

But in an attempt to create a respectable society, mandatory warning labels display many shortcomings. One indisputable fault is that retailers would be forced to spend considerable time marking products. With as many as 20,000 titles on back catalogue and 70 new titles a week, these yellow stickers could be more inconvenient than the Stamp Act for the average retailer. For enforcement purposes, "Sticker cops" would be needed to patrol record stores for violations. Additionally, a large review board would be needed to assess the moral fortitude of all the songs on the market, including the more than 25,000 new songs written each year.

Censorship is another significant problem. Labeling advocates claim that warnings do not censor artists, but simply inform consumers of an album's content. This notion has been proven untrue. Most radio stations do not wish to be associated with music publicly considered objectionable. Therefore, programmers often cut labeled albums from their playlist. In addition, retailers afraid of negative publicity may discontinue labeled products. The Disc Jockey chain has done this throughout its 119 record stores. Consequently, regional markets dominated by the chain are isolated from these products. The result is that musicians stifle their artistic freedom by altering lyrics in order to avoid being labeled. So, in practice, censorship is accomplished indirectly.

Perhaps the most grating dilemma centers on the definition of "objectionable." Who rates the music? Outside of her objections, PMRC leader Tipper Gore has never made any remarkable contribution to music criticism and probably understands little about the music she protests. What is the criterion for objectionability? Violence, sexual misconduct, deviant religious practices? If so, will labeling reach beyond pop? Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring" is intended to evoke visions of the abduction of women, warfare and brutal pagan ritualism including human sacrifice. Most operas are based on themes such as adultery and murder.

There is also confusion in interpreting the meaning of lyrics. Reviewers might unanimously identify something risqué in WASP's "Animal (F— Like A Beast,)" but John Denver's "Rocky Mountain High" could be interpreted as either advocating drugs or babbling brooks and fresh air.

There are other shortcomings to labeling. The intentions of abelers would backfire if young people were encouraged to buy marked albums because of their public controversy. Labeling may also be an outlet for discrimination. Are so many rappers targeted as objectionable because blacks are generally lewd or because label advocates are generally white? And does exposure to immorality in art necessarily bring emulation? Few teachers avoid assigning *Oedipus the King* for fear of an increase in patricides.

If parents wish to protect their children from unsuitable music, they can do so by reading private newsletters such as the PMRC's Rock Rating Report. Consumers can gain information for themselves without affecting others.

Though many people believe that mandatory warning labels are a step toward moral health and order, labeling creates complication, confusion and injustice. Labels infringe on the freedom of artists, retailers and consumers alike. Ω

Elliot will be sure to look up Tipper Gore when he is in Washington this summer.

So You Want To Be a Journalist?

Scholarships are now available for youthful journalists at the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C.

The NJC, established in 1977 to help correct imbalances in the media, trains young people in the basic skills of journalism, within a context of traditional values.

Highlights of the program include:

° Location on Capitol Hill
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If you are interested in pursuing a career in journalism and would like further information about the NJC, contact M. Stanton Evans, National Journalism Center, 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 2000s. Phone: 202-544-1333.

THE NATIONAL TRUSS / MAUREEN KELLEY

Alexandra the Great?

Attack of the Mutant Multiculturalists

Kindly dispel all preconceptions of Western civilization. Your knowledge is biased and inaccurate. Hereby be informed that Caesar was a woman; George Washington was a pathological liar. We live in the "Euro-American community," not the United States, and Shakespeare was not an Englishman, but an Arab dignitary named Shaykh Zubayr Bin William. You have now had a crash course in "bias-free" education.

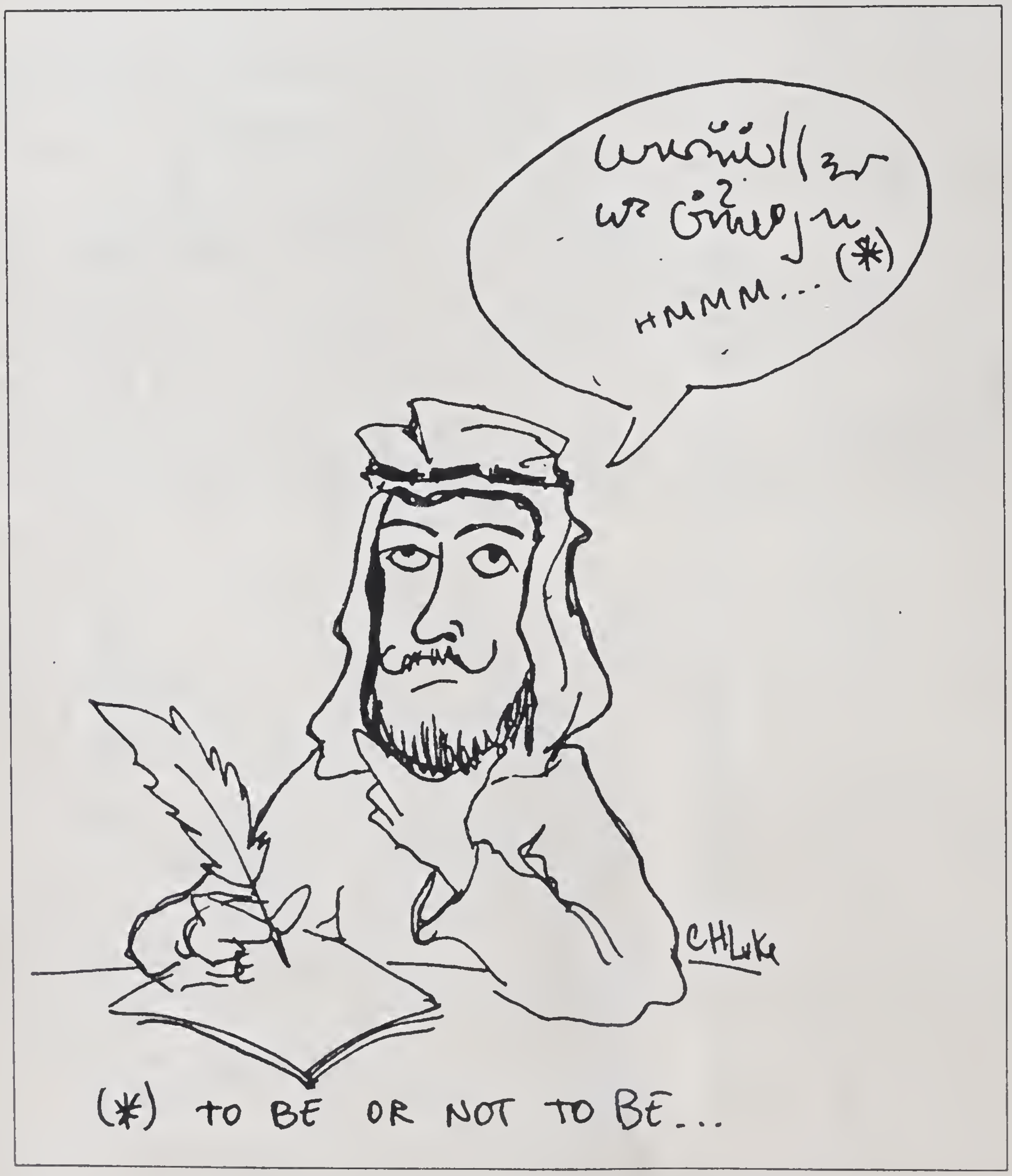
This new trend in historical alterations is led by a collective entity called the "multiculturalists." Consisting of various educational institutions and minority interest groups, multiculturalists seek to expunge Western culture from our nation's history books. Ironically, the movement comes at a time when great emphasis is being placed on the need for improved education.

The Stalinistic purges of the multiculturists are being cloaked under the guise of historical inclusion. In New York, education commissioner Thomas Sobol sent the Board of Regents a report entitled, "A Curriculum of Inclusion." The report, however, mentions nothing of incorporating new factual information into the archives of history. The entire proposal is designed around the principle of *exclusion*, not inclusion.

The authors propose to end a curriculum of "white nationalism," by means of textbook revision. The described "Euro-American monoculture" (history as we know it) is to be replaced by "discussions of Africans, Asians, Hispanics, each of the Six Iroquois Nation tribes, Shinnecocks, Poospatucks, Eskimos and Aleuts, and people of Puerto Rico and other South and Central American and Caribbean countries." Furthermore, all illustrations are to depict males and females as being of equal height. Strictly masculine terms, such as "forefathers," are to be eliminated. "Tribes" will be referred to as "nation/people," and Chief Sitting Bull will henceforth be known as "Totanka Iotanka."

Granted, our current textbooks relate historical events and people from a male dominated Anglo-Saxon tradition. In fact, extensive historical research has revealed numerous individuals who have often gone without mention, simply because of their race or sex. For example, only in recently published textbooks, such as *The U.S., A History of the Republic*, can reference be found to Crispus Attucks, a black sailor active in the Sons of Liberty, and the first man to die in the Boston Massacre. Doubtless, historical facts such as this should be included in textbooks to improve their historical accuracy.

Historians of the multiculturalist mindset, however, would deal with this fact by replacing accounts of Patrick Henry, because he was white, with descriptions of Attucks, because he was black. Such "revisions" fail to recognize the vital importance of *both* men, as individuals participating in a historically monumental event.


HMMM... (*)
CHLuke
(*) TO BE OR NOT TO BE...

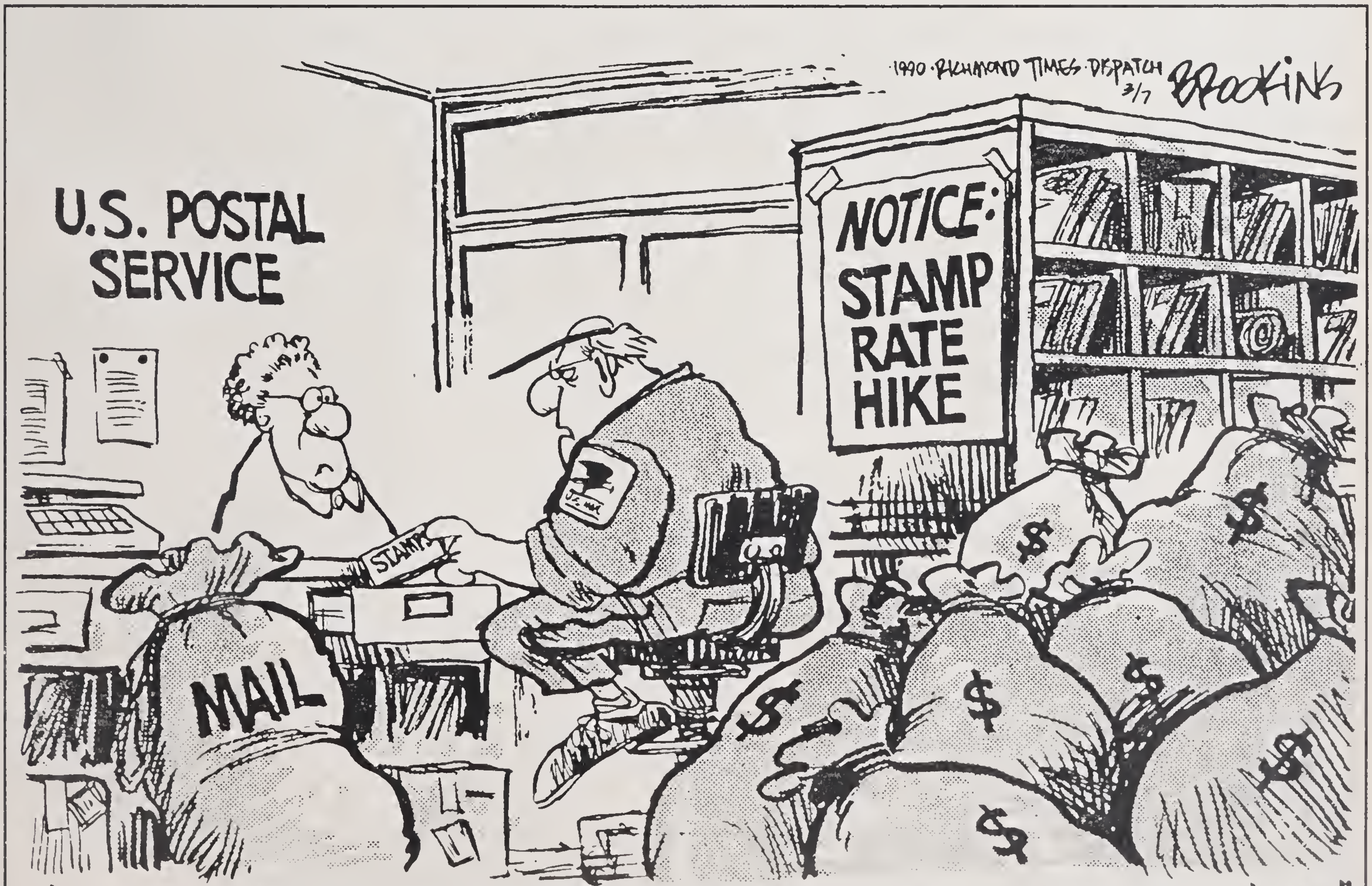
Yet, determining the historical merit of people based on skin color is just the sort of factual quackery in which the multiculturalists revel. Rather than remedying omissions by simply adding the information to current textbooks, the proponents of "bias-free" education choose to mince facts and figures, yielding a neutered historical conglomeration.

Determining the historical merit of people based on skin color is just the sort of factual quackery in which the multiculturalists revel.

The intention behind this revisionist policy is to raise the self-esteem of minority children. This aim assumes that self-respect is derived from ethnicity or from the mere identification with a larger group. Ethnic groups, white, black, Aleutian, or otherwise, did not contribute to history. Individuals of many nationalities and ethnic origins participated in events, stirred ideas and "made history."

Children will be more likely to identify with such historical figures as Crispus Attucks and Patrick Henry, not because they were members of a greater "Euro-American community," but because they were dynamic individuals. The students' intellectual enrichment will only be served by acknowledging the contributions of these men and women, not by amassing them into a homogeneous culture cluster. Educational efforts should not be concentrated on purging history, but on bringing it to life as accurately as possible. If anything need be purged, it is the new breed of educational folly known as multiculturalism. Ω

Maureen is a junior economics and philosophy major at UNC-Charlotte.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NOTICE: STAMP RATE HIKE
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"LOOK, IF YOU HAVE TO ASK HOW MUCH, YOU CAN'T AFFORD 'EM!"

ANOTHER GREEN WORLD / JOY RHYNE

Garbage? We Don't Need No Stinking Garbage

The simple task of taking out the garbage has become complicated. While it is relatively simple to get it to the curb, it is becoming increasingly complicated to bury it beyond neighborhood boundaries. In Los Angeles, garbage trucks search desperately for a place to unload their cargo, while angry citizens rally to keep dumps out of their neighborhoods. In November 1989, *Newsweek* noted that the "Not In My Backyard" (NIMBY) syndrome is breaking out all over the country. Recycling is the one solution which promises to solve the garbage crisis while pacifying even the most diehard Nimbyists.

Environmentalists first warned of the oncoming garbage crisis in the 1970s. Concerned communities soon began innovative recycling programs, but were discouraged by the limited market for their recycled trash. The movement has begun anew, however, as towns are being engulfed by growing heaps of garbage.

Unfortunately, the recent movement caters to mandated programs rather than profit-oriented solutions. The *Topsham Maine Times* reported in March 1989 that disposal costs had topped $40 per ton in some towns, causing them to implement mandatory recycling plans. Not surprisingly, these programs are rarely effective because cooperation cannot be enforced; consequently only 11 percent of U.S. solid waste is being recycled.

No amount of government urging will bring notice to recycling as a practical option. Federal calls to save the environment for its inherent worth are not effective. A few people may actually recycle out of concern for the environment, but most people are not readily moved by appeals to their moral conscience. Rather, individuals should be convinced that it is in their best interest to recycle.

Only programs targeted at the individual's pocket-book are likely to be successful. Most people pay for their garbage disposal through local taxes, meaning that an individual will not reap monetary rewards for recycling. If, on the other hand, fees are based on the amount of garbage collected, people will be encouraged to recycle. Only when recycling begins to cost less than traditional disposal will people be willing to take the time and effort to do it consistently.

As trash disposal becomes more expensive, recycling becomes more attractive. As Robert Miller of the *Waterbury (Connecticut) Republican* explained in April 1987, "Getting rid of trash takes cash, and it's likely to take lots more in the future. If you burn garbage, you need millions to build an incineration plant. If you bury it, the groundwater pollution it causes can bankrupt you." The point is not how much money you get for the material you recycle, but rather how much you save by not having to get rid of it in the first place.

The mandated recycling programs already in place, however, have created an overabundance of recycled paper products. The East Coast's glutted paper markets have led some to suggest that the government create an artificial market for recycled products. Such sentiments perpetuate the myth that reams of government regulation and skyrocketing expenditures will alleviate the planet's pollution problems. In order to bring the recycled products market to an equilibrium, unprofitable recycling centers should be allowed to go out of business. The remaining ones would then stabilize the market by meeting the true demand for paper goods.

The point is not how much money you get for the material you recycle, but rather how much you save by not having to get rid of it in the first place.

As long as innefficient government programs are setting the example, it will be impossible to convince citizens that voluntary recycling is the most cost effective way to remedy our nation's garbage problem. The only solution to the garbage crisis is to stop the government from giving incentives to recycling centers, instituting mandatory recycling programs, and raising taxes to cover the costs of counterproductive recycling policies. These only interfere with the natural market for recycled goods.

It is naive to perpetuate the belief that people will recycle without a monetary incentive. Only when each individual is held responsible for his or her contribution to the current "throwaway society" will more people begin to recycle their trash. Money talks, and as far as recycling is concerned, it will be money that makes people listen. Ω

Maureen Kelley also contributed to this article.

You are cordially invited
to attend a lecture,

The Great Farm Problem

by
Professor
at N.C. State University

E. C. Pasour

Monday
April 16, 7:00 pm

THE NATIONAL TRUSS / MARK PIERCE

Crying Racism? or Crying Wolf?

Political figures large and small have recently asserted that white Americans have turned away from the issue of racism. Many white Americans truly have become less appreciative of the problems of racism; the question is, why?

Many whites have become unwilling to listen to charges of racism because the term has been used with such recklessness in recent years. What was once a stinging accusation is becoming a political tool used by political parties to leverage whatever positions they assume.

Thirty years ago the charge of racism had sharp meaning. African-Americans could point a finger at white society and say, "We have a right to ride in the front of the bus; we have a right to eat at the lunch counter; we have a right to vote without impediment and we will attend as a matter of course, the universities of this nation."

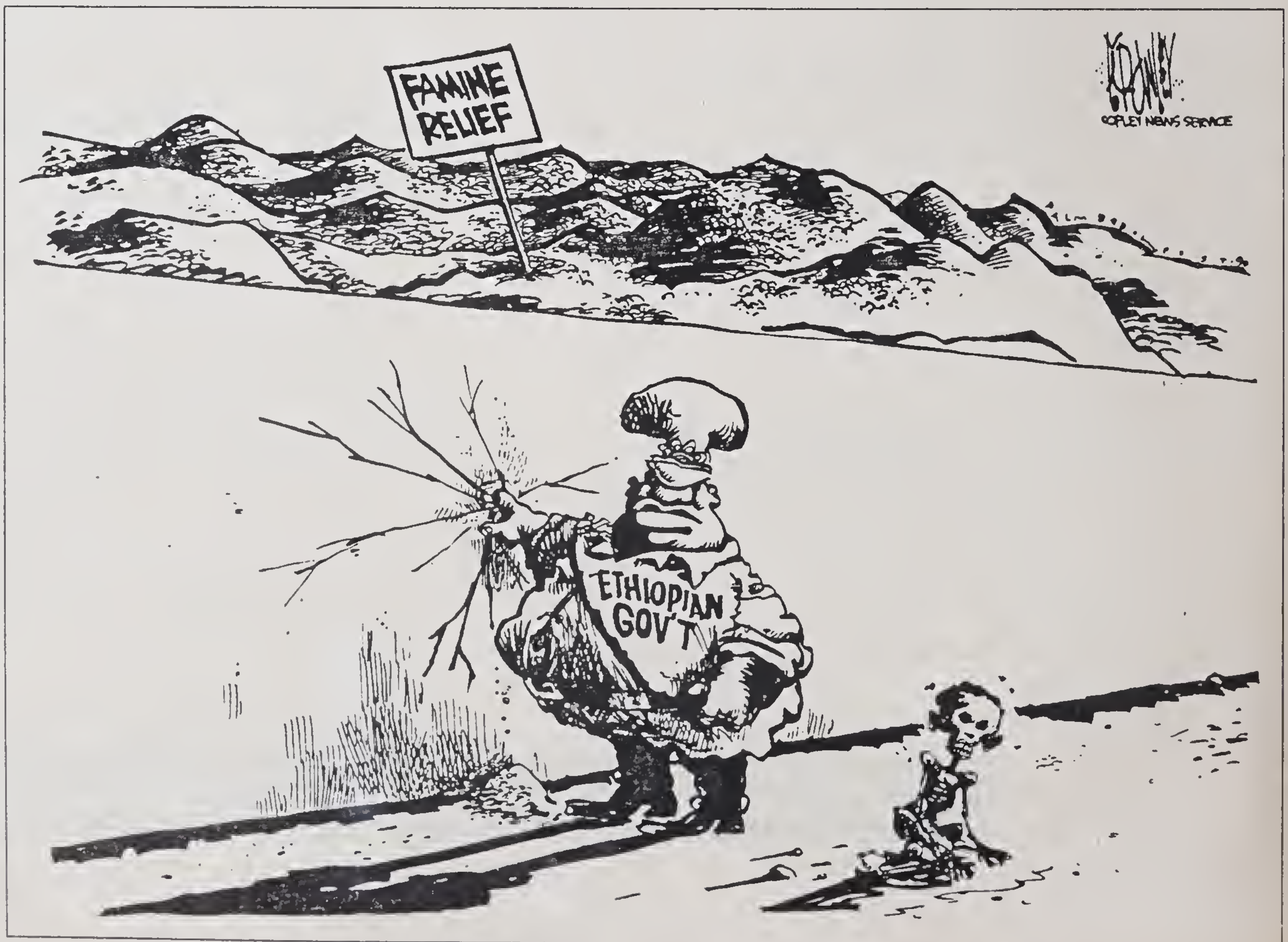
Today, racism is often charged in questions that do not seem so cut and dried to many whites. When politicians who claim to speak for African Americans in effect say to whites: "We have a right to bus your children forty-five minutes each way to school; we deserve financial reparations for the wrongs done to our forefathers." People who have honest disagreements with the Liberal positions on issues such as affirmative action or busing resent their differences of opinion being called, "thinly veiled racism."

Every time a high-profile African-American labels a legitimate accusation against him as racist, the term and the concept of racism lose credibility. Every time an unprincipled publicity hound like the Reverend Al Sharpton exploits a case like the Tawana Brawley incident for his own gain, the charge of racism loses some of its credibility. Every time a 95% turnout of African-American voters for an African-American candidate running against a white candidate is called "solid constituent support" and a 75% turnout of white voters for the white candidate is called "a racist effort by whites to maintain their monopoly on power," the charge of racism loses impact and meaning.

Many whites have indeed lost some of their hearing on the subject of racism, but part of this loss comes from damage to their ears by the din of unfounded, disingenuous accusations of racism

In our country where real racism exists—Bensonhurst and Howard Beach, burnt crosses and mail bombs—we all ought to take care to preserve the term racism for those instances where it truly applies. To cheapen the term and dull the sympathies of the average whites who are half of the solution, is to keep racism with us that much longer. Ω

Mark is a senior English major from Nashau, New Hampshire.



THE NATIONAL TRUSS / ANDREW COHEN

The Drug War:

Should WE Even Be Fighting?

Numerous academic, professional, student and business groups were sponsors of a recent symposium, "Battling Drugs: Is the War Working?" held on the UNC-CH campus March 19-21. The week provided forums to address the impact of the "drug war" on foreign and domestic cultures. The organizers and sponsors of the symposium are to be commended for their support of a timely discussion of the principles underlying this issue. What proved most revealing and disappointing about the week, however, were the terms of debate on a fundamental question more or less confronted by all participants: what should be done about drugs?

Everyone who explicitly addressed this question did so by rephrasing it. And all reformulations had something important in common: the pronoun "we."

"What are WE to do about the drug problem?" the speakers asked. "Well," came the responses, "WE have to determine what WE value most and how WE can attain it."

And off they went.

Few could deny the disturbing social trends WE face. Lenn Murrelle of UNC's School of Public Health and a former drug abuse counsellor in Medellin, Colombia, noted that American anti-drug policies are linked to an increase in Colombian murder rates and admissions in drug treatment centers. Homicide s now the leading cause of death in Colombia, unusual except for nations at war. In the U.S., noted Ethan Nadleman of Princeton, one million people are behind bars (the highest portion of the American population in history), and 40% are here on drug charges. Drugs are also linked to 70% of all violent crimes committed in America, reported N.C. Attorney General Lacy Thornburg.

Blindly throwing more money at the problem could not elp, Nadleman argued. You could turn America into a police tate—a country that was a prison—and the problem would ersist. One need only look to the incidence of drug-use in oday's maximum security prisons. Though the government has increased its expenditures on interdiction and enforcement (today at $20 billion), far too many of the counterproductive social trends continue unabated, from drug-usage to drug-related violence.

It is a national and international tragedy, the participants all cried. OUR children wander through the school day in drug-induced stupors. OUR underprivileged grow up with drug-dealers as role-models. OUR celebrities fall prey to the disease. OUR cops and judges are being corrupted. OUR babies are being born addicted to crack. My God, what are WE to do?

And what type of "message" would we send by legalization? Perhaps WE should not be sending "messages" at all about what people should do to themselves.

So the speakers offered their informative and provocative statistics and suggestions. Perhaps we need a more consistent and thorough application of law enforcement. Lee Dogolaff, President Carter's drug czar, insisted that "drugs are illegal because they are bad and they are destructive." Government's public policy must discourage this "bad" phenomenon by changing people's behavior. Dogolaff never explained why individuals have no free will to regulate their behavior, but he apparently believed we could manipulate the strings of America's population of puppets by offering a balanced approach of treatment and criminal sanctions, the combination of which would encourage the afflicted to step forward and imprison the rest.

Dare we legalize drugs? Dogolaff thought not. You see, drugs are BAD. When drugs are cheap and available, usage increases. Polls show the American population does not favor legalization. If drugs were legal, how could WE teach OUR children not to use? And would WE—could WE—distribute, say, crack to anyone who wanted it? How could WE convince people that drugs are BAD if the government is involved in their sale and distribution?

Dogolaff has an intriguing vision of society. The government's role is not to protect our rights but to put down the BAD and uphold the GOOD, especially according to popular demand. This is fine, except when your good conflicts with a more grand good WE uphold. Dogolaff also assumes as obvious that government will distribute the goodies in a post-prohibition society.

Perhaps he is too enamored with North Carolina's ABC store model of distribution of BAD things. Such distribution, however, occurs privately elsewhere without a corresponding descent into depraved anarchy. And what type of message would we send by legalization? Perhaps WE should not be sending "messages" at all about what people should do to themselves. Legalization is not acclamation. Overeating is legal, but this does not entail a message which encourages us all to be obese.

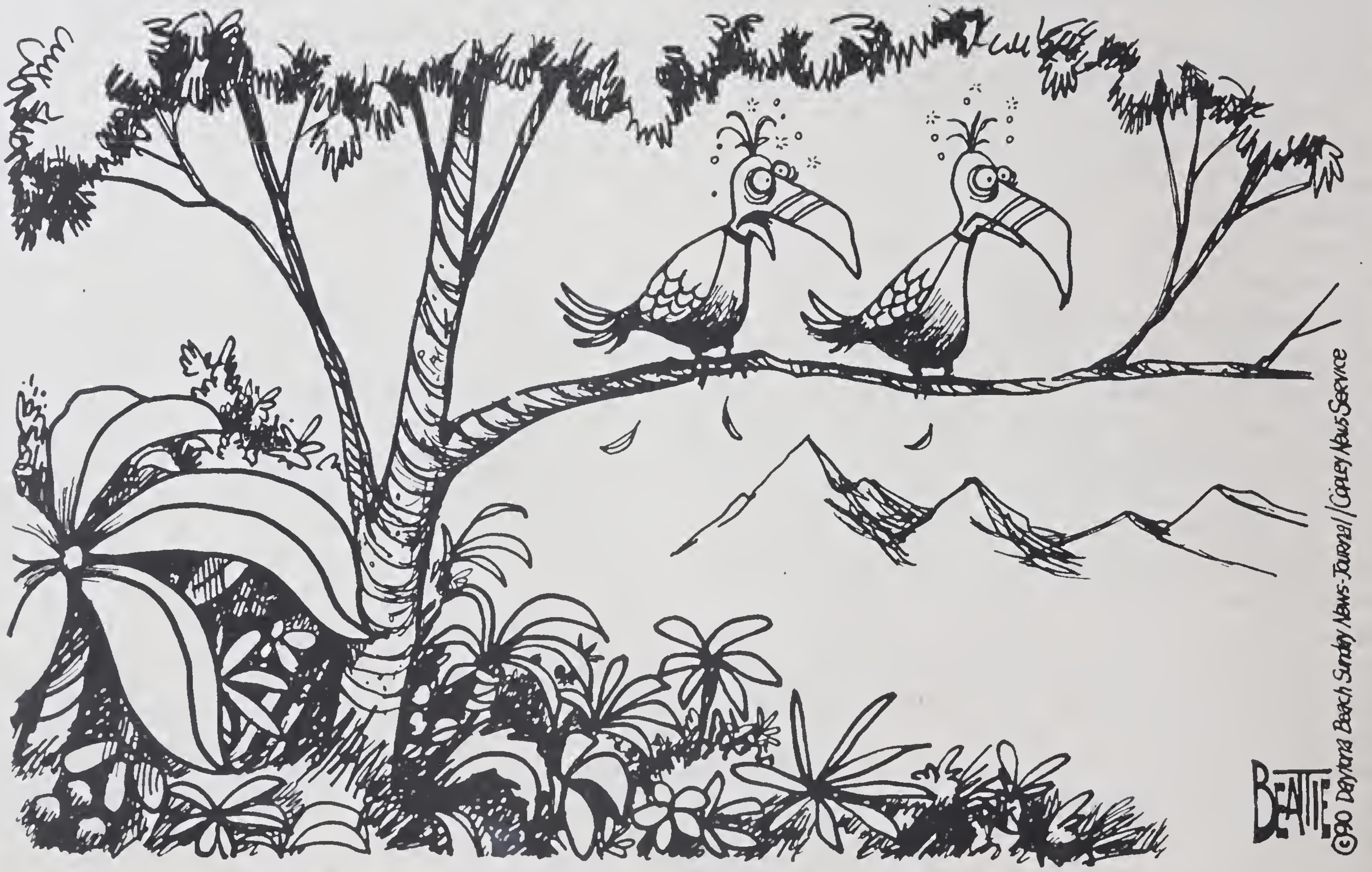
It's no victimless crime, he responded. It would be fine if users just killed themselves, but they often take others with them and sometimes do not entirely succeed, thus leaving victim and/or perpetrator on the public dole for medical care or welfare. This is also a good argument for seat-belt laws. And laws against overeating. And laws against smoking. And laws requiring daily exercise. And laws against cheap, small Japanese cars which crumple in head-on collisions. Etc.

Lacy Thornburg, NC Attorney General, provided comic relief to this grave discussion by relieving the debate of reason.

Legalization? "It's simply plain wrong," he said. Why? "I've seen a lot of BAD things happen [since I have been] your Attorney General," and that was with drugs being illegal. Making them legal would be absurd. It would send a message that drugs are "OK." But be realistic, Thornburg added, "no businessman will say he wants his employees to smoke dope. It just doesn't make sense." Drugs should be illegal because they're BAD. They're BAD because they cause you to lose rationality which causes you to lose judgment which causes you to break laws which causes you to kill people.

The rest of Thornburg's discussion was like this: babies... poor... opportunities... we need money... children... suffering... kids... we need more money... problem... responsibility... resource allocation... no quick fix... limits... standards... "we are our brother's keeper"... we need more money.

Ethan Nadleman came closest to sober thought on this issue. He noted that most violence linked with drugs is attributable to drug-prohibition. "Do we live in fear of being mugged or


BEATTIE
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"Those coca plant eating caterpillars are a lousy idea... I now have a 300 caterpillar-a-day habit!"

No matter how loud and indignantly self-righteous WE might be, the sincerity of our mob cannot override the concerns of individual liberty.

robbed by nicotine addicts?" he asked. There is no marked violence surrounding trade in tobacco or alcohol because such products are cheap. Drugs are associated with crime not because they cause lawlessness but because individuals who commit crimes happen to do drugs. Most criminals had their first arrest long before they began drug use.

Apparently, criminals historically tend to be greater users of mind-altering drugs. Keeping drugs illegal creates problems where there need not be any. An underground economy arises to meet the persistent demand, and since the trade is illegal, there is no room for non-violent controls. If someone reneges on a drug deal, he cannot be taken to court for "violation of contract:" The only enforcement to be found is in a drive-by shooting.

The actual use of drugs is a vice "crime" we can all walk away from. Vice issues, Nadleman claimed, should be left to the family and community and to individuals' self-esteem. The vast majority of Americans get nothing out of drug laws because they do not need drug laws to keep from becoming addicts, yet they're pouring billions of their dollars into vice enforcement. Indeed, Nadleman continued, there are persistent "concerns over individual liberties." As he argued, "Those people who do no harm to others should not be harmed by others and especially not by the state."

Lest one thought that Nadleman was a voice of reason in the wilderness, that's not all he said. His claim that "individual liberties" are a "concern" was appropriately worded. You see, as "concerns," they can be peripheral issues mentioned as an aside in the last 45 seconds of a discussion.

WE should legalize drugs and end the public policy debacle of the 80's, Nadleman argued. WE should stop treating the drug problem as a criminal justice problem and treat it as a *public health problem.* WE must look for the best policies to produce productive citizens in society. Legalization would allow for a diversion of OUR resources into treatment and away from counter-productive enforcement. Nadleman concluded by posing "the basic question:" "Where do you want OUR criminal justice resources going?" Should it go to locking up murderers and rapists or to imprisoning those who hurt no one but themselves?

Nadleman is an excellent example of what Ayn Rand called "the sanction of the victim." This is where an individual who's rights are violated recognizes an assailant's right to do so. Though he quipped that no one should care whether some yuppie snorts coke, he accepted the terms by which drug laws are defended. Nadleman gave every relevant reason why drugs should be legalized, save one: principle.

For Nadleman, drugs should be legalized not because individuals have rights but because he has in mind a better use for OUR resources. Indeed, drug-use might be better contained by treating it as a "public health problem," thus looking to voluntary measures on the parts of communities and families. As a public policy, money will be required. Where shall it come from?

Nadleman has an idea: legalize drugs because of the possible gains in tax-revenue on the newly permitted substances. "After all," he added, "WE might consider taxing alcohol and tobacco even more." But wouldn't such taxes amount to the state harming those who harm none but themselves? Well, maybe, but WE have to decide which policies will produce the most productive citizens for society. Who is to decide what is productive? Why is it that the primary unit of social analysis is not the individual but the citizen? Nadleman did not elaborate, but note the disturbing similarity between his notion of the role of government and that of his legalization foe, Dogolaff: both agree that government must steer individuals toward some vision of the GOOD society. One problem with such thinking is that permissible conduct is opened to definition by the arbitrary edicts of whoever has the reigns of power. This is no vision of a society ruled by law. This is no vision of a society based on a respect for individual liberty.

One does not uphold drug legalization by nickel-and-dime arguments. Nor does one do so by conceding the terms of the debate to the Dogolaffs and Thornburgs of the world. Nobody at the symposium ever explained why the drug "problem" is something with which WE should concern ourselves. Why is it anyone's business what someone does to his body?

Now when he comes to interfere in another's rights, that would be another issue. Drug use is none of OUR business for the same reasons that a cholesterol-rich, exercise-free lifestyle isn't: such behavior does not inherently involve any violation of rights. One may think that drug use is a bad idea. If one respects individual liberty, one must respect the liberty of others to do things one may find distasteful. One does not determine what it right or wrong by asking what WE want to do.

No matter how loud and indignantly self-righteous WE might be, the sincerity of our mob cannot override the concerns of individual liberty. But if WE as a society insist on social policy by mob edict, WE ought ask ourselves whether WE should use the force of the state to make sure people do not do BAD things. Perhaps we should get away from determining what we want and look to what is right and wrong. And then the question "What should be done about drugs?" can be focused by responding with another question: "Why should anything by 'done' at all?" Ω

Andrew ENJOYS the FREEdom to use as many capital letters as he wants.

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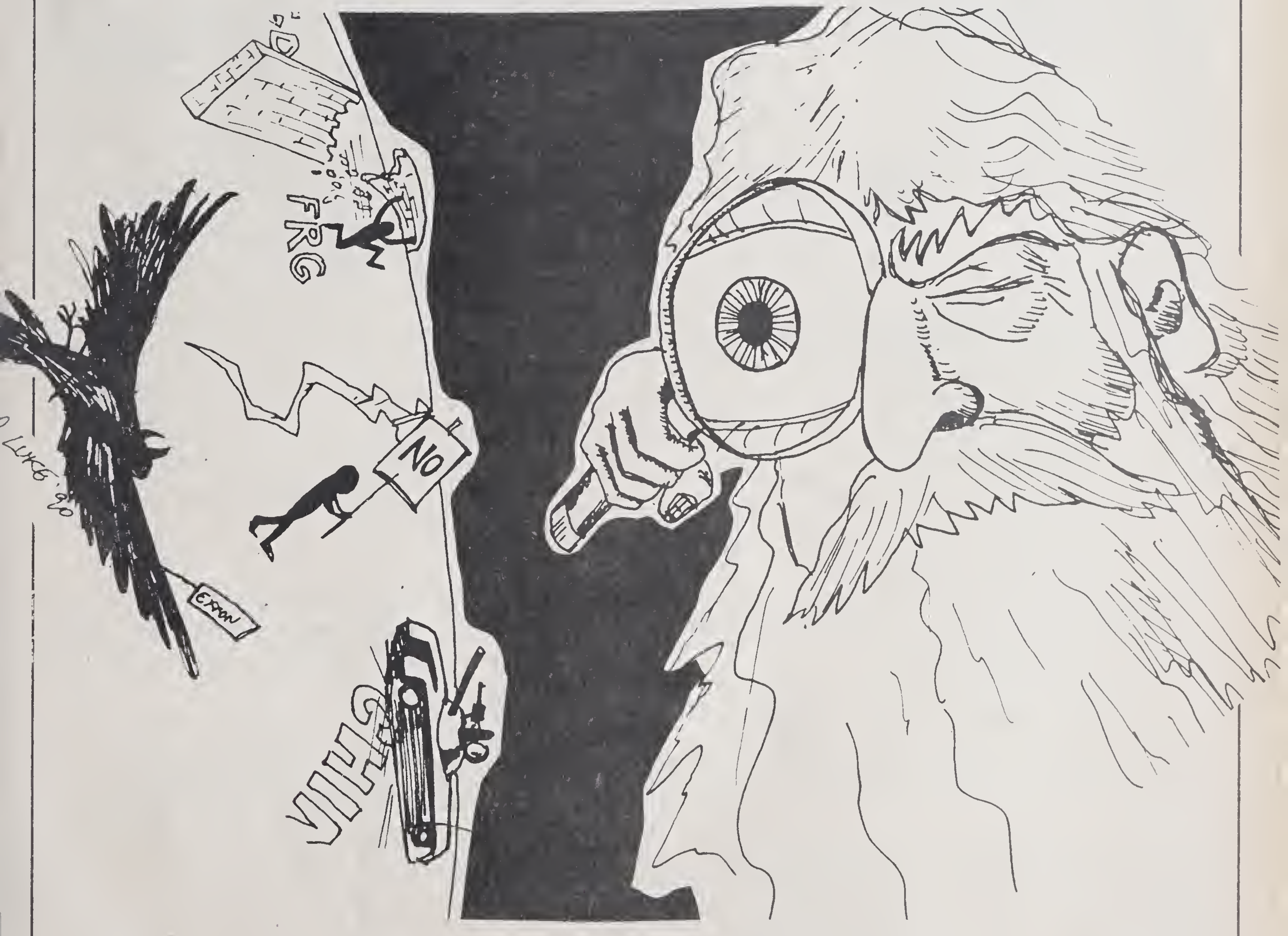
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Looking Back: A Critical Retrospective

The CAROLINA
CRITIC

A Student Journal of News & Opinion

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Thanks to Linwood Futrelle and MSC

The Carolina Critic is a student monthly magazine published by the Carolina Critic Society, 01 Steele Bldg., CB 5100, UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599 (919) 942-6060. It is affiliated with no party, religion, or social group. Subscriptions are $20 per year. Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and art are welcome, but please don't send any more copies of the Rob Lowe videotape. Authors are responsible for the content of their articles. Editors are responsible for the content of the Critical Eye. The Critical Eye is watching you.

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In This Issue

3 **Correspondence**
Bob says "Bye, bye."

4 **The Critical Eye**
A look back at the last three years of fun and games.
Across the Bows: a Retrospective
Top Ten Lies of the Left

12 **The National Truss:** *Tyke Tending*
Jason James looks at Congress's misguided child care plans and decides that the U.S. needs tax credits, not socialized day care.

14 **The World Stage:** *Third World Weapons*
Channing Rouse explores chemical and nuclear weapons proliferation in the Third World and decides that we need limited deployment of a ballistic missile defense sysem.

18 **The National Truss:** *Invisible Generation*
College students today are living in the shadow of the Baby Boomers. Bob Lukefahr argues that it is our generation that must rebuild what theirs has destroyed.

22 **The World Stage:** *Nicaragua*
Grant Thompson traces the fall of Danny Ortega and the soon-to-be-realized rise of Violeta Chamorro.

23 **Our Altered State:** *The Fall of Jimmy V.*
N.C. State Editor Paul Daniels finds that while the coach may be gone, problems persist in college athletics.

Musings, etc.

A Quick Word Before We're Outta Here

I suppose I could wax sentimental as I prepare to leave the Critic. On the other hand, it would probably be more appropriate to write some biting, humorous, dare I say snide, comment about each of my favorite left-wing antagonists. Instead, I will save the heart rending farewells for the annual Critic keg party (when everyone will be too drunk to think it absurd).

However, I would like to say thank you to all our readers, financial supporters, and the more than seventy students and faculty who have contributed to these pages over the last two years. Your work and your support *has* made a difference at UNC.

I leave the organization in good hands. In September, Ganesh Gunasekaran will be assuming his duties as editor. We are also fortunate to have Paul Daniels staying on as editor at North Carolina State, and Gray Brendle at UNC-Greensboro. John Meroney has won the Soviet-style power struggle at the Wake Forest Critic and will be taking over as editor from the graduating Jonathan Jordan.

Additionally, Elliot Fus will become Assistant Editor in charge of the Critic Lecture Series, Joy Rhyne will be our Media and Publicity Director, and Ginny Dickens will be our Business Manager. The Critic will also be taking on two additional assistant editors, Grant Thompson and Charlton Allen. Maureen Kelley will become our Senior Editor.

Of course, Jason James will stay on as Publisher and try desperately to keep everything from falling apart.

I wish them well. I don't believe that one could hope for a finer group of writers, editors and managers than one finds above. Good luck folks. And remember, never let 'em see you sweat.

Bob

Bob Lukefahr

Publisher (Retired)

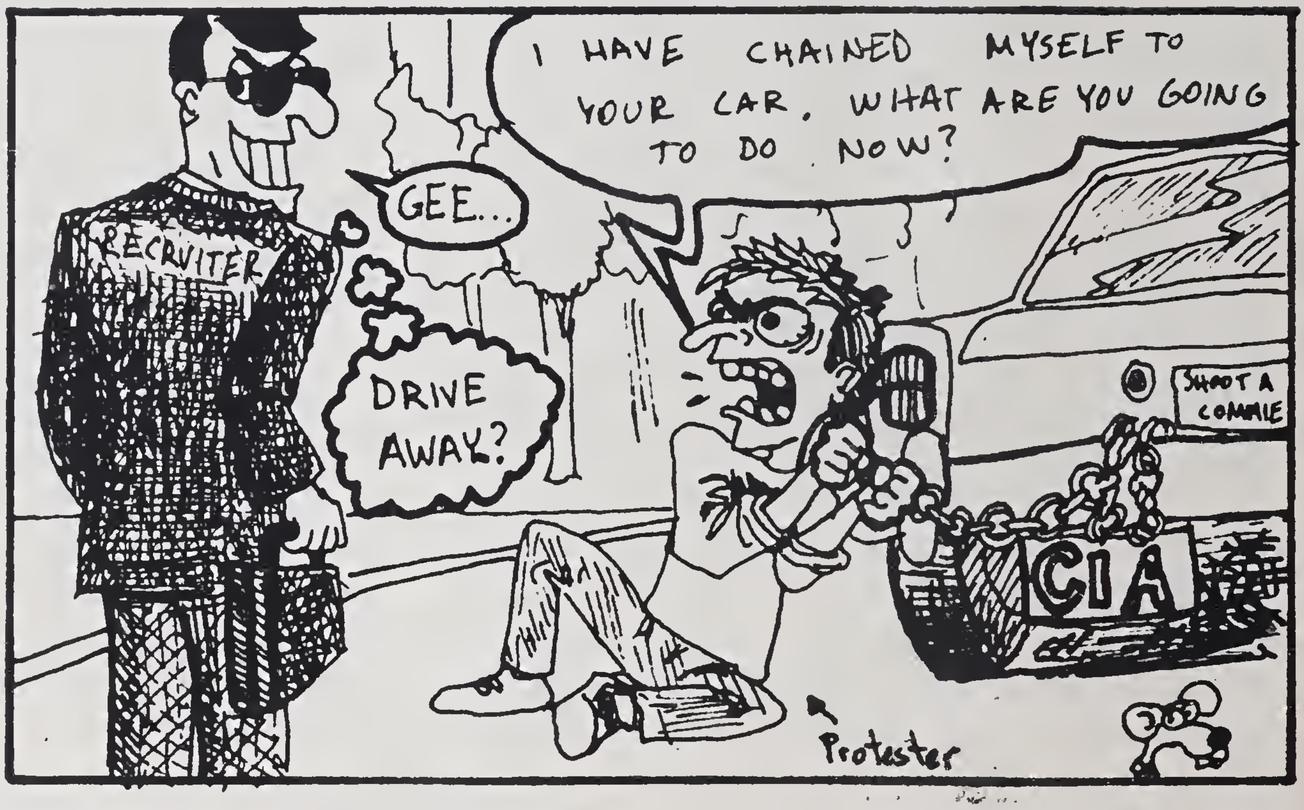
P.S. Instead of the traditonal boring article in which we reflect on our last four years at UNC, the graduating editors have decided to include a retrospective of our college careers as seen through the Critical Eye. Beginning on page 4, we present the "Best of the Eye 1987-1990." We hope you enjoy it!

We just want to remind you that subscriptions are only $20/year.

Don't you feel better now?

THE CRITICAL e·y·e

Those were the days.


I HAVE CHAINED MYSELF TO YOUR CAR. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO NOW?
GEE...
DRIVE AWAY?
RECRUITER
SHOOT A COMMIE
CIA
Protester

Now that the Critic *is nearly three years old, we thought it would be a good time to take a look back. So here it is: the good, the bad, and all the beautiful people who made it all possible—as seen through the "Critical Eye."*

December 1987

➢Back in 1791, Congress passed an excise tax on whiskey. By 1794, a full-fledged revolt was underway. Today, historians call it the Whiskey Rebellion. In 1987, Congress is kicking around the idea of tripling the federal beer tax to 65 cents per six-pack. Maybe another revolt wouldn't be such a bad idea. If the tax-hikers in Congress get their way, you Michelob drinkers out there will be choking down Hamm's or, dare we say it, Black Label beer. So write your representatives, make musket balls, stockpile gunpowder, and wait for the signal. How's this for a rallying cry: "Tax our beer and we'll break your face."

January 1988

➢The last time Gary Hart, currently leading the national polls among Democrats, was involved in a presidential bid, he lost the nomination to Walter Mondale, who got clobbered in November. The only other time, Hart managed the 1972 presidential campaign of George McGovern, who also got clobbered. Welcome back, Gary. Goodbye, Democratic victory.

➢Speaking of Losers, actor and infamous womanizer Warren Beatty was instrumental in convincing Hart to resume the campaign trail, *U.S. News* reports. Need we say more?

February 1988

➢Well folks, the final blow has been struck: Ethiopia announced recently that it will join Cuba, Nicaragua, and North Korea in a boycott of this summer's Olympic Games to be held in Seoul, South Korea. Just goes to show you what a social *faux pas* it is to hold free elections.

➢Chalk one up for Princess Ann. At the recent London AIDS conference she reminded everyone that AIDS is "a classic own [soccer] goal scored by the human race on itself, a self-inflicted wound." The Princess was referring to the fact that certain high risk behaviors, IV drug use and promiscuous anal intercourse, are largely responsible for the spread of AIDS. Despite this, the Princess was roundly criticized by those who maintain that AIDS is "no one's fault" and that "everyone's at risk." For some reason health officials who are so quick to point out the things we can do to slow down AIDS are loathe to admit that certain unsavory personal practices are responsible for the AIDS problem to begin with. Only the facts of the AIDS situation will rouse people into action. Scare tactics and propaganda will only make individuals cynical and apathetic. So, jolly good show, Princess! Now how about finding a real job, Annie.

➢In the past few weeks, more than thirty Thai soldiers have been killed in fighting with the communist Pathet Lao along the Thai/Laos border. Good thing the Domino Theory is an outmoded, simplistic view of the world or the Thais would really be in trouble.

➢In a related development, increased support among conservatives for the idea of cutting all relations with Ortega's Sandinistas and recognizing a Contra government in Nicaragua could open up the possibility of a "Freedom Fighter" Olympic team. A *contra* squad would surely do well in the shotput, the hurdles, and endurance running. By contrast, a Sandinista team could have some success in (verbal) gymnastics, in a joint entry with Cuba on the parallel bars and with their 600-man volleyball squad.

March 1988

➢Arizona is a weird place. Now comes the news that shock-rock star Alice Cooper has declared himself a write-in candidate in the recall election of flamboyant Gov. Evan Mecham. Representing the "Wild Party," Cooper claims he bought his first car years ago from Mecham. We wholeheartedly support Cooper's candidacy, if only for the simple elegance of his campaign slogan: "Alice Cooper—a troubled man for troubled times."

➢The battle continues. About 100 Hampshire College students/hoodlums took over a dormitory last month, demanding more library materials dealing with Third World nations, various special race favors, and immunity from prosecution for their "free speech." The students trudged around the small Amherst, Massachusetts campus chanting: "One, two, three, four. Racism has got to go." Calm down, Dale. Maybe they are just blank verse enthusiasts, resisting the patriarchical, bourgeois, cultural imperialism we know as rhyme.

October 1988

➢George Bush flip-flopped on the minimum wage. He now supports a higher one. But he's still no match for the Duke of the Keebler Tree, who advocates even better ways—mandatory health benefits, plant closing laws, etc.—to create unemployment.

➢The administration of of Boston University has, oh the inhumanity of it all, prohibited its dorm residents from having overnight guests of the opposite sex. BU's vice president of student affairs of the Student Union called the new rules a "violation of personal and moral freedom." Our own DTH editorial writer, Sandy Dimsdale, warns that BU president John Silber is "turning [BU] into something more like a correctional institution than an educational one." But never fear, we have a solution for this dilemma. BU should simply offer its students a choice, (a common Critic theme, as if you haven't noticed). When the annual housing application is sent out it should not only allow students to choose all-male, all-female, or co-ed dorms, but *philandering* and *non-philandering* as well. That way those students who are tired of seeing an "occupied" sign on their door won't, while those seeking Dimsdale's version of "educational environment" can find it.

➢In a fit of marital bliss, Bruce Springsteen one wrote a song for his wife entitled "Everything I Have is Yours." Now she has filed for divorce. Life imitates art.

➢Larry Hartsell, pastor of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, said about critics of *The Last Temptation of Christ*: "I object to people making protests against something they haven't seen." Does this mean that his church plans to end Good Friday services?

Pseudo-Bumper Sticker #1 (October 1988)

The Few, the Loud,
the
TRENDINISTAS

ACROSS THE BOWS

In the fall of 1988, a bright-eyed young writer became disillusioned with the sophomoric ramblings of the leftists in the campus media. When he joined the Critic *staff, he started a column to answer their arguments with his own reasoned analysis. Now that Bob is graduating, we take a look at some choice responses, as he fired answers back "across the bows."*

October 1988

Shame on you, Dave Hall, calling our vice-president "Herr Bush." We don't call the governor "Comrade Dukakis."

December 1988

From the Collective Guilt Department: editorial writer Sandy Dimsdale writes, "If nothing more comes from Human Rights Week, students should hope that all who see the swastikas in the Pit will be ashamed." Preposterous! Why should we all be ashamed just because a few racist pinheads have painted swastikas by the Pit? It is not our collective fault that they have the intellect of the average turnip. We should be angry, disgusted, and outraged, but not ashamed. That's the problem with these collective guilt trips—if everybody is to blame, then nobody is accountable. It is the perpetrators who ought to be ashamed. Of course, I may be splitting hairs. Maybe Dimsdale *meant* to write angry, disgusted, outraged, etc.

February 1989

DTH guest writer Michael Spirtas tried to convince us that: "The recent election proved beyond any doubt that intelligence is weakness in a presidential candidate." Which obviously explains why the American people elected George Bush, Phi Beta Kappa, Yale University ('48), and former adjunct professor at Rice University. Boy are you guys sore losers! We are beginning to suspect, however, that intelligence is not a requirement for DTH columnists.

April 1989

DTH editorial writer Kim Edens has once again provided us with arguments that are mercifully free of the tyranny of reason. Her article "Children going to the chair" is another DTH classic. You will find gems like "The use of the death penalty is founded on the dual principles of punishment and rehabilitation." Although execution certainly does reduce recidivism, rehabilitated dead people are extremely rare.

The article concerns a 12-year-old Florida girl who got frustrated while babysitting one day and strangled her 2-year-old brother. Kim is outraged that the good people of Florida have seen fit to arrest the girl. They even had the audacity to charge her with murder! According to our budding legal counsel, "If the girl were a delinquent with past examples of dangerous or erratic behavior, perhaps her prosecution would be more understandable." Oh, we get it, Kim, if she had killed two or three siblings *then* she would be worthy of punishment.

But as Kim points out, "according to her teachers, the girl was a good student and a responsible child." Maybe we are being a little bit harsh. After all this *was* her first killing.

■

December 1988

➢Our proposals for avoiding another 1-10 football season: 1) Black "stealth" head-gear and uniforms for backs and receivers. 2) In all ACC contests, both teams should be required to take pre-game written tests on cursive writing, telling a circle from a square, and remembering your address and phone number. Those who pass, play in the game, thereby assuring wins over State and Clemson.

➢According to Karl Marx: "Defining by a general law the expenditures on the elementary schools, the qualifications of the teaching staff, the branches of instruction, and as is done in the United States, supervising the fulfillment of these legal specifications by state inspectors, is a very different thing from appointing the state as the educator of the people! Government... should rather be excluded from any influence in the school." Which probably confirms what you've always suspected: the American education establishment is a little to the left of Karl Marx.

➢Timeless trendinistas: In 1854, the student editors of UNC's *University Magazine* wrote, "The fire of rebellion is generally kindled by a certain class of students who spent their time at something lese than with their textbooks. They talk loudly and pathetically of the gross injustices done them." At least there is one university tradition we know will endure.

January 1989

➢The results are in... according to the *New York Times*, 62 percent of college students voted for George Bush, as did a bare majority (50 to 48 percent) of postgraduates (all TAs are of course suspect). Meanwhile Dukakis won a whopping 56 percent of the highly coveted high school drop-out vote. All of this proves what Susan Esterich said throughout the campaign: Dukakis' supporters obviously had a better grasp of the issues. Sow much for elekshunn '88.

➢Roy Innis went to trial recently for making a rather violent citizen's arrest on a man who was trying to steal his car. Innis said, "He resisted. Frankly, I wasn't sorry." Hey Roy, what happened to a "kinder, gentler America?"

➢The prosecutor in the Innis case said "this family man, while plying his trade, was set upon brutally by Mr. Innis." That's right, Innis was prosecuted for attacking a fine, socially upstanding—car thief. "Dillinger" Innis was acquitted—this time.

➢"How do you deal with a ex-lover who simply can't understand why you aren't friends with her and her current lover?" This burning issue was raised by UNC lesbian activist Liz Stiles in the December issue of the *Lambda*. Well, Liz, we think that by embarrassing the hell out of her in a campus publication you may just have solved the problem.

February 1989

➢Little-Did-We-Know Dept: a reader of *U.S. News and World Report* wrote, 'What has Reagan meant to America? Ask 80,000 dead and dying AIDS patients." And we thought the disease came from unsafe sex. No wonder Ron looks so tired all the time.

➢UNC President C.D. Spangler decided to enter the LBO sweepstakes by placing a bid for RJR-Nabisco during that company's recent takeover. Along with that story, we learned that President Spangler is on the board of directors of Jefferson-Pilot Insurance Company. While we shouldn't discourage the president from wearing several hats (thought at last check he only had one head), we should pay attention to what William Friday, Mr. Spangler's predecessor, said on this matter. Mr. Friday never sat on a corporate board during his 30-year tenure as UNC President because there "was so much happening and so much changing that I didn't have time."

March 1989

➢Kudos to Carol Geer and the CAA for winning the referendum for the Student Rec Center. We note that in the battle to raise student fees, Carol had several powerful allies, including the *Daily Tar Heel*. One thing we did find amusing about the DTH's unqualified endorsement of the Rec Center was the Feb. 20th issue. On the same day they threw their support behind the Center, their Housing Guide advised the off-campus student who wanted additional "amenities," such as "weight rooms," "to decide if he or she is willing to pay $44 more." Well what do you think folks, should we raise the rent at Tar Heel Manor so everyone can enjoy the weight facilities at Ramsgate? Sounds fair doesn't it?

➢In January, Dook was used to stand-in for the mythical Llanview University during filming of the soap opera *One Life to Live*. Displaying the aesthetics expected of a low-brow thespian, cast member Tammy Anderson gushed of Dookies, "Can I wrap up a few of these guys and take them back to New York?" Hell yes you can take 'em! They're all from New Jersey anyway.

➢"Free the lobsters!" yelled members of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, who then spent $240 buying and shipping lobsters from a Maryland restaurant to the coast of Maine where the former death row inmates were released on their own recognizance.

➢On the domestic pinhead front, Washington, DC Mayor Marion Barry threatened to remove any police official who publicly called for an increase in the number of officers to fight the crime wave that grips his fair city. If you want to stay out of trouble, Marion, why don't you *legalize* drugs and prostitution?

➢Barbara Bush set aside a White House tradition and didn't buy a new set of official china when they moved in. *Big* sacrifice! How many place settings does it take to serve pork rinds anyway?

April 1989

➢ True fact: Eddie Hatcher asked the Soviet Embassy for political asylum. Sad fact: the Soviets refused.

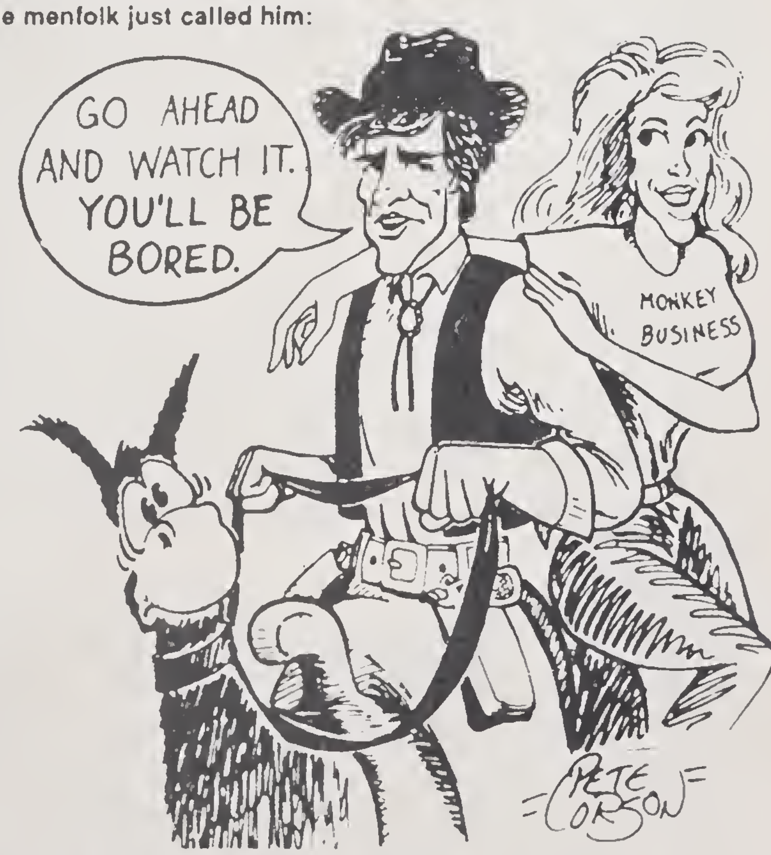
➢ DTH editorial writer Dave Starnes, always willing to defend

(October 1989)

Out of the West came the legend
No one knew his real name
No one even knew his real age
But as quickly as he appeared, he was gone
The men sighed. The women cried

And then, suddenly, he was back
Drifting on the High Plains of Iowa
Riding the Pale Ridges of New Hampshire
And cutting it Every Which Way But Loose
In search of a Fistful of Dollars

The womenfolk called him Honey
The menfolk just called him:



WOODLIEF'S CAROLINA PORK BARREL—APRIL 1989

Santa came to several student organizations last month in the form of Student Congress. Here's a partial list of this year's big winners. (Please forgive me if my numbers are a little off, but every time I went by to get an official list of appropriations, no one seemed to have a clue about how to obtain one. Apparently they are better at spending our money than keeping track of it.) The Executive Branch: $21,785; The Phoenix: $17,138; Student Television: $14,395; Victory Village Day Care: $12,885; CGLA: $2,131. This is great if you happen to be a homosexual bureaucrat with children who has poor taste in newspapers and entertainment, but what about the other 99% of the student population?

Don't be alarmed. Not all of our student politicians have lost their spend-what-isn't-mine attitude. Dist. 16 Rep. Gene Davis wants to someday see the yearbook funded completely by student fees, so everyone can have a copy. Clue in Gene. **Nobody wants one!** If nobody will buy one voluntarily, how can you justify making us pay for them?

(October 1989)

After reading the CRITIC for at least two enlightening months, you've no doubt abandoned any leftist tendencies you might have had. At this time we'd like to point some of the leftwing pitfalls you will probably encounter here at UNC, where trendy lefties thrive. So, without further delay, we present

THE TOP TEN LIES OF THE LEFT:

1. Marxism hasn't failed, it's just never been tried.
2. The Great Depression was the result of unfettered capitalism.
3. I did not learn my political ideology from a bumper sticker.
4. ______ is the fault of American imperialism.
5. I am not a conformist, I really like these clothes.
6. Radical feminists don't hate men.
7. It's not his fault — society is to blame.
8. I had a lot of friends in high school.
9. I would think this way even if my parents weren't rich.
10. I don't read the CRITIC.

the mediocre public school system, criticizes the view by some parents that "public schools are inadequate, so instead of doing something about it, [they] send the kids somewhere else." This "somewhere else," of course, would be private schools. He feels these "are an option reserved for very few families," presumably only the wealthy. Wrong again, Dave. Private schools aren't only for the rich, and they don't have to cost more than their public counterparts. Take for example the Chad School in Newark, NJ. Its annual operating cost per student is only $2,200, compared to $7,600 for Newark public schools. According to *Insight* magazine, Chad's students reflect an ethnic and social background "virtually identical to those of the neighboring public schools" — mostly disadvantaged blacks and Hispanics.

The unique difference between Chad (and other inner-city private schools) and your revered public schools is that the school must produce results. Teachers have to produce successful students to keep their jobs. One teacher says Chad will "flunk the teacher before we flunk the child." The point is, Dave, that the marketplace will provide schools that respond to the demand for educated students. Chad director Leon Moore says that public schools are "spending all of my tax dollars, and they're spending yours, and they're producing failure."

September 1989

➢China had a brief encounter with democratic idealism this summer when students gathered in Tienanmen Square, erected a Statue of Liberty and demanded reforms. Responsive as ever to the desires of the people, Deng Xiaoping became a reformed Maoist, the People's Army reformed into Government death squads and the students became reformed corpses. Meanwhile Britain carefully avoided a brush with democratic idealism by reassuring Beijing that Hong Kong would indeed be turned over to China in 1997 as scheduled. More reforms are predicted.

➢The late Al Capp, creator of the *Lil' Abner* comic strip, knew how to win friends and influence socially conscious students during the 1960s. Because of the popularity of his satirical comic, Capp was much in demand to speak on college campuses. But, as he told William F. Buckley on *Firing Line*, protesting students didn't appreciate it when he hurled stinging barbs at them. "Oh, every now and then some student arises, quivering with rage, and says: 'Mr. Capp, you detest us, so why are you speaking here at Chapel Hill?' And I say, 'For three thousand bucks and I wouldn't spend an hour with a bunch like you for a nickel less... At Southern Illinois University, just the other day, one of them got up and said, 'We detest Mayor Daley, how can we poison Lake Michigan?' And I said, 'Why don't you *bathe* in it?'"

October 1989

➢Are we the only ones, or are you getting sick and tired of hearing television news reporters, who don't know a word of Spanish, dutifully trying to pronounce the names of Central American countries with a Spanish dialect. Apparently it is now politically correct to pronounce Nicaragua, Knicker-r-r-rag-wa; Honduras, On-dur-r-r-rahs; and Chile Chee-lay. So far as we know, however, France is still pronounced France, Japan is still pronounced Japan, and The Soviet Union is still pronounced "The Reds."

➢Residents of New Jersey can now file for unemployment compensation via fax machine. Or you can have your butler drop it by.

➢Fresh from the DTH's Ministry of Repetitive Redundancy Department — Columnist Chris Landgraff, in an insightful analysis of President Bush's drug war, claims that "unless more money is allocated and new avenues are approached, the rhetoric of the war on drugs will be nothing more than talk." Heaven help us when rhetoric becomes nothing more than talk. The next thing you know, language will be nothing more than words.

➢*Playboy*-stricken former UNC student Laura Gowdy, recent graduate of the UNC School of Voyeurism and consumer advocate, was quoted in the DTH as saying that the "people who are selling *Playboy* are selling sex, but it's not sex. I've seen sex, and that's not it." Go get 'em Laura, the average sex consumer needs protection...

➢Dean of Students Frederic Schroeder, in a letter opposing the traditional Lewis streak, commented that streaking was no longer acceptable because, among other things, it has the potential for "the infliction of emotional distress." To all of you "underclassmen" who would be emotionally distressed streaking next to the "upperclassmen," we say, if you can't party with the big boys, don't even bother showing up.

➢Is this place crazy or what? Chapel Hill is performing vasectomies and tubal ligations on beavers in order to keep the population from skyrocketing and ravaging the tree population. We say make 'em use condoms like everyone else.

➢A Jacksonville, North Carolina, man was awarded workman's compensation after a group of Navy commandos "attacked" the drawbridge where he worked. Apparently he was so terrified after being met in the night by the gun toting sailors that he suffered permanent emotional distress. As far as we know this is the first time the U.S. military has scared anyone since Grenada.

November 1989

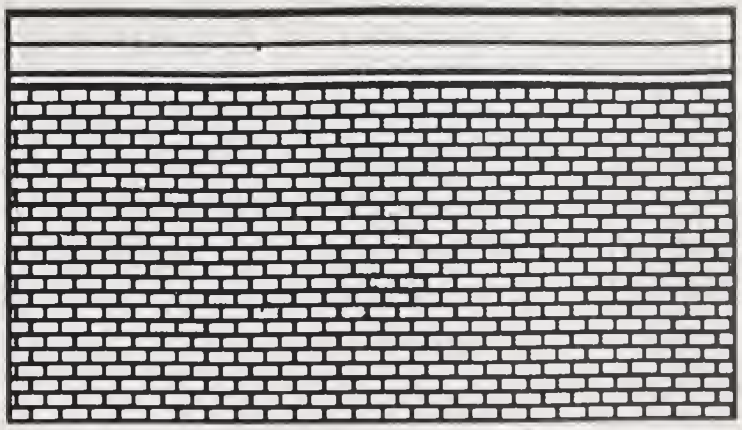
➢Good news for all you frustrated physics students; a group of scientists have decided that all matter is made up of three fundamental particles. There are quarks (both the up and down kind), charged leptons, and neutral leptons. This should make your next test considerably easier.

➢In a related development, a crack team of political scientists, commissioned by the Critic, has determined that the political spectrum also consists of three types of people: those who don't care, those who don't understand, and those who read the Critic.

(October 1988)

The Best in Swimming
Climbing
Sprinting
Handgliding
Riflery

The Berlin Wall Games 1988



Long after the Olympics are over
the Berlin Games go on . . .

A TED TURNER PRODUCTION

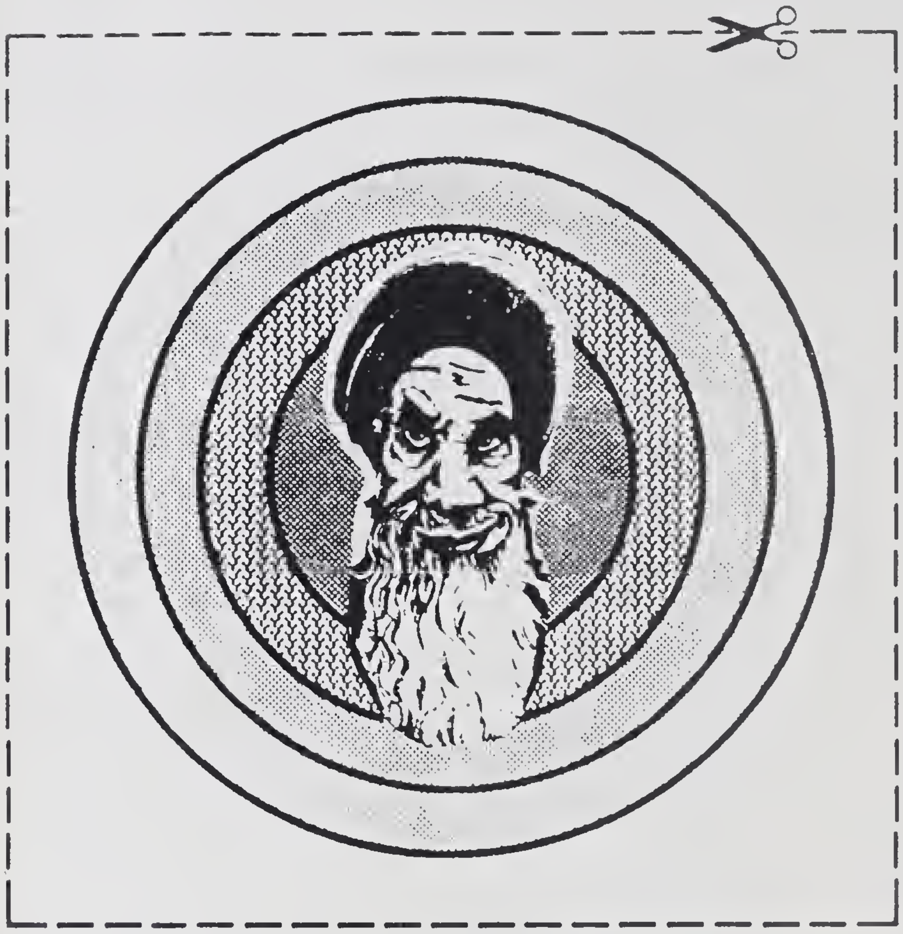
➢Rest easy everyone, the UNC Student Congress, having a moment to spare from wasting your money, has seen fit to guarantee abortion rights for women. We'll all sleep easier.

➢Kevin Watkins, a third-year law student at Harvard, was unceremoniously booted out after University officials discovered he had been making videotapes of himself and an undergraduate having sex. Cheer up, Kevin! While you may not pass the bar, you certainly qualify for the U.S. Congress.

➢New medical research has found that information from the senses can bypass the analysis section of the brain, the neocortex, and go directly to the emotion forming part, the amygdala. This means that emotions can be can be formed independent of rational thought. Finally, medical science has delivered an explanation for the modern American liberal.

➢Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., was offended after viewing a picture of U.S. Marine recruits displaying the hand-painted slogan, "kill, rape, pillage, burn." Perhaps Sen. McCain, who apparently attended the Lt. William Calley School of Military

(March 1989)



Pity Salman Rushdie. The Ayatollah Khomeini put out a $3.7 million contract on the author, and stores across the country have threatened to take his books off the shelves. Just for a little blasphemy! What's a tolerant society to do? Fear not. The Critic *will* avenge this attack on freedom of expression. We hereby issue our own contract. Unfortunately, we aren't a major petroleum exporting nation, so funds are limited. By passing the turban, we were able to raise a stunning $3.76. This impressive prize will be awarded to the first person to pelt the Ayatollah with a spit ball. ($1 bonus if you're a Duke student.) Training for the Critic *jihad* begins immediately. We have generously provided a practice target. Launching straws are available at Lenoir Hall.

Euphemisms, would be more comfortable with the slogan, "tickle, kiss, borrow, warm." Maybe, given a rash of recent military accidents and budget overruns, the Marine slogan ought to be, "crash, explode, malfunction, overspend."

➢In the New York mayoral race Democratic candidate David Dinkins had an amusing skeleton creep out of his closet. It seems that he *forgot* to pay his income taxes for four years. Amazingly, the voters are buying this story, and he will almost certainly be the next mayor. So next time you don't get a paper in by the deadline, just cite the Dinkin's Excuse. Since most professors are diehard Democrats anyway, it's bound to work.

➢For all you North Carolinians who have developed "Dinkins Amnesia," remember you have until December 1st to take advantage of the tax amnesty. After that you will have to settle for becoming chief executive of a major city.

December 1989

➢Those who complain that America is getting soft on crime would do well to consider the plight of inmates in a Washington prison, where routine dining fare includes "road kills." Drivers who nail wild game on the state's roads have the option of selling the meat (after inspection) to the prison. Let's hope Marriott doesn't get any bright ideas, or we could be in for "15-501 Night" at Lenoir.

January 1990

➢"We have a political system called "democracy" (from the ancient Greek words "demo," meaning "men," and "cracy," meaning "wearing blue suits") under which we, The People, do not personally govern the nation because we have to work"— Syndicated columnist Dave Barry.

➢"What is called a slum here would be very comfortable housing in my country"— Soviet Politboro member Boris Yeltsin, after driving through Harlem.

February 1990

➢There were over 20,000 applicants for the several hundred positions offered by the McDonald's recently opened in Moscow. By contrast, a New York city woman told the *New York Times* that she would rather panhandle in the New York subways and make ten dollars an hour than work at McDonald's for four dollars an hour. The American "work ethic" thrives in the Big Apple.

April 1990

➢The U.S. Department of Agriculture is going to spend $6.5 million on research involving coca-devouring larvae. The plan is to airdrop the bugs over Peru and Bolivia. The Critic staff proposes spending the money developing a "red-tape worm," which can be airdropped on Washington to save us from future hair-brained USDA schemes.

Three Years Later...

A Progess Report from the Carolina Critic Society

•Please answer this multiple choice question•
Which one of the following does NOT describe the Carolina Critic Society?

A. Publishes a student journal of opinion at four major universities in North Carolina.
B. Sponsors a biweekly television debate on student and world affairs.
C. Defends intellectual freedom and traditional values.
D. Has enough funding to operate for years to come.

Sadly, 'D' is the correct answer, for we are nearly out of money and may not be able to continue our programs next year. We need your tax-deductible contribution to fight the left-wing propaganda that pervades our campuses. Please help.

The CAROLINA
CRITIC

01 Steele Bldg, CB 5100 • UNC • Chapel Hill, NC 27599

☐ Please send me additional information about the Critic Society's programs.

☐ I would like to help the Critic by making a ***tax-deductible*** contribution of:

☐ $20.00
☐ $50.00
☐ $100.00
☐ $500.00
☐ Other ________

Name ____________________
Address ____________________
____

THE NATIONAL TRUSS / JASON JAMES

Tyke Tending

When Uncle Sam Rocks the Cradle

Raising children is not what it used to be. In the "good old days," Mom, Dad, and Grandma shared one of life's most challenging and rewarding duties. Now Uncle Sam wants to rock the cradle as well. Unfortunately, he is about to tip it over. Under the guise of helping working mothers, statists in Congress are close to finalizing a child care bill that will coddle middle class yuppies while hurting poor families desperately in need of help. The goal? Replace parents with the Great Federal Baby Production Machine—socialized day care.

Today's child care plans actually hark back to the grand days of social welfare—Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. In 1971, then-congressman Walter Mondale aimed to create a massive network of federal day care centers so that each child could experience the "glories of communal child-rearing." President Nixon vetoed the bill, but unfortunately, the hydra grew another head last year with the Senate passage of the $2.5 billion Act for Better Child Care (ABC) bill. In a typical bicameral failure to agree on anything, the House has passed a different child care bill, notable for its ability to appease Republicans with tax credits and Democrats with block grants paid for by a "mere" $16 billion telephone tax.

Both bills share several faults. To begin with, their reliance on block grants severely limits parental options. Parents can only receive money for their child care choice if it is licensed and regulated. This very conveniently leaves out religious day care centers, the housewife down the street, grandma, and parents who stay at home to take care of their children. Concern over the separation of church and state will limit licensing of religious day care centers. The others will be stifled by myriad regulations on things like bathrooms, fences, and doors.

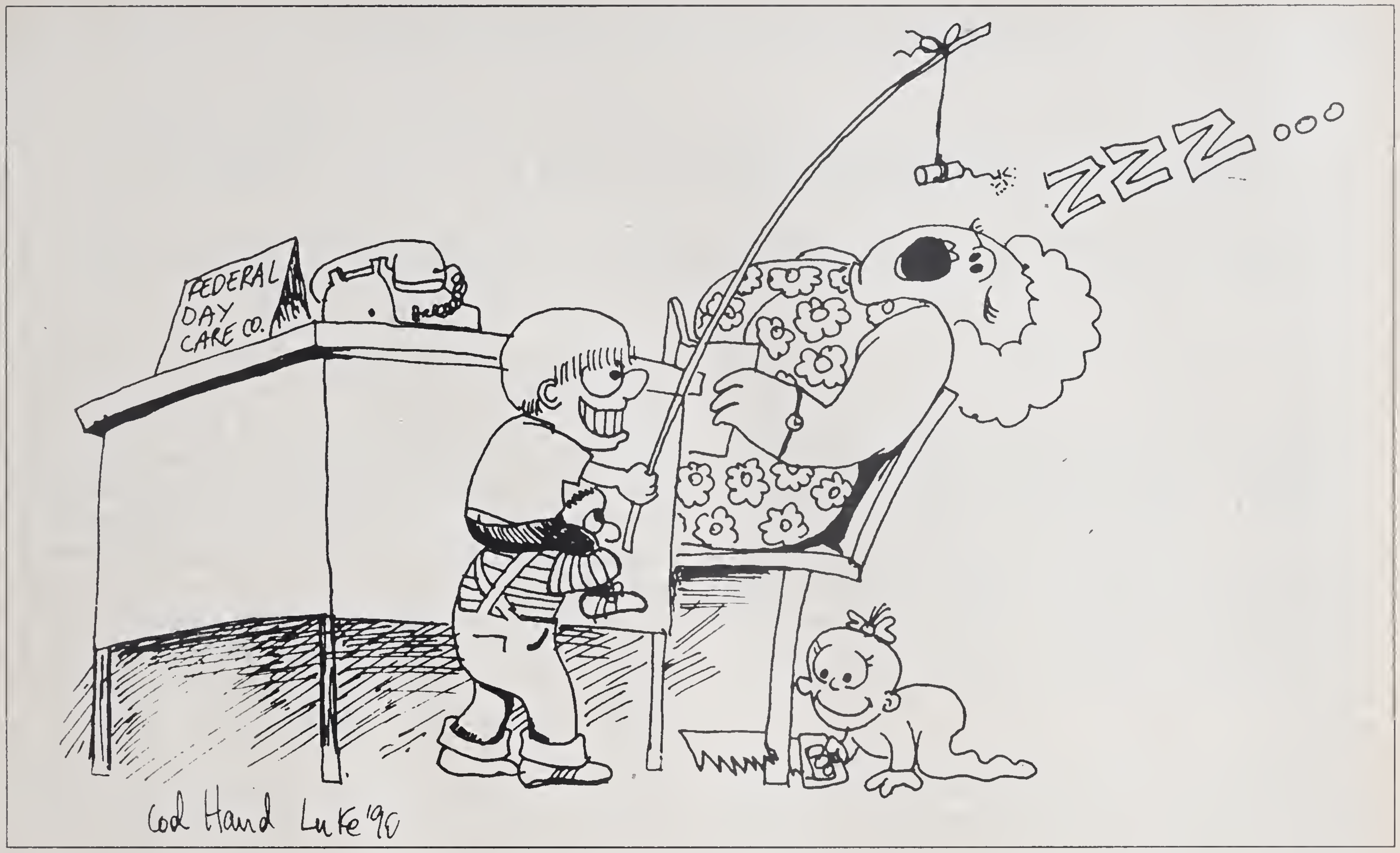
JUST THE FACTS, MA'AM...

Cost of the Act for Better Child Care: $2.5 billion
Amount of this to be spent on administrative costs: $625 million
Percentage of working mothers who have no trouble arranging child care: 67
Average income of family where both parents work in 1986: $38,000
Where one parent works: $25,000
Highest income level that would be eligible for federal subsidy under ABC bill: $47,000
Tax increase per family necessary to pay for this program: $2,000
Tax credit given per child under the Bush Administration child care proposal: $1,000

Current restrictions are partly to blame for today's tyke tending crisis. Ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous, they have driven up the cost of providing licensed day care. For example, after one woman's operation was inspected by state officials, they asked her to evaluate the facility's "vulnerability to terrorist attacks." Another was told that all dolls must be "fully clothed during business hours." Remember child-proof safety caps on aspirin bottles? The only people who could open them were four year olds. Child care regulations have similarly perverse effects. In another case, potential regulations could shut down a day care center set up by North Carolina Rep. Cass Ballenger to serve the poor.

These regulations are also costly. A fire inspector insisted that a door at a day care center be rehung so that it opened outward. The next year another inspector demanded that the same door open inward. In predictable bureaucratic fashion, the third yearly inspection called for the door to open outward again. Another day care was required to build a six foot fence 900 feet long at the back of the property. The fence was later lowered to four feet when a different inspector changed the requirement.

It is hard to believe that American children benefit when good day care programs are strangled by pointless restrictions. What will happen to these children when their parents cannot find alternative affordable care? This is a question Culver City, California parents may ask themselves if city ordinances force the closing of a local day care center. A former teacher with a master's degree in education and a state child care license has been harassed for more than three years by city officials trying to put her out of business. In a clear effort to improve the quality of the children's care, authorities tried to require that she provide a covered parking place for each of her employees. Fortunately, this was overturned under state law. Granted that this is an example of local ordinances



and not of federal regulation, but the national programs will force the proliferation of constricting local regulations.

Many day care centers struggle to survive without catching Big Brother Washington's eye. These are the unlicensed and therefore illegal operations that cater to a poorer clientele. They usually fail to meet regulations requiring separate bathrooms for children and day care workers or have approved fences surrounding the yard. Often run by neighborhood housewives, they are also as much as three or four times cheaper than licensed programs. In this case, cheaper does mean better. A national study concluded that day care providers in neighborhood homes are actually more attentive to children's emotional needs than are employees in formal institutions. Under the ABC plan, they would be regulated and more expensive or become ineligible for government aid. In either case, the poor lose.

The middle class would benefit the most from the ABC bill. According to Karl Zinsmeister of the American Enterprise Institute, the ABC bill "would follow in the path of our existing Child Care Tax Credit [which] is available only to parents who pay someone else to raise their youngsters." The current program gives up to $1,440 in tax credits for children placed in day care while giving nothing for home care. Naturally, beneficiaries are usually two income families earning an average of $10,000 more than their single breadwinner counterparts. The ABC bill also contains a yuppie loophole—families that earn up to 115 percent of a state's median income are eligible for federal day care subsidies. Massachusetts families making $45,000 and Illinois families making $40,000 would qualify. But in poorer families, which are often unable to afford day care at even the subsidized rate, one parent will still have to watch the children. A 1987 study concluded that the poorest tenth of families spend one quarter of their income on child care. Yet the net effect of the ABC bill would be to redistribute wealth from the poor to the middle class.

If, on the other hand, the Bush administration's child care proposal was passed, poor children could receive proper attention, from either their parents or day care. Bush wants a tax credit given to parents of children under four years of age, up to $1,000 per child. Because the full amount of the credit would be refundable, even families too poor to pay taxes would benefit. Unlike the ABC plan, the Bush proposal does not assume that the federal government knows what is best for America's children. Should we trust the same clueless bureaucracy that has given us falling SAT scores and rising drop-out rates to take care of kids before they reach kindergarten? Why would day care would be any different? The solution lies in parents' hands—they know what is best for their kids and have the greatest interest in finding it. Let them watch their kids at home or choose the day care that best suits their needs.

The question is not whether America's children need the supervision of an attentive adult. Obviously they do. Let parents choose the best way to raise their children. Whether this is professional day care, neighborhood supervision, or the full time dedication of a parent, there is no single solution to every problem. Will Congress recognize this and act accordingly? Perhaps, and a whole lot of young lives will be affected by their decision. Ω

Jason will be Publisher of the CRITIC *next fall.*

THE WORLD STAGE / CHANNING ROUSE

More Dangerous than We Think

Third World Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Proliferation

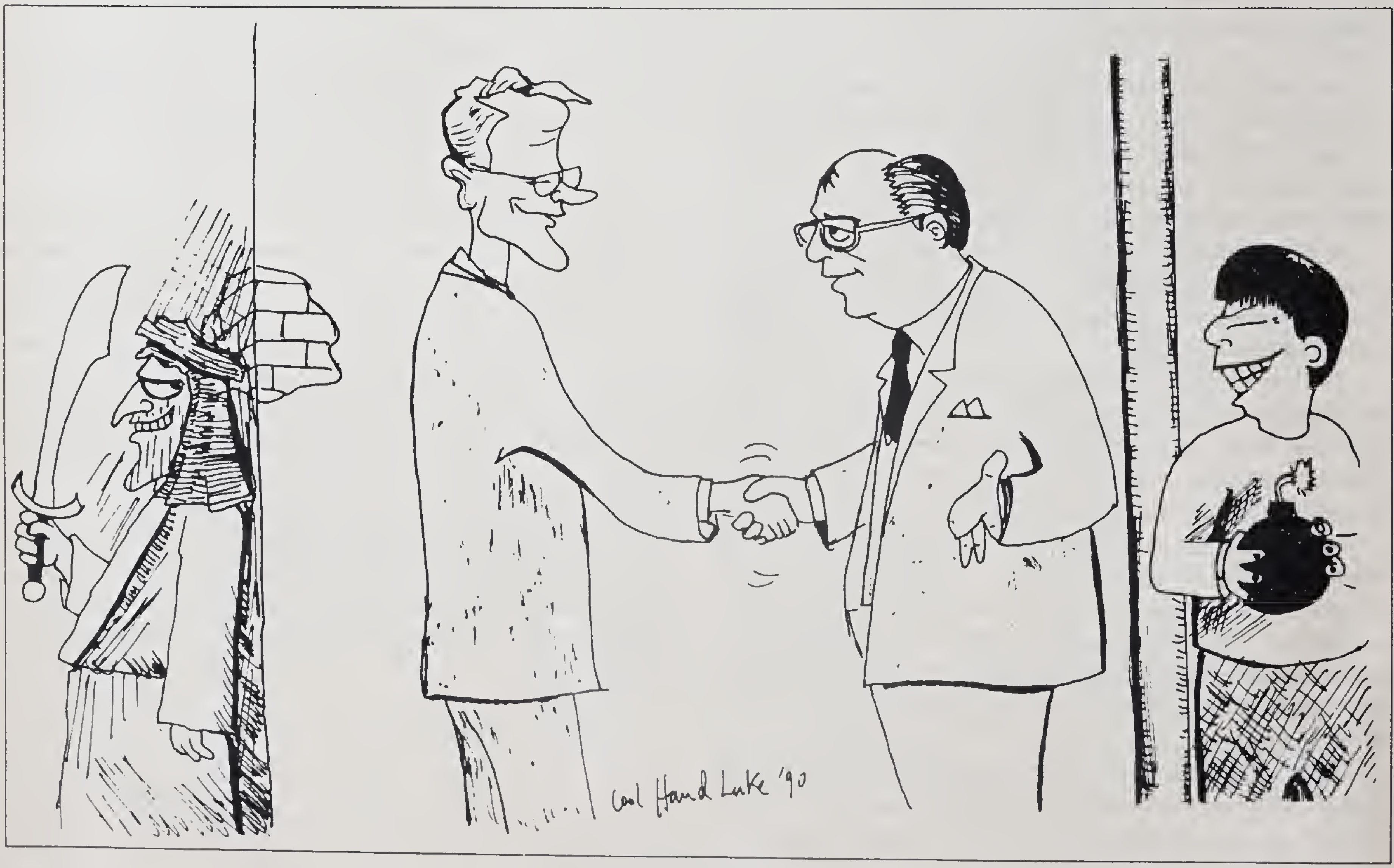
With the Cold War ending and an emphasis on superpower negotiation and cooperation, the defense budget is up for grabs. Granted, the decreased Soviet threat does warrant substantial change in U.S. defense posture. However, the nation must not become complacent. It must be willing to protect its security interests. In the frenzy to reallocate revenue from the "peace dividend," Congress seems content to ignore an ever-increasing threat to global stability—third world missile proliferation.

In a report to Congress, CIA Director William Webster indicated that at least 15 developing countries will have ballistic missile capability by the year 2000. Nine of the 15 are thought to have nuclear weapons and 14 are known to possess chemical weapons arsenals.

Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has highlighted the destabilizing nature of ballistic missile development. In the past, countries which acquired such technology were not considered hostile to the United States. This is no longer true. Both Iran and North Korea appear to be of the verge of producing nuclear weapons. Iraq, Brazil, Argentina and Libya are actively pursuing similar programs. What Spector dubs the "silent spread" of nuclear capability is encompassing the globe.

Nuclear acquisition notwithstanding, chemical arms are relatively easy to manufacture. The widespread production and use of these weapons, especially in the Middle East, combined with longer-range missile capability has dire implications for regional and international security interests. China has sold Iran and Saudi Arabia at least 50 missiles possessing a 2,200 km range. Iraq claims to have developed a missile with a range of 1,800 km. Experts in the arms field have predicted that within five years Libya will have the technology to produce an intercontinental ballistic missile which could easily target U.S. cities.

The Libyan chemical plant fiasco provides a disturbing



example of the secretive nature of third world weapons production. In an effort to avoid a preemptive strike against the installation, Libyan officials started a mock fire, painted burn markings on the outer walls of the plant, and publicly attributed the destruction to "Western agents."

Clearly, these activities demonstrate the lengths to which a nation will go to protect its offensive capability. Currently the U.S. has no means of determining the magnitude of missile development in the third world. The United States cannot afford to rely solely on intelligence gathering, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), or the benevolence of third world dictators.

In light of these recent trends, the United States is left with few options. Active research and development of a ballistic missile defense (BMD) system is the only viable alternative to the threat posed by radical and unstable regimes armed with nuclear weapons.

While the feasibility of an invulnerable SDI type "defense shield" is dubious, a consensus of scientists maintains that the technology for a limited system already exists. A study commissioned by the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) found that given the necessary funding, a limited defense which could protect against an accidental launch or a third world missile attack, could be "technically deployable in the 1995 - 2000 period." Considering the rate of third world proliferation (see table), it is imperative that the United States takes adequate action to defend itself.

Active research and development of a ballistic missile defense (BMD) system is the only viable alternative to the threat posed by radical and unstable regimes armed with nuclear weapons.

Few realize that BMD research has been conducted for the past thirty years. Protection against ballistic missiles is not a misguided Reagan dream. On the contrary, scientists and engineers have been actively engaged in transforming scientific theory into defensive reality since the early 1960s.

In fact, ground-based systems already exist. The Soviet Union currently has a BMD system to protect selected targets and cities. It has demonstrated that an effective BMD system can be built and deployed.

While the United States should begin to build and deploy a missile defense system, it must not dismiss the Soviet Union's concerns about such a system. The perceived capability of thwarting a Soviet retaliatory strike would be extremely destabilizing in a crisis and could precipitate a preemptive attack.

By the same token, Soviet concerns about "Star Wars" are not sufficient to warrant cancellation or even a slow-down of the program. It should be noted that the USSR is actively researching a similar system. The newest arms control proposal, allowing open SDI monitoring as well as the exchange of technology between the superpowers, should serve to allay Soviet fears.

Bush's proposed deployment schedule for SDI calls for only a limited missile defense. Such a system could counter third world threats, yet would be unable to absorb a Soviet first strike. A renegotiation of the ABM Treaty during the START talks, combined with the comprehensive monitoring proposal, would prevent misguided reactions by either superpower. Such an agreement would alleviate misconceptions and provide an environment for exchange and cooperation in substantially reducing the threat of third world proliferation.

Currently engaged in debate over the defense authorization bill, the House and Senate Armed Services Committees appear unwilling to fund a BMD system adequately. An analysis conducted by the SDI Organization (SDIO) at the request of Congressman Jon Kyl, stated that if the program were funded at the Senate level of $4.3 billion, "we [would] have to begin dismantling this infrastructure, incur additional costs due to program stretchout, and contract renegotiation/termination, force layoffs and suffer losses of skilled scientists and engineers." The study further concluded that at the $2.8 billion level (as proposed by the House) "these limitations and delays are converted into cancellations, terminations, and dismantlement of programs across the board."

It is obvious that Congress continues to resist setting priorities. An end to the conflict between the superpowers does not imply the beginning of international peace. While funding cuts should be made, the defense budget must consider current developments in other, equally important, arenas.

Ideally, the budget process should outline a new grand strategy appropriate for the changing world order. Unnecessary programs, aimed at fighting a prolonged war in Europe, must be eliminated. Simultaneously, however, necessary weapons systems such as a limited BMD, need to be fully funded. If the Congress abrogates its responsibility in this regard the nation will be left vulnerable to aggression and blackmail from hostile regimes around the globe. The possibility of long-range missiles, armed with either nuclear or chemical warheads, in the hands of a Qaddafi, should be enough to spur even the most entrenched Congressional bureaucrat to action.

In addition to a BMD system, international action can serve as a restraint mechanism to curb the spread of launch and nuclear capability. Political and economic leverage by the superpowers would be an effective tool for encouraging many potential proliferants to sign and adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

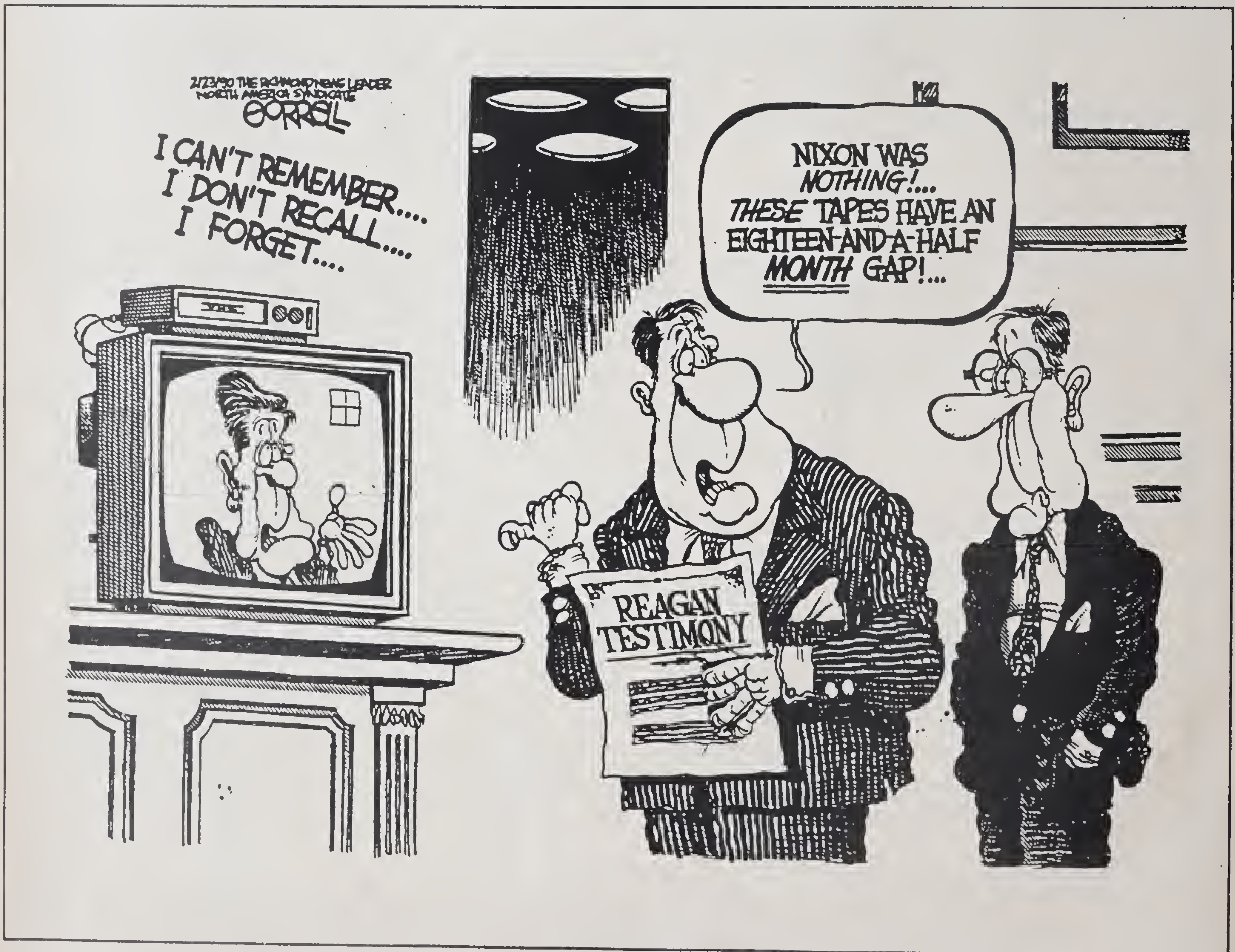
Checks on the exchange of ballistic-missile related technology and equipment to third world nations should also be instituted. In March of this year, an operation to smuggle nuclear trigger devices was thwarted by U.S. and British intelligence agencies. Jeff Gerth of the *New York Times* described the attempt as "a scheme in which several foreign nationals tried to smuggle out of the United States through England, small electronic devices that were said to be required by Iraqi officials for building nuclear weapons." Disturbingly enough, this incident is hardly isolated. Leading French, German, Italian and U.S. industries legally provide the necessary hardware to spur missile production in the third world.

Transactions such as these must be guarded against. The United States and its allies must not hand sensitive nuclear and chemical technology over to hostile nations. As Janne Nolan of the Brookings Institution noted, "The arrest of the nuclear-trigger smugglers shows that international cooperation to stop illegal arms trafficking can work if governments devote resources and time to the task." While receiving limited media and Congressional attention, it is apparent that the dangers accompanying the rapid spread of ballistic missiles have reached crisis proportions. The United States as well as the international community must take the necessary steps to defend itself against the fundamentally destabilizing nature of a ballistic third world.

The ominous words of Michael Charlton, political journalist and author, aptly describe the only rational action U.S. policymakers can take to counter the inherent instability of widespread horizontal proliferation. "Defense against the ballistic missile has already acquired a self-interest impetus. We do not have the luxury of waiting..."

As the superpowers retrench, third world leaders move ever closer to crossing the nuclear threshold. The Non-Proliferation Treaty and political pressure have proven ineffective in halting the acquisition of nuclear weapons and launch technology. By deploying a limited BMD, the United States will be able to deter nuclear and chemical attacks or blackmail threats. Such a posture is a requisite mandate for U.S. defense as well as the maintenance of world stability. Ω

Channing is a senior International Relations major from LaGrange.


2/23/90 THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
NORTH AMERICA SYNDICATE
GORRELL
I CAN'T REMEMBER....
I DON'T RECALL....
I FORGET....
NIXON WAS NOTHING!... THESE TAPES HAVE AN EIGHTEEN-AND-A-HALF MONTH GAP!...
REAGAN TESTIMONY

THIRD WORLD BALLISTIC MISSILE CAPABILITY*

Country	Missile	Range (KM)	Warhead (lbs)	Status
Brazil	MB/EE-150	150	1,100	In testing
	SS-300	300	2,200	In testing
	SS-1000	1,200	2,200	R&D
	MB/EE-350	350	N/A	R&D
	MB/EE-600	600	N/A	R&D
Egypt	Frog-7	70	1,000	Used in 1973 Arab-Israeli war
	Scud-B	300	1,100	Deployed
	Saqr-80	80	450	Deployed
	Improved Scud	300	2,200	Production Planned
	Badr-2000	900	1,000	In development
India	Prithvi	150-300	1,100-2,200	Test-fired 1988
	Agni	2,500	2,000	Test-fired 1989
Iran	Frog-7	70	1,000	Used against Iraq
	Scud-B	300	1,100	Used against Iraq
	Oghab	40	660	Used against Iraq
	Iran-130	120	N/A	Used against Iraq
Iraq	Frog-7	70	1,000	Used against Iran
	Scud-B	300	1,100	Used against Iran
	Al-Husayn	600	420	Used against Iran
	Al-Abbas	900	N/A	Test-fired 1988
	Condor II	900	1,000	In development
	Fahd	250-500	1,000	R&D
	3-stage rocket	1,800	N/A	Test-fired 1989
Israel	Lance	110	600	Deployed
	Jericho I	500	680	Deployed
	Jericho II	1,450	N/A	Test-fired 1987
Libya	Frog-7	70	1,000	Deployed
	Scud-B	300	1,100	Used against Lampedusa 1986
	Otrag	490	N/A	In development
North Korea	Frog-7	70	1,000	Deployed
	Scud-B	300	1,100	Deployed
South Korea	Korean SSM	180-250	N/A	Deployed
Pakistan	HATF I	80	1,100	Test-fired 1989
	HATF II	300	1,100	Test-fired 1989
South Africa	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Test fired 7/89
Syria	Frog-7	70	1,000	Used against Israel 1973
	Scud-B	300	1,100	Deployed
	SS-21	120	1,000	Deployed

*Excerpted from the *Washington Times*, January 2, 1990, p. D1.

THE NATIONAL TRUSS / BOB LUKEFAHR

Invisible Generation

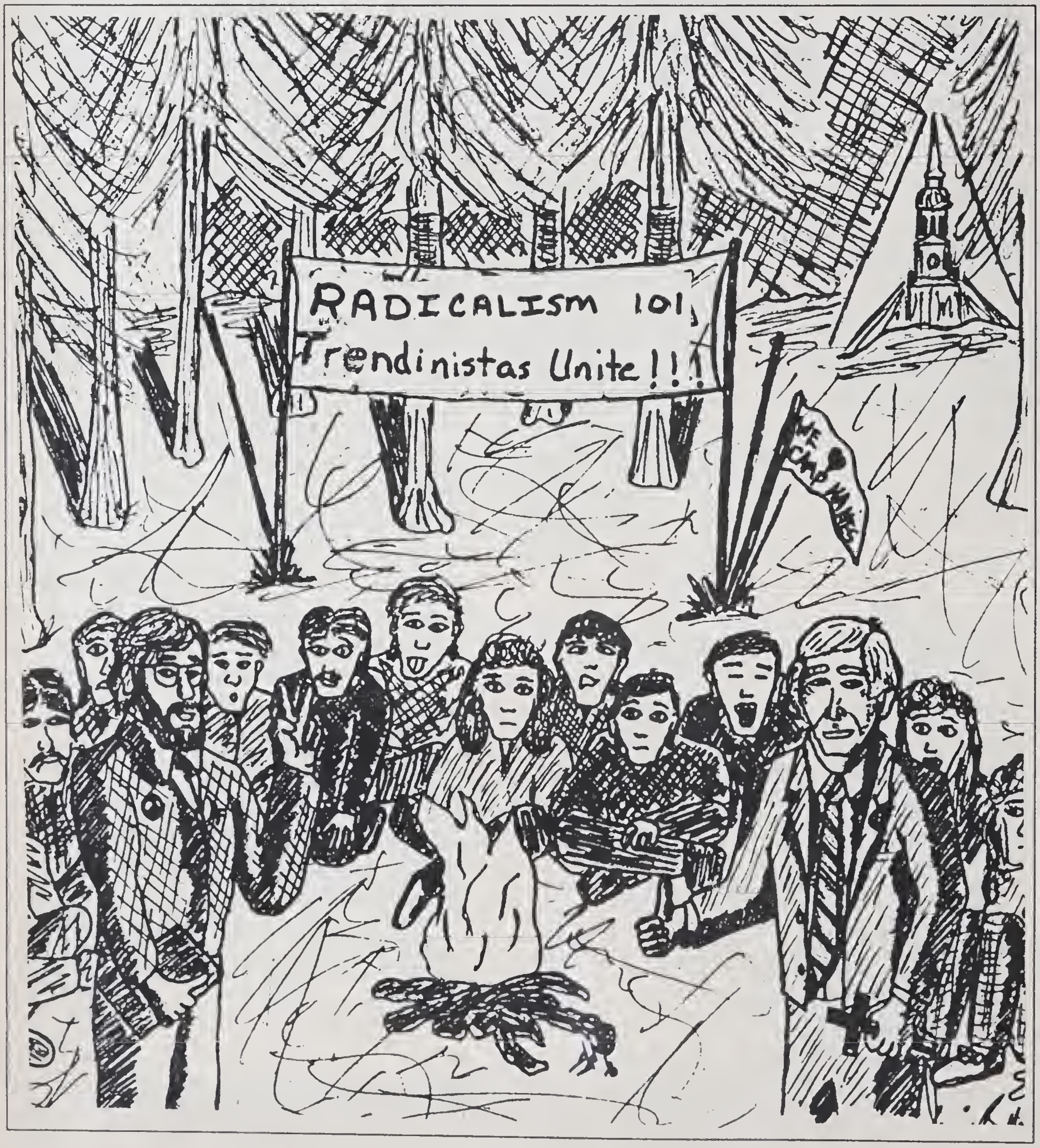
Living in the Shadow of the Baby Boomers

America almost reached Nirvana in the 1960s. Under the watchful gaze of the baby-boom generation, the nation came within sight of the New Jerusalem. In those days college students were idealistic and ambitious. They followed their conscience, and they changed the world. The nation has been backsliding ever since.

So the story goes. Professors and others who remember the good old days frequently lament that our generation is selfish, greedy, and uncaring. They long for the idealism of the 1960s, and recall their accomplishments with characteristic hubris. They stopped the war in Viet Nam, waged the war on poverty, and delivered America from the ravages of unfettered capitalism. They alone, we are reminded, had the courage to slay the dragons of the establishment.

In short, many baby boomers remain as egocentric, unreflective and unrepentant as ever.

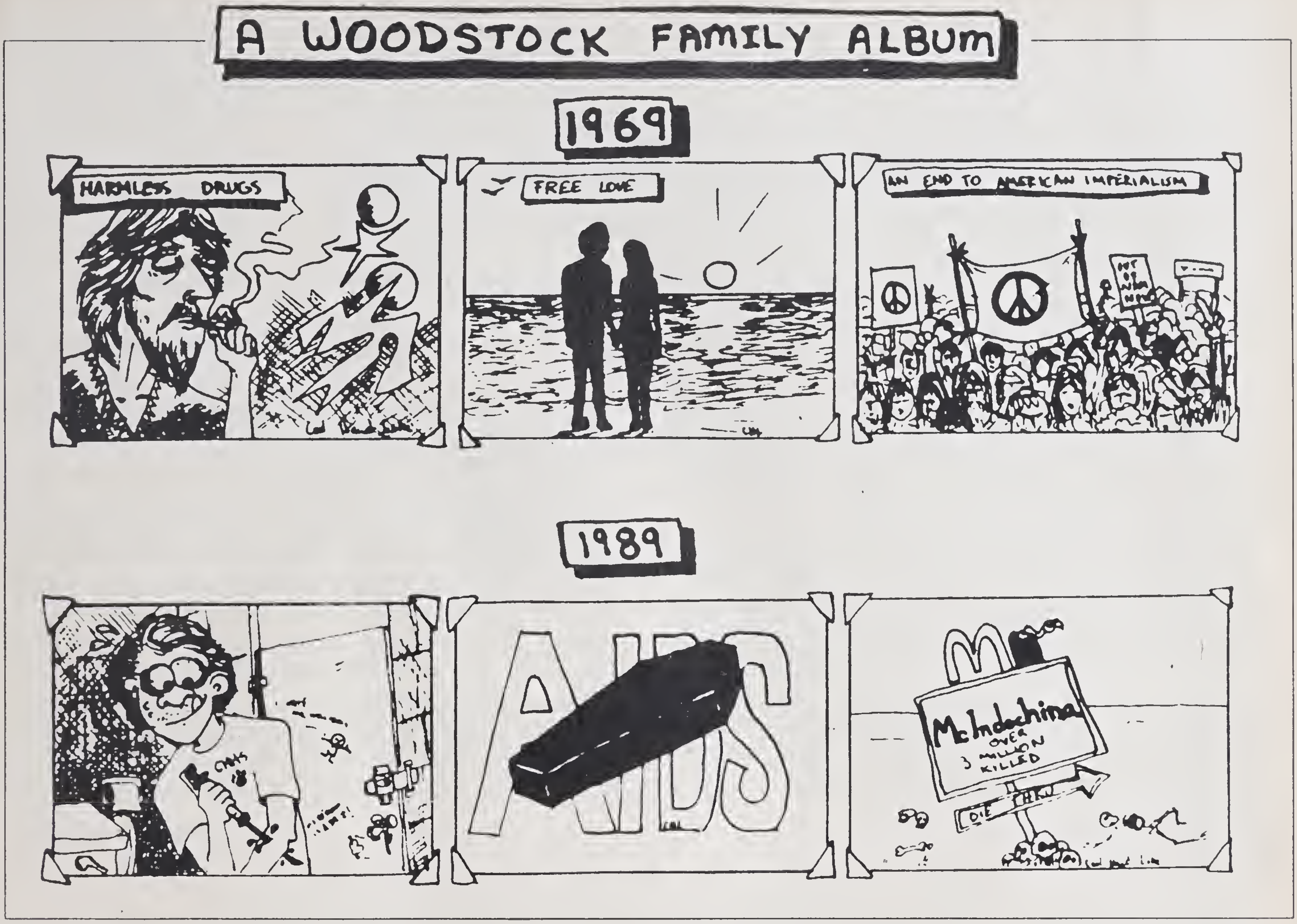
This would be little more than a minor irritant if they kept their whining to themselves. But they would not be children of the sixties if they did. Instead, they subject us to an endless drone of unsolicited advice and commentary. "Students just aren't idealistic anymore," "Young people are greedy these days," and the all-time favorite, "Eight years of Reagan has..." Well, you know the rest.



To the baby boomers, ours is the Invisible Generation. We are to be occasionally scolded, sometimes tolerated, but usually ignored. They act as though we are little more than undeserving heirs to their ideological fortune.

I, for one, am tired of hearing their complaints. For the record, our generation is more idealistic, more productive, more concerned, and infinitely more responsible than the flower children ever were. Unfortunately, we are condemned to spend much of our lives cleaning up after the Destructive Generation.

During their brief strut upon the stage of history, boomers have made a mess of the economy, the military, the university, the church, etc., etc., *ad nauseam*. Fear not, though, we are already aligning with the parents of the baby boomers to set things right. We shall succeed.



In fairness, I should separate the radicals of the Destructive Generation from the rest. Many, if not most, children of the sixties have renounced their perverse ideology in favor of a more reasoned alternative. But far too many continue to cling to the idealism which wreaked havoc in the world.

Their sense of fulfillment reached an orgasmic intensity in 1969 at a place called Woodstock. For three days, a half a million unbathed malcontents gathered to praise the virtues of sex, socialism and surrender. To a child of the sixties, all was right with the world. To everyone else, it seemed all hell had broken loose.

The policies embraced by our predecessors destroyed the lives of millions. They enslaved the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Angola, and Nicaragua. After their "victory" in Southeast Asia, they rejoiced. Meanwhile, as born-again conservative David Horowitz notes, "more people had been killed in the first two years of the Communist peace than in the thirteen years of America's war." And the Destructive Generation was proud.

The perverse anti-military mindset fostered by the boomers led to almost a decade of unilateral disarmament. In 1979 the Soviet Union was so confident of America's impotence that it believed it could march into Afghanistan with impunity. It was right.

The deficit spending of the 1980s was, to a large extent, the legacy of the peace-through-surrender movement. We will be paying the bill for rebuilding America's armed forces for untold years. The Destructive Generation blamed Reagan.

The liberal mindset of the boomers also popularized drug use and made it socially acceptable for the first time in American history. An enormous drug trade took root and thrived. As they grew older, most baby boomers gave up LSD and marijuana in favor of life's more traditional pleasures. Family, career, and other responsibilities displaced the "if it feels good do it" mentality. Nevertheless, millions continue to struggle under the burden of addiction. Rational conservatives like William F. Buckley Jr. are advocating legalization because there seems no other way to halt the violence brought by the illegal drug trade. We have poisoned a generation and there is no turning back. In response, the Destructive Generation has formed organizations like "Rockers Against Drugs" and blames the problem on a failed American dream.

In the 1970s the boomers demanded, and received, more government intervention in the economy. John Maynard Keynes, John Kenneth Galbraith and, of course, Karl Marx were their economic gurus. There was a surge of inflation, unemployment, and discontent. We learned about the misery index—which was getting worse almost daily. People around the world could say with confidence "socialism is better than capitalism." To many, even Castro's Cuba offered more hope than America. The Destructive Generation faulted capitalism.

With the advent of effective birth control, the boomers found virtue in free love. Doing one's own thing meant having premarital sex, multiple partners, and, if one was so inclined,

The inner-cities are now populated by teenage mothers, abortion is an accepted means of birth control, and the fear of AIDS haunts young and old alike. The Destructive Generation made love, not war.

practicing homosexuality. The inner-cities are now populated by teenage mothers, abortion is an accepted means of birth control, and the fear of AIDS haunts young and old alike. The Destructive Generation made love, not war.

The boomer's idealism had its greatest impact on our colleges and universities. Education was made more accessible through federal loans and grants, while the curriculum was revamped to meet the needs of a changing world. Ousted were the DWM's (Dead White Males) which had formerly dominated the core of a college education. In their place we found room for Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures, Women's Studies, and a host of other disciplines. We learned to deconstruct Shakespeare and Milton. We exalted Marx. At UNC we read Michael Harrington but not Adam Smith. We got hip.

The government now subsidizes the education of most any mediocre student who can maintain a C average and wants to learn about "wimmin in literature." Less than 50 percent of college seniors can place the Civil War in the correct half-century. The public school system is reeling from the effects of an uneducated teaching corps. Business must spend tens of millions to train its workers. The Japanese have us shaking in our boots. And the Destructive Generation scolds the federal government for not doing more.

We are charged with the monumental task of making things right again. We will meet that challenge despite the albatross which the boomers have hung around our necks.

We are charged with the monumental task of making things right again. We will meet that challenge despite the albatross which the boomers have hung around our necks. I am confident of this because I am idealistic. Perhaps a bit too idealistic. But then that is in keeping with my, invisible, generation.

Naturally, the Destructive Generation does not see us as committed to an ideal. They find no evidence of it because they do not recognize the signs. There are, for example, almost sixty conservative college magazines and newspapers around the country. Almost all of them are less than seven years old, but they are thriving because their writers and editors are committed to the conservative ideal. Boomers consider this reactionary, not idealistic. Occupy a few offices, bust a few windows, and burn at least one ROTC building—then you're idealistic.

Similarly, the business major who will improve America's economic competitiveness is not idealistic either. He is greedy. And the engineering student who engages in five years of intensive study so he can develop new technologies is selfish. To their mind, he is clearly in it for the money. Perhaps, but without him we will not be able to clean up after the Destructive Generation.

Let me reiterate, all baby boomers were not part of the Destructive Generation. They were the radical fringe even in their hey dey. But many of the less radical members of that generation are no less culpable than their progressive contemporaries. All but a few lacked the courage to stand up for what they believed. They would not face the ridicule. They stood by silently while the very foundations of this country shook.

The radicals almost succeeded in wrecking the establishment. Were it not for the few courageous individuals who stood by their convictions, the radicals might have succeeded in creating their race wars, their socialist government, their brave new world.

Yet these courageous men and women will not be remembered by the children of the sixties. Like we of the Invisible Generation, they have labored in the shadows of that statistical blip known as the baby boom. We must resign ourselves to the fact that the Destructive Generation will never take responsibility for the havoc they visited upon America. They will continue to be proud of their so-called accomplishments, and when we make things better, they will be proud of themselves for that too (just as they now take credit for the collapse of communism, the INF treaty, and the economic recovery). Our generation will follow quietly behind the Destructive Generation. We shall rebuild what they have destroyed, pay their bills, and do their penance. And who knows, things may change. The flower children may grow up and take responsibility for their mistakes. But I wouldn't count on it. Ω

Bob recently sold his Beatles collection to buy junk bonds.

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THE WORLD STAGE / GRANT THOMPSON

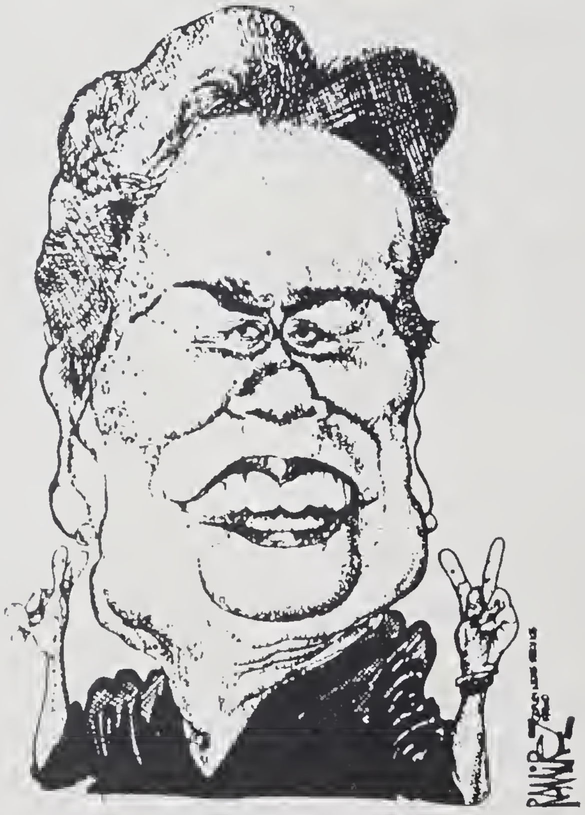
Too Good to Be True

The Search for a New Nicaragua

It seems too good to be true. A communist dictatorship agrees to hold free elections, actually does, loses, and peacefully relinquishes power. It may sound unreal, but this seems to be exactly what is occurring in Nicaragua.

On February 25, Violeta Chamorro defeated incumbent President Daniel Ortega and ended ten disastrous years of Sandinista rule. In a speech conceding defeat, Ortega said, "We [the Sandinistas] were born poor and we are satisfied to die poor." Ortega must be crying tears of delight over the impoverishment he left behind.

Even by communist standards, the Sandinistas have done a remarkable job of demolishing the Nicaraguan economy. In February 1989, the value of the cordoba was placed at ten to each U.S. dollar. By the end of 1989, it took 42,000 cordobas to equal one dollar. With an annual per capita income of less then $300, 1,689 percent inflation, and an economy which shrank 50 percent during Sandinista rule, it is not surprising that the Nicaraguan people are ready for a change.



President (Nicaragua)
Violetta Barrios de Chamorro

U.S. policy enabled Nicaraguans to vote for this change. Although the *contras* failed militarily, their presence cost the Sandinistas an estimated $12 billion. Even for die-hard communists, $12 billion is a steep price to pay for the privilege of repressing a nation. The *contra* presence, combined with tough U.S. economic sanctions, forced the Sandinistas to submit to a popular vote.

Many have attacked U.S. policy in Nicaragua as unwanted meddling. Nicaraguans apparently disagree. Most voted for Chamorro although she was closely associated with the United States. Chamorro made no secret of the fact that she received both financial and diplomatic support from the U.S. government. This bothers U.S. liberals and Sandinista apologists intensely. Unlike the Nicaraguan people, they do not understand that free elections would never have occurred without U.S. pressure.

International scrutiny ensured that these elections would be fair. The presence of an unprecedented 2,000 foreign observers and over 1,000 reporters forced Ortega to restrain himself in the final stages of the election. Ortega revealed his true intentions during the early stages of the campaign. Sandinista cheating was widespread before most foreign observers arrived.

For example, U.S. observers saw a group of Chamorro loyalists attacked by machete-wielding Sandinista supporters. The government owns the only nationwide TV station, and, as one might expect, the Sandinistas flooded the airwaves with campaign propaganda. In the words of the Organization of American States, the Sandinistas resorted to "flagrant distortions, derogatory remarks, and misrepresentations." Ortega clearly had no qualms about cheating. Under the watchful eye of foreign observers and reporters, the election was fair—despite Ortega's best efforts.

The Sandinistas were forced by international pressure to hold elections, forced by international pressure to make them relatively fair, and now it is up to the international community to make sure the Sandinistas peacefully relinquish power. This could be difficult. They still control the police and the military, and Defense Minister Humberto Ortega has warned he will retain control of the military regardless of election results. Internal security is still controlled by Sandinista stalwart, Tomas Borge, one of the original founders of the Sandinista movement. The Sandinistas have distributed thousands of AK-47 rifles to supporters throughout the countryside. Even if all these groups peacefully concede power to Chamorro, the new government faces troubled times.

Chamorro was elected as the compromise choice of a broad coalition. With almost no government experience to guide her, she must rebuild a shattered economy and construct a viable democratic system. This will undoubtedly be a long and difficult process. But after ten years of Sandinista mismanagement and repression, even Chamorro's mistakes will look good in comparison. Ω

Grant will be an Assistant Editor with the Critic *in the Fall.*

OUR ALTERED STATE / PAUL DANIELS

Goodbye, Jimmy V

But Corruption in College Athletics Persists

The NCSU Board of Trustees' closed meetings concerning Jim Valvano's fate, and the conditions under which he was fired, leave many questions unanswered. Did Coach Valvano know about the alleged point shaving scheme or the illegal payment? Why did the Board of Trustees deprive him of his right to face his accusers? Was Valvano an "unscrupulous coach" bent on winning at any cost? Could it be that the bad publicity generated daily by the *News and Observer* caused the trustees to fire him in an effort to save face?

The trustees' decision to terminate Valvano's contract, regardless of his guilt or innocence, will do little to end the corruption plaguing big time college sports. Next season, more coaches will be fired or forced to resign because of scandals and recruiting violations. These problems stem not from the activity of players and coaches, but from the NCAA system, school officials' misplaced priorities, and rabid sports boosters.

From the beginning of their college careers, athletes are set apart from the student body. Payments from boosters, cushy work/study jobs, low scholastic admission standards and eligibility requirements denote an athlete's special status. Such preferential treatment sends the message to athletes that they are in college only to play sports, not to get an education.

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The boosters' "win at any cost" mentality has overcome their sense of fair play in the pursuit of athletic excellence. Boosters' use of expensive gifts and cash payments to players as recruiting tools bred the corruption now manifest in college sports. In addition, the large booster contributions create an incentive for school officials to overlook athletic eligibility requirements or rule violations.

Like boosters, chancellors and other school officials are to blame for the misplaced priorities of student athletes and the overwhelming hype which surrounds college sports. Special game passes for local dignitaries and private parties in the chancellor's luxury sky box demonstrate to all how important a successful athletic program is in providing funding for the school.

Ironically, it is the economic success of college athletics that created the strongest incentive for athletes to violate the rules. NCAA rules do not allow athletes to share in the tremendous wealth generated by sports programs. With millions of dollars going to schools, television, and shoe companies, who can blame players for seeking to profit from their labor through illegal activity? And if a player is found guilty of taking money from an agent or selling complementary tickets, so what? He'll leave school, go pro and make even more money.

What is necessary to restore integrity to athletic programs is not a cosmetic makeover but major surgery. If NCSU and other universities are serious about ending the pervasive rules violations, they need to promote systematic change, not just fire coaches.

Raising the academic standards for athletes to the level of other students is an important first step in improving the system. The NCAA's much maligned Proposition 48 only requires an athlete to score 700 on the SAT and earn a C average in high school to be eligible for NCAA Division I sports. It is unlikely that a non-athlete would be accepted to a major university, much less receive a scholarship, for such dismal academic performance.

Schools must also attempt to reign in wealthy and influential boosters by limiting their access to players and coaches. However, the vast sums of money these organizations donate each year makes school officials hesitant to confront them. Taking an ethical stand is tough for bureaucrats, especially when millions of dollars are at stake.

It has also been recommended, by Penn State's Joe Paterno among others, that universities begin paying athletes who participate in big money sports. A monthly stipend of $200 from the millions generated by his labor would reduce an athlete's incentive to engage in prohibited activities.

Valvano's firing was simply an unimaginative attempt to transfer blame to a high profile scapegoat, giving the NCAA and critics of NCSU basketball the illusion that school officials are serious about cleaning up the program. Dealing with the problems in college athletics in this manner only perpetuates corruption. Until officials conclude that the system, not the coach, is defective, heads will continue to roll. Ω

Paul is editor of the STATE CRITIC.

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